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Language, Identity, and Power in Colonial Brazil, 1695-1822

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Summary

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This dissertation investigates the diverse ways in which the Portuguese language expanded in Brazil, despite the multilingual landscape that predominated prior to and after the arrival of the Europeans and the African diaspora. It challenges the assumption that the predominance of Portuguese was a natural consequence and foregone conclusion of colonisation.

This work argues that the expansion of Portuguese was a tumultuous process that mirrored the power relations and conflicts between Amerindian, European, African, and mestizo actors who shaped, standardised, and promoted the Portuguese language within and beyond state institutions. The expansion of Portuguese was as much a result of state intervention as it was of individual agency. Language was a mechanism of power that opened possibilities in a society where ethnic, religious, and economic criteria usually marginalised the vast majority of the population from the colonial system. Basic literacy skills allowed access to certain occupations in administration, trading, teaching, and priesthood that elevated people's social standing. These possibilities created, in most social groups, the desire to emulate the elites and to appropriate the Portuguese language as part of their identity.

This research situates the question of language, identity, and power within the theoretical framework of Atlantic history between 1695 and 1822. Atlantic history contributes to our understanding of the ways in which peoples, materials, institutions and ideas moved across Iberia, Africa and the Americas without overlooking the new contours that these elements assumed in the colony, as they moved in tandem, but also contested each other. Focusing on the mining district of Minas Gerais for its economic and social importance, this dissertation draws on multiple ecclesiastical and administrative sources to assess how ordinary people and authoritative figures daily interacted with one another to shape the Portuguese language.

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Abbreviations

AEAM: Arquivo Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Mariana

AGAL: Alfândega

AHCS: Arquivo Histórico da Casa Setecentista

AHSJDR: Arquivo Histórico de São João Del Rei

ANRJ: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro

ANTT: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo

APM: Arquivo Público Mineiro

Arm.: Armário

Au.: Auto

BAT: Biblioteca Antônio Torres

CC: Casa dos Contos

Cód.: Códice

CPOP: Casa do Pilar de Ouro Preto

Cx.: Caixa

Doc.: Documento

DP: Desembargo do Paço

Fl(s).: Folhas (s)

HOC: Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo

HOS: Habilitações do Santo Ofício

Inv.: Inventários

Mç.: Maço

Mf.: Microfilme

Not: Notação

Of.: Ofício

Pct.: Pacote

Pl.: Planilha

Prov.: Provedoria

RMC: Real Mesa Censória

SDH: Diversos

Introduction

"The fundamental question for historians remains that of explaining how and why some languages or varieties of languages have spread (geographically or socially), or have been successfully imposed in the course of time, while others have receded."[1]

(Peter Burke: 1993)

In the dictionary *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino* (1716), Raphael Bluteau includes Portuguese in the group of the main languages in the world derived from Latin.[2] Bluteau also lays bare the idea of Portuguese as an imperial language: the Europeans 'took it' to Brazil, Africa and Asia.[3] With this idea of Portuguese as an imperial language in mind, this dissertation will seek to define the relationships between language, power, and identity in colonial Brazil. It arises from the need to historicise the process by which Portuguese became the first language spoken in Brazil today.[4] In doing so, it claims that the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil implied the construction of new memories for colonisers, Amerindians, and Africans after cultural and territorial discontinuities occurred.[5] As Elizabeth Buettner puts it, large-scale migration created social and political changes that "provided the historical conditions for new groups and identities

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[1] Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation.* Cambridge: Polity, 1993, pp. 14-15.

[2] Raphael Bluteau, *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino (K-N).* Lisboa: Officina de Pascoal da Sylva, 1716, p. 138.

[3] "As linguas ainda que pareção innumeraveis, todas se podem reduzir a duas, a saber, linguas matrizes, & geraes, que se estènderão muito, & saõ usadas entre muitas nações diversa, em razão das Conquistas, Religião, commercio, que as introduzio; & linguas particulares, ou proprias de alguma nação, que por consequencia saõ menos dilatadas. Hoje as linguas matrizes & geraes saõ quatorze, a saber, a lingua Latina, que dividida, & como transformada em varios idiomas, corre todas as provincias da Italia, França, Portugal, & Castella, & pelos Europeos foy levada a muytas partes da America, à nova Hespanha, ou Indias de Castella, ao Canadá, ou nova França, ao Perû, ao Chili, ao Paraguay, ao Brasil, às Ilhas Antilhas, & finalmente a algûas costas, & Ilhas da Africa, da Asia, & do Continente Magellanico". In: ibid.

[4] Walter Mignolo, "Literacy and Colonization: the New World Experience," in *1492-1992: re/discovering colonial writing*, ed. René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini. Minneapolis, MN: Prisma Institute, 1989, p. 51.

[5] Isabel Castro Henriques, "Colónia, colonização, colonial, colonialismo," in *Dicionário crítico das ciências sociais dos países de fala oficial portuguesa*, ed. Livio Sansone and Cláudio Alves Furtado. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2014, pp. 47; 49.

to take shape, with ideal conditions for the reconstitution of ethnic identities."[6] This process was already taking place in Europe (between late antiquity and the medieval period) but in the New World it gained characteristics that made the (re)constitution of identities even more complex.[7] When we consider how the Brazilian linguistic landscape compares with that of other Iberian colonies, Portuguese has practically disappeared from Asia as has Spanish from the Philippines; conversely, Portuguese is spoken by virtually the entire population of Brazil, as is Spanish in Latina America.[8] Language is, therefore, one of the most persistent aspects of Iberian culture in Latin America. Brazil presents an especially significant case for the study of its evolution, as it is a unique example of "sustained territorial occupation of a colony by the Portuguese" between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries."[9]

In no other colony did linguistic interaction between Europeans, Amerindians, and Africans occur with the same intensity as it did in Brazil. The multilingual landscape that existed in the territory that today corresponds to Brazil prior to the arrival of the European has not disappeared, but speakers have drastically dropped.[10] The number of languages spoken went from more than 1,200 to 190 out of which forty-five are critically endangered according to UNESCO.[11] More than two hundred languages have already disappeared.[12] Mesoamerica and the Andes experienced a similar situation, but

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[6] Elizabeth Buettner, "Ethnicity," in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. Ulinka Rublack. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 252.

[7] Ibid., p. 255.

[8] José C. Moya, "The Iberian Atlantic, 1492-2012," in *Theorising the Ibero-American Atlantic*, ed. Harald Braun and Lisa Vollendorf. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 59.

[9] Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, "Introduction," in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto. USA: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 4.

[10] Greg Urban, "A história da cultura brasileira segundo as línguas nativas," in *História dos Índios no Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura: FAPESP, 2009. It is important to highlight that Brazil at the arrival of Europeans does not correspond to its territory today, as the Portuguese concentrated on the coast, from Natal to São Paulo, slowly expanding towards Maranhão and the Amazon, in the North, and Minas Gerais, in the South. See: Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida, *Os índios na História do Brasil.* Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2010, pp. 29-43.

[11] Hildo Honório do Couto, "Amerindian Language Islands in Brazil," in *Iberian Imperialism and Language Evolution in Latin America*, ed. Salikoko S. Mufwene. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014, pp. 81-82. Also see: The Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger available at: http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap.html.

[12] Moya, p. 58.

the number of speakers of Amerindian languages in these areas is greater than in Brazil in spite of the large number of endangered languages. For example, Mexico has 143 languages, out of which twenty one are critically endangered, but Maya is still spoken at the Yucatán Peninsula.[13] Peru has sixty-two languages out of which fifteen are critically endangered.[14] As a means of comparison in numbers, Sierra de Puebla Nahuatl (or *Mexicano*) has 57,189 speakers and the Quechua of Cuzco has 1,115,000 speakers while in Brazil Guarani has 10,000 speakers.[15] In Peru, the Constitution (1993) recognises Quechua and Aymara as official languages alongside Spanish.[16] Similarly, in Bolivia (1994) Quechua, Ayamara, Guarani and Spanish are official languages and the state provides bilingual education.[17] Conversely, the Brazilian Constitution (1988) recognises multiculturalism but no other official language apart from Portuguese.[18] The Brazilian monolingualism was challenged in 2001, when Nheengatu was officially recognised as a language in São Gabriel da Cachoeira (Amazonas), alongside Baniwa and Tucano.[19]

Africa has more than 2,000 different languages, excluding English, French, English and Portuguese, among others recently introduced.[20] The Niger-Congo family alone has more than 360 million speakers.[21] Brazil received forty-five per cent of all Africans affected by the slave trade.[22] Although there exists plenty of linguistic evidence of

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[13] Barbara Pfeiler, "Maya and Spanish in Yucatán: and example of continuity and change," in *Iberian Imperiaism and Language Evolution in Latin America*, ed. Salikoko S. Mufwene. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014, p. 205. Also see: The Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger available at: http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap.html.

[14] The Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger available at: http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap.html.

[15] The Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger available at: http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap.html.

[16] Felipe Arocena, 'Multiculturalism in Brazil, Bolivia and Peru,' *Race & Class* 49, no. 4 (2008): p. 2.

[17] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[18] Ibid., p. 6.

[19] Maria Rosário Carvalho and Mario Ugo Andrade, "Índio, índios," in *Dicionário crítico das ciências sociais dos países de fala oficial portuguesa*, ed. Livio Sansone and Cláudio Alves Furtado. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2014, p. 221.

[20] Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse, *African Languages: an introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 1-10.

[21] Kay Williamson and Roger Blench, "Niger-Congo," in *African languages: an introduction*, ed. Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 11.

[22] Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 6; David Brookshaw, "Understanding the Lusophonic Atlantic," in *Theorising the Ibero-American Atlantic*, ed. Harald Braun and Lisa Vollendorf, The medieval and early modern Iberian world. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 38.

African influence on Brazilian Portuguese, the historic analysis of linguistic interactions between Africans and Europeans is more limited due to the dearth of information. This is a sign of the position that African slaves occupied in Brazilian colonial society: it was lower than that of the Amerindians, albeit the former more numerous.[23] Amerindians rarely occupied positions in colonial administration – Portuguese born in Brazil occupied them and, to a lesser degree, black mestizos.[24] However, in terms of purity of blood, as Russell-Wood observes, "in the case of mixed bloods, those of Amerindian-Portuguese ancestry, and thus free of the stigma of slavery, were preferred over those of Portuguese-African, Afro-Brazilians, or African-Amerindian ancestry. Amerindians were preferred to Africans."[25] A variety of languages were, therefore, spoken in Brazil under colonial rule, but unlike other countries where African languages were widely spoken, very few pidgins (a language whose vocabulary comes from another language, but with a different grammar) and creoles (a pidgin that became the mother tongue) have survived in Portuguese America.[26] Once in Brazil, Africans tended to group with others from the same or nearby geographical provenance.[27] They probably spoke similar languages and could either have kept their mother tongues or perpetuated an African-based creole.

How then did language, identity, and power interplay in Brazil, where a variety of languages coexisted before and during colonial rule, finally culminating with Portuguese as a dominant language? Was this linguistic expansion conscious, spontaneous, or state-driven? What motivated people to switch to speaking Portuguese? Were grammar rules powerful enough to drive a shift in language use? If so, who were the cultural agents that promoted this shift, and what means helped them to achieve it? Scholarship has offered explanations for some of these questions. However, there are no

[23] Arocena, p. 15

[24] Angela Figueiredo and Cláudio Alves Furtado, "Elites negras," in *Dicionário crítico das ciências sociais dos países de fala oficial portuguesa* ed. Livio Sansone and Cláudio Alves Furtado. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2014, p. 139.

[25] A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," in *Negotiated Empires: centers and peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, ed. Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy. New York; London: Routledge, 2002, pp. 109-110.

[26] Moya, p. 58; Ralph W. Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Language.* vol. 2. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990, p. 183; Joseph H. Greenberg, *Language, Culture, and Communication.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971, p. 202.

[27] Bartolomé Bennassar, 'The Minas Gerais: a high point of miscegenation,' *Diogenes* 48, no. 191 (2000): p. 40.

readily available answers that elaborate sufficiently on the historical circumstances surrounding the dominance of Portuguese in Brazil in the context of its explicit connection with power and identity.[28] This dissertation argues that the process of implementing Portuguese as the first language of Brazil was neither natural nor homogenous. Portuguese emerged from a delicate power relationship between the state and its speakers, mirroring the power relations in colonial society. To use Peter Burke's expression, speaking Portuguese was an 'act of identity', that is to say that it created or helped to create, and expressed an identity.[29]

The formation of a cultural identity in Brazil occurred before the existence of a political nation, and it could easily be argued that language played a central role in this process.[30] This dissertation will commence with a brief literature review of the question of language in colonial Brazil. Following on, it will introduce its key concepts, and contextualise its research in the broader theoretical framework of Atlantic history. Finally, it will discuss its supporting sources and summarise the content of its chapters. The primary objective of this work is to improve our understanding of the relationship between language, identity, and power in colonial Brazil, using a multidisciplinary framework that borrows extensively from the social sciences.

Let us begin by introducing the theories of some of the best-known scholars to have written on the Portuguese language in Brazil. José Honório Rodrigues, despite noting that the 'victory' of Portuguese was not the work of the education system, but of the people, highlights a number of official measures that did indeed popularise the language, such as the Law of the Directorate (1757).[31] Similarly, Celso Cunha attributes the popularisation of the standardised variation of Portuguese to the elite, but unlike Rodrigues he does not acknowledge the influence of Amerindian and African

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[28] José Del Valle, "Language, politics and history: an introductory essay," in *A Political History of Spanish*, ed. José Del Valle. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 12-15; Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 2-4.

[29] Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge: Polity, 2008, p. 95.

[30] Vanda Anastácio, "Literay Exchange in the Portuguese-Brazilian Atlantic before 1822," in *Theorising the Ibero-American Atlantic*, ed. Harald Braun and Lisa Vollendorf. Leinden; Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 162.

[31] José Honório Rodrigues, "The Victory of the Portuguese Language in Colonial Brazil," in *Empire in Transition: the Portuguese world in the time of Camões*, ed. Alfred Hower and Richard A. Preto-Rodas. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1985, pp. 50-52; 58.

languages.[32] Serafim da Silva Neto highlights the similarities between the Portuguese spoken by Amerindian and African people, with members of both groups using it as lingua franca.[33] Silva Neto also observes that European Portuguese itself was not homogenous, and claims furthermore that what is more important than studying the history of language is studying the history of those who use it.[34] Another scholar, José Mattoso Câmara Jr., argues that increased migration from Portugal and parallel acceptance of European values, contributed to the decline in the general languages in Brazil.[35]

Other historians, such as Maria Bethania Mariani, Kyttia Lee, and João Paulo Rodrigues have also explored language evolution in Brazil. Mariani offers an extensive overview of the Amerindian general languages in the colony but focuses on the official institutionalisation of the Portuguese language.[36] Lee looks extensively at the Brasílica language, unpicking its role in the colonisation of Brazil and its endurance for more than two centuries in the colony.[37] Rodrigues employs literary sources to discuss the adoption of Portuguese as the national language, focusing in particular on the nineteenth century.[38]

Sociolinguistic approaches often regard Brazilian Portuguese to be the product of a variation from Portugal that was consolidated in Brazil.[39] Others propose that it came about as the result of interactions between Amerindian and African languages. Yeda

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[32] Celso Ferreira da Cunha, *Língua portuguêsa e realidade brasileira.* 10a ed., vol. 13. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, 1994, pp. 21-22.

[33] Serafim da Silva Neto, *Introdução ao estudo de língua portuguêsa no Brasil.* Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Imprensa Nacional, 1950, p. 38.

[34] Ibid., p. 107.

[35] Joaquim Mattoso Câmara, *The Portuguese Language.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972, p. 20.

[36] Bethania Mariani, *Colonização lingüística: línguas, política e religião no Brasil (século XVI a XVIII) e nos Estados Unidos da América (século XVIII).* Campinas: Pontes, 2004, p. 22.

[37] M. Kittiya Lee, *Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759.*The Johns Hopkins University, 2005.

[38] João Paulo Coeho de Souza Rodrigues, *A pátria e a flor: língua, literatura e identidade nacional no Brasil, 1840-1930.*Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2002.

[39] Afrânio Gonçalves Barbosa, "Fontes escritas e história da língua portuguesa no Brasil: as cartas de comércio no século XVIII," in *História Social da Língua Nacional*, ed. Ivana Stolze Lima and Laura do Carmo. Rio de Janeiro: Edições Casa Rui Barbosa, 2008, p. 188; Heliana Mello, "Modelos de formação da língua nacional sob a perspectiva do contato de populações," in *História Social da Língua Nacional*, ed. Ivana Stolze Lima and Laura do Carmo. Rio de Janeiro: Edições Casa Rui Barbosa, 2008, p. 302.

Pessoa de Castro and Dante Lucchesi pay special attention to the history of African languages and their position in the linguistic landscape.[40] Volker Noll and Wolf Dietrich have co-edited a book about Portuguese Tupi in Brazil discussing the influence of Amerindian languages on Portuguese, looking also at Amerindian language grammars written by missionaries.[41]

The inspiration and evidence for this dissertation were drawn from works about language in modern European and Iberian colonies. In Portuguese America I look at the works of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Gilberto Freire, and Russell-Wood.[42] For Spanish America I refer to Gabriela Ramos (Peru), Rafael Vicente (Caribbean), and Saliloko Mufwene (Brazil and Spanish colonies).[43] In Europe, the works of Diogo Ramada Curto (Portugal), Paul Cohen (France), and Peter Burke are constantly referred to.[44] These authors make use of a multidisciplinary perspective that allows to draw a number of comparisons, leading in turn to deeper reflections on language in Brazil.

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[40] Yeda Pessoa de Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia.* Salvador: Centro de Estudos Baianos, 1980; Yeda Pessoa de Castro, *Falares Africanos na Bahia: um Vocabulário Afro-Brasileiro.* Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2005; Yeda Pessoa de Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII.* Coleção Mineiriana. Belo Horizonte: Fundação João Pinheiro; Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 2002; Yeda Pessoa de Castro, "Redescobrindo as línguas africanas," in *Brasil/Africa: Como se o Mar Fosse Mentira*, ed. Rita de Cássia Natal Chaves, Carmen Lúcia Tindó Secco, and Tania Macêdo. São Paulo; Luanda: Editora UNESP; Chá de Caxinde, 2006; Dante Lucchesi, 'A língua mina-jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII,' *Revista de documentação de estudos em lingüística teórica e aplicada* 20, no. 1 (2004); Dante Lucchesi, "Africanos, crioulos e a língua portuguesa," in *História Social da Língua Nacional*, ed. Ivana Stolze Lima and Laura do Carmo. Rio de Janeiro: Edições Casa Rui Barbosa, 2008.

[41] Volker Noll, Wolf Dietrich, and Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, *O português e o tupi no Brasil.* São Paulo: Editora Contexto, 2010.

[42] Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Roots of Brazil.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012; Gilberto Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties (Sobrados e Mucambos): the making of modern Brazil.* New York: Knopf, 1963; Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-grande & senzala): a study in the development of Brazilian civilization.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946; A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *From Colony to Nation: essays on the independence of Brazil.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975; Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808."

[43] Gabriela Ramos, "Indigenous Intellectuals in Andean Colonial Cities," in *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*, ed. Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis. Durham; London: Duke Uninversity Press, 2014; Gabriela Ramos, "Language and Society in Early Colonial Peru," in *History and Language in the Andes*, ed. Adrian J. Pearce and Paul Heggarty. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

[44] Diogo Ramada Curto, "A língua e o império," in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and K. N. Chaudhuri. Lisbon: Temas e debates, 1998; Paul Cohen, *Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France*.PhD, Princeton University, 2001; Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*; Burke, *The Art of Conversation*.

Before moving on, the key concepts of this dissertation must be introduced. The first is language, a human system of symbols that, through its speakers, can reveal the power relationships in a community.[45] Symbolism is one of the many approaches to the past which, in the words of P. Burke, understands that "symbols, conscious or unconscious can be found everywhere, from art to everyday life."[46] It is a product of history, a social institution, and a part of everyday life.[47] Language is not passive but an active force in society, an instrument with which individuals and groups seek to control, or resist control, and it affirms and suppresses cultural identities.[48] Language is thus a sensitive indicator of cultural change and as such, it is not only the expression of a sense of community, but also a means by which communities – that is, groups in which a particular language or variety of a language is understood – construct and reconstruct their identities.[49] The relation between language and society is complex. According to Burke's typology, different social groups speak different varieties of language; individuals employ particular languages for particular situations; languages mirror the cultures in which they are used; and they shape the society in which it is spoken.[50]

At the same time, language and nationality appear to be so naturally connected that it is almost impossible to recall how recently they have been fused together – in this case, from the end of the eighteenth century onwards.[51] However, nationalism is only one of

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[45] Pierre Bourdieu and John B. Thompson, *Language and Symbolic Power.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991, p. 37; Harry Hoijer, "Language and Writing," in *Man, Culture, and Society*, ed. Harry L. Shapiro. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, p. 201; John December Edwards, *Language, Society and Identity.* Oxford: Blackwell in association with Deutsch, 1985, pp. 16; 18; John J. Gumperz, "The Speech Community," in *Linguistic Anthropology: a reader*, ed. Alessandro Duranti. Malden, Mass.; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001, p. 43; R. D. Grillo, *Dominant Languages: language and hierarchy in Britain and France.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 11.

[46] Burke, *What is Cultural History?* p. 3.

[47] Burke, *The Art of Conversation.* p. 1; Paul V. Kroskrity, *Regimes of Language: ideologies, polities, and identities.* Santa Fe, NM; Oxford: Oxford: Currey, 2000, pp. 05; 23; 37; J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time: essays on political thought and history.* Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1989, p. 12; Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking.* Chichester; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 253.

[48] Burke, *The Art of Conversation.* p. 26.

[49] Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe.* pp. 1; 5-6.

[50] Burke, *The Art of Conversation.* pp. 8-9; Del Valle, p. 10.

[51] Jonathan Steinberg, "The Historian and the Questione della Lingua," in *The Social History of Language*, ed. Peter Burke and Roy Poter. Cambridge; New York; New Rochelle; Melbourne; Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 198; Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe.* p. 63.

the many aspects of language that does not necessarily depend on the idea of the nation; it may depend instead on group membership, economic status, and personal identity.[52] Perhaps Ralph Fasold's concepts of nationalism and nationism may illuminate this. Fasold argues that nationality denotes a group of people who think of themselves as a social unit different from other groups but not necessarily needing an autonomous territory.[53] A nation is a political territorial unit controlled by a particular nationality.[54] Nationalism is the feeling that develops from and supports nationalities; nationism is related to governing.[55] Language therefore presents a problem for nationalism because one or more languages must be selected for use in governance, whereas for nationism, any language that makes governing possible, works.[56] And so language represents a pragmatic problem for nationism and a symbolic issue for nationalism. For example, on a pragmatic level, the best choice of language for a newly independent colony is usually the old colonial language, though this is not the case if a nationality has just acquired its own independent territory.[57] In the case of Brazil, I would argue that both nationism and nationalism were at play, as Portuguese was the old colonial language that informed the Brazilian national identity. Language is a key communication tool, used to reinforce anti-colonialism and independence movements.[58] However, in Brazil, the Portuguese language was absorbed as a colonial heritage and cultural patrimony.[59]

Identity is thus the second key concept of this dissertation. This term has been criticised for being too broad, vague, and insufficient to explain the diversity it encompasses.[60] With this in mind, I will briefly examine the controversy surrounding identity, before justifying why I have chosen to retain it as a term still relevant in scholarship. In

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[52] Elana Goldberg Shohamy, *Language Policy: hidden agendas and new approaches.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2006, p. xv; Miguel Martínez, "Language, nation and empire in early modern Iberia," in *A Political History of Spanish*, ed. José Del Valle. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 55.

[53] Ralph W. Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society.* vol. 1. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987, p. 2.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid., p. 3.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., p. 4.

[58] Francisco Bethencourt, "Colonização e Pós-Colonialismo: as teias do património," in *Patrimónios de Influência Portuguesa: modos de olhar*, ed. Walter Rossa and Margarida Calafate Ribeiro. Coimbra: Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2015, p. 142.

[59] Ibid., p. 139.

[60] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity",' *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): pp. 2-6.

psychology, identity is formed during childhood out of a combination of the corporeal self, parental images, and cultural connotations; it exists at the juncture of the ego, morality, and cultural identity.[61] Sociology traditionally sees it as socially constructed, a facet of social recognition whereby one becomes what society determines one to become.[62] In Brazil, as in other parts of the Iberian colonial world and in contrast with Europe, ethnicity and miscegenation were major aspects defining who someone was or was seen by others.[63] However, wealth, instruction, and social connections occasionally opened up further possibilities of social change in spite of skin colour.[64] In other words, social rank could be more relevant than ethnicity.[65] Highlighting that other criteria provided an alternative for ethnicity does not mean that prejudice against the colour-bar did not exist. On the contrary, mixed-race and black people, even when they managed to climb the social ladder, constantly had to prove their merits and did so because they were considered to be closer to the 'whites', as the white elites promoted the mestizos.[66]

Social scientists suggest terms other than identity such as identification, self-understanding, commonality, connectedness and groupness.[67] According to Brubaker and Cooper, *groupness* is the sense of belonging to a distinctive group; *commonality* is the sharing of some common attribute (which can be, for example, language); and

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[61] Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*. Rev. ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin: Hogarth Press, 1965, pp. 227-273.

[62] Peter. L. Berger, *Invitation to Sociology: a humanistic pespective*. 1973, pp. 117-118; Stuart B. Schwartz, 'Colonial Identities and the 'sociedad de castas',' *Colonial Latin American Review* 4, no. 1 (1995): p. 186.

[63] C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, pp. 120-121; Gabriela Ramos, 'El rastro de la discriminación. Litigios y probanzas de caciques en el Perú colonial temprano,' *Fronteras de la Historia* 21, no. 1 (2016): pp. 66; 69; 81; Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, 'A Mestizo and Tropical Country: The Creation of the Official Image of Independent Brazil,' *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (ERLACS)*, no. 80 (2006): p. 40.

[64] Boxer. p. 117; Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties (Sobrados e Mucambos): the making of modern Brazil*. p. 412; Ramos, "El rastro de la discriminación. Litigios y probanzas de caciques en el Perú colonial temprano," pp. 81-82; Maria Fernanda Bicalho, "Elites coloniais: a nobreza da terra e o governo das conquistas. história e historiografia," in *Optima Pars: elites ibero-americanas do Antigo Regime*, ed. Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, Pedro Cardim, and Mafalda Soares da Cunha. Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2005, p. 74.

[65] Schwartz, "Colonial Identities and the 'sociedad de castas'," p. 192.

[66] Verônica Toste Daflon, "Mestiçagem," in *Dicionário crítico das ciências sociais dos países de fala oficial portuguesa*, ed. Livio Sansone and Cláudio Alves Furtado. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2014, p. 318.

[67] Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond "Identity"," pp. 14-21; Megan Vaughan, "Culture," in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. Ulinka Rublack. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 243-244.

connectedness is the set of relational ties that bind people.[68] *Identification* counters the reifying connotations of identity and places the identifying agents in the foreground.[69] It looks at how one identifies oneself and is identified by others, which varies from context to context.[70] Brubaker and Cooper claim that the state was one of the most important agents of identification since it had "the power to name, to identify, to categorise, to state what is what and who is who".[71] The interplay between power and identity throughout this dissertation needs to be set in the context of early modern period, when the Church was part of the state. Therefore, not only the state, but also the Church had the power to identify and categorise. In this sense, both the state and the Church were powerful identifiers, not because they created identities, but because they controlled the material and symbolic resources with which bureaucrats, teachers, clergymen, and other state agents worked, and to which non-state agents also needed to refer.[72] Brubaker and Cooper suggest working with authoritative and institutionalised modes of identification in conjunction with those of everyday life, as this reveals the existence of struggles over identification, and the outcomes of these struggles.[73] This dissertation will work with identity in this latter sense suggested by Brubaker and Cooper.

Having examined the connection between identity and power, I will now discuss the third concept used in this dissertation: power. As Christopher Clark observes, power is paradoxically the most ubiquitous and elusive concept in historical writing, as it features in most historical narratives, but is rarely interrogated or analysed.[74] Historians have generally taken an interest in two aspects of power: firstly, power as a spectacle with social locations; secondly, power 'from the bottom up' (1960s, 1970s), which placed 'anonymous' individuals at the centre of events.[75] In both views, power is not an entity that exists regardless of people; on the contrary, it only exists within the relationships in

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[68] Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond "Identity"," p. 20.

[69] Ibid., p. 14.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid., p. 15.

[72] Ibid., p. 16.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Christopher Clark, "Power," in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. Ulinka Rublack. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 131.

[75] Ibid., p. 153.

which it is exercised, be these organisations or individuals.[76] Power can be imposed with threats, violence, or force, and yet it also relies on persuasion, reward, and protection in order to exist.[77] The latter three pertain to the notion of 'soft power', founded on the appearance of legitimacy.[78]

With this in mind, this dissertation will work primarily with a Foucauldian framework of power, borrowing from its ramifications in colonial history and the social sciences.[79] All of these, applied to different subjects, work with the idea of power at its extremities, at a local level, in the practices and customs through which distant powers become more tangible.[80] As Swartz, Turner, and Tuden note, power can be supported directly or indirectly. [81] Direct support is unmediated and can be the result of identification, either psychological, or in the sense of a shared identity. Indirect support is mediated, often through symbols, rites, and beliefs. Using this framework, I will consider the extent to which the activity of teaching languages (Portuguese, Amerindian or African languages) was a technique of domination, both symbolic and coercive.

Having summarised the key concepts of this research, I can now ask: what is the difference between a language and a dialect? Languages are a matter of power, instruments in the hands of the powerful to mystify, control, and communicate –

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[76] Ibid., p. 131.

[77] Ibid; Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: discipline and reasons of power in Christianity and Islam.* Baltimore; London: The Johs Hopkins University Press, 1993, p. 125; Bryan S. Turner, *The Religious and the Political: a comparative sociology of religion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 14-15.

[78] Clark, p. 135.

[79] Michel Foucault and Colin Gordon, *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977.* Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979; Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: an archaeology of the human sciences.* London: Tavistock, 1970; Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's history of sexuality and the colonial order of things* Durham: Duke University Press, 1995; Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.

[80] Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Modernity and its Malcontents: ritual and power in postcolonial Africa.* Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1993, p. xxii; Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: the dialetics of Modernity on a South African Frontier.* Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1997, p. 17; Foucault and Gordon.

[81] Marc J. Swartz, Victor W. Turner, and Arthur Tuden, *Political Anthropology.* Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1966, pp. 23-25.

dominant groups or the state define the line between languages and dialects.[82] The issue of language is a battleground where cultural power is at stake.[83] According to this theory, and in contrast to dialects, languages benefit from the institutional conditions necessary for their standardisation and imposition, known and recognised throughout the entire jurisdiction of a certain political authority that is the source of its dominance.[84] For this reason, the term *dialect* often carries negative connotations, as it is frequently used in the context of prejudice. For this reason, I will avoid using the term *dialect* in this dissertation, generally preferring the term language, regardless of the number of speakers.

As this is a dissertation on colonial Brazil, I believe it is also important to define the meaning of the term colonisation, since it is crucial to understand the diffusion of language in its relationship with identity and power. The Latin terms *colonus* (coloniser) and *colonia* (colony) date back to the fourteenth century.[85] The European colonisation was judicially and politically based on two classic colonisation models: the Greek and the Roman.[86] The Greek model constituted of autonomous unities, associated or not to the mother-city.[87] The Roman model constituted of territories relatively integrated among them, with selective attribution of citizenship to the dominated populations.[88] According to F. Bethencourt, the Portuguese case is closer to the Roman model than to the Greek – except the Atlantic Islands – as it usually integrated the native populations in a subordinated way.[89] Portuguese colonisation was flexible, but it also imposed structural constraints: colonial urban settlements mirrored this characteristic and mediated relationships between colonisers and local populations.[90] Brazilian colonial cities were less segregated and more opened to native peoples and Africans than their

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[82] Steinberg, p. 199; Peter Burke and Roy Porter, *The Social History of Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 2.

[83] Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. p. 232.

[84] Bourdieu and Thompson. pp. 44-45.

[85] Henriques, pp. 46-47; Bethencourt, pp. 123-124.

[86] Bethencourt, p. 129.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid., pp. 129-130.

[89] Ibid., p. 130.

[90] Ibid., p. 132.

Spanish American and Asian counterparts (although controlled by white elites).[91] The foundation of colonial cities in Brazil started from zero, while in Asia the Portuguese found complex urban structures.[92] In Africa, the situation varied, but urban configurations usually led to the predominance of Africans – Angola being an exception where a multi-ethnic environment continues to date.[93] For the purposes of this dissertation, it is crucial to keep in mind that in these 'urban pockets', the use of Portuguese language and education reflected, allowed integration, or imposed segregation and discrimination.

What about colonialism? The term colonialism emerged in the nineteenth century and is usually associated to imperialism.[94] Colonialism uses the colonial difference to legitimatize the subjugation of knowledge and people.[95] Different linguistic interests were thus at stake under colonialism.[96] Jean and John Comaroff have observed the ubiquity of the term, and present seven definitions for it.[97] Two definitions contribute to our understanding of colonialism in Brazil in the nineteenth century as they relate to identity and power. Firstly, that "colonialism was as much involved in making the metropole and the identities and ideologies of colonisers, as it was in (re) making peripheries and colonial subjects."[98] Secondly, that "colonialism was founded on a series of discontinuities and contradictions. *[…]* They *[the colonisers]* espoused and enlightened legal system but invented and enforced "customary law"; offered that their civilising mission would convert "natives" into sovereign citizens of empire, autonomous individuals on and all, but abetted their becoming ethnic subjects in a racially divided world."[99]

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[91] Ibid., pp. 132-135.

[92] Ibid., pp. 134-135.

[93] Ibid., p. 134.

[94] Ibid., pp. 126; 132; Henriques, pp. 46-47.

[95] Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. p. 16.

[96] Judith T. Irvine and Susan Gal, "Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation," in *Regimes of Language: ideologies, polities, and identities*, ed. Paul V. Kroskrity. Santa Fe, NM: Oxford: Oxford: Currey, 2000, p. 72.

[97] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: the dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. pp. 19-27.

[98] Ibid., p. 22.

[99] Ibid., p. 27.

To connect Europe with the New World, the concept of *Atlantic history* is an analytic construct that helps historians make such a connection.[100] It allows for the analysis of micro-histories within a broader context, reinserting Africa, Iberia, and the Americas into history and challenging the idea that Atlantic history is restricted to the North Atlantic.[101] Atlantic Studies offers the possibility of transcending national boundaries while examining the cultural changes brought about by the movement of peoples, objects, and ideas across the Atlantic.[102]

I have sought inspiration in the works of David Armitage, Bernard Bailyn, Alisson Games, Jack Greene and Philip Morgan.[103] However I have most closely examined the works of Roquinaldo Ferreira, Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, Francisco Bethencourt, Harald Braun and Lisa Vollendorf who come from an Iberian and Amerindian-Afro-Brazilian perspective.[104] In my view, mobility across the Atlantic illuminates our understanding of political and economic structures, social organisation, and culture in

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[100] Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, "Introduction: the Present State of Atlantic History," in *Atlantic History: a critical appraisal*, ed. Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 3.

[101] Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: concept and contours.* Massachusetts; Lodon: Harvard Universiy Press, 2005, p. 60; Francisco Bethencourt, "The Iberian Atlantic: ties, networks, and boundaries " in *Theorising the Ibero-American Atlantic*, ed. Harald E. Braun and Lisa Vollendorf. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013, pp. 16-20; David Armitage and M. J. Braddick, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800.* Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002, p. 14; Alison Games, 'Atlantic History: definitions, challenges, and opportunities,' *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): p. 754; Paul Cohen, 'Was there an Amerindian Atlantic? Reflections on the limit of a historiographical concept,' *History of European Ideas* 34, no. 4 (2008): pp. 390; 408.

[102] Harald Braun and Lisa Vollendorf, "Introduction: The Atlantic Turn: Rethinking the Ibero-American Atlantic," in *Theorising the Ibero-American Atlantic*, ed. Harald Braun and Lisa Vollendorf. Leinden; Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 7.

[103] Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, *Soundings in Atlantic History: latent structures and intellectual currents, 1500-1830.* Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2009; Armitage and Braddick; Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, *Atlantic History: a critical appraisal.* Reinterpreting history. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009; Games, "Atlantic History: definitions, challenges, and opportunities; Bailyn.

[104] Harald Braun and Lisa Vollendorf, *Theorising the Ibero-American Atlantic.* Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013; Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the era of the slave trade.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012; Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, "Atlantic Microhistories: mobility, personal ties, and slaving in the Black Atlantic World (Angola and Brazil)," in *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic*, ed. Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca, and Dave Treece. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007; Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, 'Brazil in the South Atlantic: 1550-1850,' *Mediations* 23, no. 1 (2007); Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes: formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, séculos XVI e XVII.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000.

Brazil.[105] Bethencourt considers that the Iberian Atlantic existed from the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the alliances between Spain and Portugal definitely turned from each other over France and England, respectively.[106] However, Atlantic connections continued into the nineteenth century and in some cases they occurred independently from Europe, as the link between Brazil and Angola demonstrates. As David Brookshaw observes, the Lusophone Atlantic was a space in which cultures and human beings were transported and transformed through the medium of the Portuguese language, which in turn underwent changes, as it was used by people for whom it was not necessarily their mother tongue.[107] Therefore, one of the most productive ways of assessing language in Brazil is by linking linguistic practices from Europe and Africa to those in Brazil – modified and adapted to the colonial context.

Over the course of this dissertation, I will seek to reconstruct multilingual culture in Brazil, as this is crucial to understanding linguistic change in the country.[108] I will focus on the period between 1695 and 1822, since the eighteenth century represents a turning point in the teaching and systematisation of languages in Portuguese America. Around 1693-1695 the Portuguese discovered gold in Brazil, which caused a shift of power in the colony; the year of 1822 corresponds to the Independence of Brazil. [109] Linguistic evolution continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with waves of Italian and German migration, but the foundation for linguistic variation was established during the colonial period.[110] In Portugal, the Marquis of Pombal, Secretary of State (1750-1777), introduced a series of reforms to the educational system that proved

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[105] Ferreira, "Atlantic Microhistories: mobility, personal ties, and slaving in the Black Atlantic World (Angola and Brazil)," p. 99; Bethencourt, "The Iberian Atlantic: ties, networks, and boundaries " pp. 18; 20.

[106] Bethencourt, "The Iberian Atlantic: ties, networks, and boundaries " pp. 15; 32-33. Also see: Christopher Ebert, 'From Gold to Manioc: Contraband Trade in Brazil during the Golden Age, 1700-1750,' *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, no. 1 (2011): p. 112.

[107] Brookshaw, pp. 40-41.

[108] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", p. 17.

[109] C. R. Boxer, *A Idade de Ouro do Brasil: dores e crescimento de uma sociedade colonial.* São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1963, p. 49; Stuart Schwartz, "The Economy of the Portuguese Empire," in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto. USA: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 35-36.

[110] Lesser. p. 15.

crucial to the development of the Portuguese language in the kingdom and overseas. For instance, the Portuguese administration required teachers to teach Portuguese prior to Latin and to follow a repertoire of recommended grammar books and methods. The Marquis of Pombal certainly contributed towards 'rescu[ing] Portugal from the shadows', but what occurred before and after his reforms is also crucial to understanding language in the Luso-Brazilian world.[111]

There was a considerably high amount of indigenous languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the same period, immigrants spoke variations on Portuguese, which was not yet standardised and was thus open to linguistic changes. Moreover, manuscripts played a key role in written culture, offering textual variety because they could – deliberately or not – be easily altered.[112] In spite of scholarly attempts to standardise Portuguese from the sixteenth century onwards, there was no consensus on spelling or grammar. The Portuguese language was not alone in this case; other European languages such as Spanish and French were also simultaneously in the process of reforming their grammar and spelling.[113] Therefore, when non-standardised varieties of Portuguese interacted with other languages in the colony, it differentiated from the European variety. Migration to Brazil — including the African diaspora — accelerated and intensified the intermingling of languages, particularly after the discovery of gold in the mining district in the late seventeenth century.

This discovery of gold spurred intense immigration to the area, bringing together speakers of African and indigenous languages, in addition to those of Portuguese.[114] Diversity transformed Minas Gerais into an important place to the study of language in colonial Brazil, as Minas became the new focus of administrative attention during the

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[111] Manuela D. Domingos, "Auteurs portugais du XVIIIe siècle en Europe: thèmes et stratégies de diffucion," in *L'édition d'auteurs portugais à l'étranger*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt. Lisboa: Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian; Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, 2004, p. 19.

[112] Fernando J. Alvarez Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro.* 1. ed. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001.

[113] Alberto Medina, José Del Valle, and Henrique Monteagudo, "Introduction to the making of Spanish: Iberian perspectives," in *A Political History of Spanish*, ed. José Del Valle. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 26; Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", pp. 460; 521-522; 527-528.

[114] Lesser. p. 10; Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties (Sobrados e Mucambos): the making of modern Brazil*. p. 220.

eighteenth century, creating demand for more literate individuals to run the recently established bureaucratic apparatus. As it occurred in Peru and Mexico prior to and after the Spanish conquest, urban structures encouraged dynamic ways of doing politics and relied on specialised agents.[115] The most privileged immigrants learnt to read and write in Portuguese before moving to Brazil, taking a certain level of formal linguistic knowledge with them to the colony. The choice of Minas Gerais is, therefore, in a line with broader Atlantic perspective according to which the ocean is not self-contained.[116] It is equally important to analyse not only coastal areas, but also the internal histories of the areas that the Atlantic connected.[117] As Russell-Wood puts it, "to see the Atlantic or any part of it in isolation not only underestimates its importance but also forfeits an opportunity to study the impact of the Atlantic on dry land and even in landlocked regions in Europe, Africa, and the Americas."[118]

Compared with other areas in the colony, Minas Gerais had a more malleable social structure that allowed individuals from lower groups to achieve prominent positions in society. Education could provide the means with which to thrive, but it was an investment available to very few: both in Portugal and in Brazil, schools were usually far away, access conditions were poor, and time spent studying entailed less time available to work in the family business. Despite these constraints, immigrants and settlers invested in education because they knew that having at least a basic knowledge of Portuguese would increase their chances of success in the New World. And so the Portuguese language emerged as a significant influence over identity and power in Brazil during the colonial period. More than just the imposed language of the empire, Portuguese was a symbol of power.

Language shift occurs when a community stops speaking a language completely in favour of another language as opposed to language maintenance, when communities keep using the language (s) they had been traditionally using. [119] In Peru, the shift to

[115] Ramos, "Indigenous Intellectuals in Andean Colonial Cities," p. 22.
[116] Greene and Morgan, "Introduction: the Present State of Atlantic History," pp. 2; 5-7.
[117] Ibid.
[118] A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "The Portuguese Atlantic, 1415-1808," in *Atlantic History: a critical appraisal*, ed. Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 104.
[119] Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. p. 212.

Spanish occurred because many indigenous immigrants remained isolated once in Lima where they worked for the Spanish.[120] Also, the colonial administration encouraged the use of Spanish in daily life.[121] The endurance of Portuguese in Brazil – including its local variations – as a dominant language is related to the possibilities of integration into the colonial system that were associated with linguistic expertise. For example, the ability to switch from general languages to Portuguese or from African dialects to Portuguese was useful not only to the elite, but also to other social groups.

As mentioned earlier, this dissertation will explore the shaping of language in Brazil from a primarily historical perspective, looking at different levels of standardisation and uses of language. Scholars and administrative authorities, due to the nature of their work, tended to dictate how people should write in Portuguese and what they should read. It is the aim of this dissertation to examine the power relations between the cultural agents involved with language by looking at the ways in which authorities and scholars attempted to standardise Portuguese, from teaching to usage. The official discourse of law, grammar, and dictionaries looked to daily practices to establish a general pattern that became a guide. Thus we see that while the standard came about as a result of usage, it also changed it at the same time.

The sources historians work are themselves artefacts of power. In other words, the 'vestiges' available to historians are often products of "once-powerful bureaucrats".[122] With this in mind, this dissertation will cross-examine multiple sources, in order to enrich the quality of historiographical work and lend weight to its arguments. The sources that have been consulted in order to provide the evidence for this work are the product of various cultural agents from diverse backgrounds and occupations. These include missionaries, painters, petty officials, teachers, yeomen and traders. Probate inventories and wills reveal both the practices of everyday life and forms of identification that shed light on the material culture and socio-economic background of literate people and those who depended on them. Censorship reports expose not only the power disputes between censors over standardisation, but also those between censors,

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[120] Ramos, "Language and Society in Early Colonial Peru," p. 28.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Clark, p. 133; Carlo Ginzburg and Anna Davin, 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method,' *History Workshop*, no. 9 (1980): pp. 12; 16; 27.

authors, and printers. Due to the nature of their production (summoning witnesses from varied social backgrounds and complete research of the applicants' past), Holy Office and Order of Christ records allow historians to access the stories of both the elite and lower social groups. Books and newspapers provide a glimpse into the exchange of ideas and cultures across the Atlantic. Travelogues and paintings offer an additional point of view, and provide evidence of the work of mediators.[123] Visual culture is useful to study language in the modern world, particularly in colonial Brazil, where oral and written forms were interwoven and depicted in less conventional forms. The notion of language as a mechanism of power, and the role of the Portuguese language in the formation of a Luso-Brazilian identity, is the central tenet that pulls these sources together.

The first chapter will deal with linguistic diversity, evangelisation and power in colonial Brazil between 1500 and 1700. Multilingualism was common in Europe, but in the New World colonisers usually saw different languages as a sign of barbarism, blasphemy, and demonism.[124] Building on the power relations in Amerindian evangelisation and their effects on linguistic use and change within the African diaspora, it will seek to understand the way in which the linguistic landscape in Brazil evolved from multilingualism – with extensive use of general languages – to the predominance of Portuguese.[125] In order to do so, it will investigate the work of missionaries, particularly that of the Jesuits. The following chapter will assess the role of education and censorship in shaping the Portuguese language; the relationship between literacy and the powers involved in the standardisation of Portuguese will form the centre of its argument. This chapter will also examine the role that education and censorship played in the consolidation of Portuguese both in Portugal and in Brazil, focusing on the symbolism of literacy and writing. In order to critique the power relations involved in language standardisation and use, this chapter will provide an analysis of censorship reports of books. In addition to this, it will give an overview of education in Portugal and Brazil in

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[123] Peter Burke, 'Cultural History as Polyphonic History,' *Arbor* 186, no. 743 (2010): p. 481; Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," pp. 121-122.

[124] Paul Firbas, "Language, religion and unification in early colonial Peru," in *A Political History of Spanish*, ed. José Del Valle. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 143.

[125] 'Societal multilingualism' refers to a society where two or more languages are spoken and are socially important to groups of people. See: Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. pp. 1-33.

the first half of the eighteenth century in relation to literacy in the colony and its Atlantic relations.

The third chapter of this dissertation will analyse the implications of the educational reforms, focusing on the role of teachers and students to pinpoint the formation of literate circles in the gold mining district. Building on the idea of discipline, control, and the symbolic power of language, this chapter will look at the 'micro-politics of language'. Finally, the last chapter will reflect on how the process of historicising schools, teachers, students and their bodies contributes to our understanding of language, identity, and power in Brazil. It will follow on to examine the production, dissemination, and reception of educational discourses and methods in Brazil, maintaining an Atlantic perspective and a framework based on cultural history. Against this background, I will work with the idea of cultural mobility, according to which we look at movements of people and cultural products through time and space – geographically and imaginatively.[126]

Taken together, these four chapters aim to contribute to our understanding of the ways in which ordinary people and authority figures interacted with one another, shaping Portuguese even before it was considered the national language – a condition that has masked historical changes in the Portuguese spoken today.

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[126] Stephen Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: an introduction," in *Cultural Mobility: a manifesto*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Chapter 1: Linguistic diversity, evangelisation, and power in colonial Brazil

Linguistic diversity in Brazil is a challenge and this chapter aims to provide a historical background to the thesis without exhausting the subject. In doing so, it will discuss the Brazilian multilingual landscape focusing on the role of the state and of the Church in the colonial project through their language policies. Brazil presents an interesting case for the study of language contact for a number of reasons. Portuguese speakers were in the minority, not only in Brazil, but also in South America, where most colonies were under Spanish rule.[1] This is even more surprising given that between 1580 and 1640, Portugal united with Spain in a dual monarchy.[2] Around 100,000 people emigrated from Iberia to Spanish America in the sixteenth century, most of them virtually bilingual in Spanish and Portuguese.[3] According to Magalhães Godinho, 2800,000 individuals left Portugal between 1500 and 1580.[4] In the 1540s, Brazil had less than one-twentieth of Spanish America's population and those who lived in border areas were probably more familiar with Spanish or other native languages than Portuguese.[5] However, these languages did not spread much further (other examples of multilingualism in border areas are French-speakers in north-eastern Unites States and German-speakers in Alsace-Lorraine, France).[6] Why did Portuguese prevail and become the major language in Brazil? I argue that speaking Portuguese was a marker of group identity inside

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[1] A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808.* Manchester: Carcanet; Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1992, p. 63.

[2] This period is known as Iberian Union. See: João Luís Lisboa, "L'Europe des livres (auteurs portugais aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles)," in *L'édition d'auteurs portugais à l'étranger*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt. Lisboa: Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian; Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, 2004, p. 9; P. J. Bakewell, *A History of Latin America: c.1450 to the present.* Oxford: Blackwell, 2004, p. 336; Herbert S. Klein and Ben Vinson III, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean.* New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 49; Pedro Cardim, "O Processo Político (1621-1807)," in *História de Portugal: o antigo Regime*, ed. Antonio Manuel Hespanha. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1994.

[3] Bethencourt, "The Iberian Atlantic: ties, networks, and boundaries " pp. 20-21; 23; Paul Teyssier, *La langue de Gil Vicente.* Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1959, pp. 293-294; Kathryn A. Woolard and E. Nicholas Genovese, 'Strategic Bivalency in Latin and Spanish in Early Modern Spain,' *Language in Society* 36, no. 4 (2007): p. 490.

[4] Vitorino de Magalhães Godinho, "Portuguese Emigration from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth Century: constants and changes," in *European Expansion and Migration: essays on the International Migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe*, ed. P. C. Emmer and M Mörne. New York; Oxford: Berg, 1992, p. 18.

[5] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: a political and economic history.* London: Longman, 1993, p. 114.

[6] Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. p. 12.

pockets of colonisation that integrated settlers, Amerindians and Africans, becoming an act of social recognition.[7]

The fact that Brazil is home to most of the Portuguese-speakers in the world reveals the longevity of Atlantic exchanges and deserves further investigation.[8] Maritime history is useful in analysing local histories within the broader context that reinserts Africa, Iberia, and the Americas in history, within a context that Atlantic history was restricted to the North Atlantic.[9] On the contrary, the Iberian Atlantic existed before the British Atlantic.[10] Historians have divergent views on the temporal boundaries of the Iberian Atlantic: some think it existed from the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century (when the alliances between Spain and Portugal turned towards France and England, respectively), while others contend that Atlantic connections continued into the nineteenth century, sometimes independently from Europe (as the link between Brazil and Angola demonstrates).[11] Hence, looking at individual mobility across the ocean is vital to understand not only economy, but also political structures, social organisation, and culture in Brazil.[12] Therefore, I argue that connecting language practices in Portugal with those in Brazil – modified and adapted to the colonial context (highlighting the pivotal role of Amerindians and Africans) – is one of the most effective ways of assessing language in Brazil.

Building on the power relations in Amerindian evangelisation and its effects on linguistic use and change within the African diaspora, I will ask how the linguistic landscape in Brazil evolved from societal multilingualism, to an extensive use of

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[7] Edwards. pp. 3; 22; Berger. 117.

[8] Armitage and Braddick. p. 13; Bakewell. p. 322.

[9] Bailyn. p. 60; Bethencourt, "The Iberian Atlantic: ties, networks, and boundaries " pp. 16-20; 29-30; Armitage and Braddick. p. 14; Games, "Atlantic History: definitions, challenges, and opportunities," p. 754; Cohen, "Was there an Amerindian Atlantic? Reflections on the limit of a historiographical concept," pp. 390; 408.

[10] Bethencourt, "The Iberian Atlantic: ties, networks, and boundaries " p. 18.

[11] Ibid., pp. 15; 32-33; Ferreira, "Atlantic Microhistories: mobility, personal ties, and slaving in the Black Atlantic World (Angola and Brazil)," pp. 99-100.

[12] Ferreira, "Atlantic Microhistories: mobility, personal ties, and slaving in the Black Atlantic World (Angola and Brazil)," p. 99; Bethencourt, "The Iberian Atlantic: ties, networks, and boundaries " pp. 18; 20.

general languages that led to the predominance of Portuguese.[13] In other words, what made certain groups choose Portuguese over other languages in different situations and over long term?[14] The *línguas gerais* (general languages) were not the *linguas francas* that the Amerindians used before the arrival of the Europeans, but a product of the missionaries' activities, a construction based on common features between various Amerindian languages.[15] The concept of general languages was established in parallel with a negative discourse of multilingualism – an obstacle to evangelisation and colonisation.[16] In this sense, the *línguas gerais* were part of the colonial apparatus, used to evangelise and civilise the native populations.[17]

I hypothesise that, as colonisation progressed, not only did Portuguese become economically and politically more advantageous, but the population unconsciously internalised it as the best linguistic choice. To this end, I will argue that Portuguese overcame other languages for two main reasons. Firstly and most notoriously, it was the language of power. Power is understood here from a sociological/anthropological perspective where it is implicated in culture – its signs and habits are internalised in everyday life and used as mechanisms of power.[18] In this sense, power/language should be studied at its extremities, in regional and local forms, at a subjective, unconscious level.[19] As M. Foucault puts it, "we need to see how these mechanisms of power at a given moment, in a precise conjecture and by means of transformation, have begun to become economically advantageous and politically useful".[20] I make a claim that the different uses of general languages and Portuguese worked as mechanisms of power; the

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[13] In Minas Gerais, this change happened relatively fast. See: Roland Schimidt-Riese, "Reconsidertando a questão do substrato: tupinambá e português brasileiro," in *O Português Brasileiro: pesquisas e projetos*, ed. Sybille Grosse and Klaus Zimmermann. Frankfurt am Main: TFM, 2000, p. 392.

[14] Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. p. 180.

[15] Otto Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil, 1550-1800.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 2011, p. 145.

[16] Cândida Barros, '"Em razão das conquistas, religião, commercio": notas sobre o cocneito de língua geral na colonização portuguesa da Amazônia nos séculos vii-xviii,' *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 45, no. 1 (2015).

[17] Juan Carlos Estenssoro and César Itier, 'Présentation,' *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 45, no. 1 (2015).

[18] Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa.* Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp. 17; 22.

[19] Foucault and Gordon. pp. 96-97.

[20] Ibid., pp. 100-101.

Portuguese colonisation of Brazil was the moment; and the transformation of European vernaculars was the conjecture that shaped the linguistic landscape in Brazil.

A second, less cited reason for the spread of Portuguese in Brazil is connected to the notion of power, however symbolic. The Portuguese colonisers created an illusion of cultural hegemony and greater numbers over the Amerindians and Africans that encouraged these peoples to adopt Portuguese instead of retaining their mother tongues (although they kept a degree of linguistic autonomy).[21] This 'Lusitanian atmosphere' rarely occurred in the Portuguese colonies in Asia – for example, in Goa, Malaysia, and China where the societies were extremely complex and Portuguese was segregated.[22] The Portuguese in these areas were separated in other environments and did not build a colonial society from scratch as they did in Brazil.[23] As a consequence, the Portuguese hegemony in colonial Brazil – understood as the few urban settlements and the hinterlands surrounding them – allowed no substantial pidgins or creoles to survive in Brazil – a contrast to Malacca and Asia where Portuguese creoles continued into the twentieth century.[24]

I will start this chapter by contextualising language contact in Brazil within the age of exploration, examining a number of environmental factors that shaped the Brazilian multilingual landscape such as migration. Some scholars argue that certain characteristics of Brazilian Portuguese had existed before Portuguese America. Nevertheless, such pre-existing conditions do not change the fact that Amerindian and

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[21] Based on Russell-Wood's and V. L. Rafael's reflections in: Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808*; Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*. Duke University Press, 2012.

[22] Subrahmanyam. p. 225.

[23] Bethencourt, "Colonização e Pós-Colonialismo: as teias do património," p. 134.

[24] Salikoko S. Mufwene, "Latin America: a linguistic curiosity from the point of view of colonization and the ensuing language contacts," in *Iberian Imperialism and Language Evolution in Latin America*, ed. Salikoko S. Mufwene. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014, p. 4; Emilio Bonvini, "Línguas Africanas e o Português falado no Brasil," in *África no Brasil: a formação da Língua Portuguesa*, ed. José Luiz Fiorin and Margarida Maria Taddoni Petter. São Paulo: Contexto, 2008, pp. 20-21; Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa*. p. 22; Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Language*. p. 219; Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. p. 225; C. R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: a succinct survey*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1963, p. 57.

African languages also contributed to the construction of the variant spoken in Brazil.[25] Following on from this, I will look at the relationship between language, evangelisation, and colonisation, assessing the key role of intermediaries. Finally, this chapter will acknowledge the Amerindian and African languages in Brazil and the process through which these languages were codified into grammar books and dictionaries – that is, placed under European control. Language in Brazil as a whole will be examined, often focusing on the gold mining district of Minas Gerais for its economic importance (as it started a new phase of colonisation in Brazil), strategic geographic position, and urban profile that engendered dynamic forms of socio-political organisation.[26] In doing so, I hope to highlight the fundamental importance of power relations within language usage for the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil.

The age of exploration and language contact

Challenging the view that the Amerindians only existed once 'discovered' by the Europeans, a profound clash of cultures marked the European arrival in the Americas, changing global dynamics of power in an unprecedented way and affecting both colonies and metropoles irreversibly.[27] As T. Todorov argues, "the discovery of America, or of the Americans, is certainly the most astonishing encounter of our history".[28] The collision of two worlds produced a multi-layered reality marked by the blending of lifestyles, social structures, languages and behaviours.[29] The Americans alone had around two thousand different languages.[30] Adrien Balbi divides the languages in the New World in eleven groups, each one with its subdivisions.[31] This challenged all previous knowledge and experience of both conquerors and conquered.[32]

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[25] Barbosa, p. 188.

[26] Bakewell. pp. 347; 362; Gumperz, p. 45.

[27] Anthony Pagden, 'Foreword'. In: Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: the question of the other.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999, pp. xii-xiii; Cohen, "Was there an Amerindian Atlantic? Reflections on the limit of a historiographical concept," p. 396; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: power and the production of history.* Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1995, p. 114.

[28] Todorov. p. 4.

[29] Bailyn. p. 43; Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished: the Spanish conquest of Peru through Indian eyes, 1530-1570.* Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977, pp. 2; 13-14; Darcy Ribeiro, *The Brazilian people: the formation and meaning of Brazil.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, p. 20.

[30] Games, "Atlantic History: definitions, challenges, and opportunities," p. 742.

[31] 1. Région Australe de L'Amérique Méridionale; 2. Région Péruvienne; 3. Région Guarani-Brésilienne; 4. Région Orénoco-Amazone, ou Andes-Paime; 5. Région de Guatemala; 6. Plateau d'Anahuac ou du

Colonisation struck native populations with acculturation, violence, and lethal disease but they were not always victims.[33] They played a crucial role in maritime expansion, as Europeans were largely dependent on indigenous peoples, particularly in the initial stages of colonisation when they provided labour and local knowledge on natural resources.[34] Europeans were not immune to the influence of the populations they subdued, for they also had to confront unfamiliar behaviours and continuously adapt to different experiences each time they arrived in a place.[35] When Europeans conquered America, Europe was undergoing a series of political and philosophical transformations (expulsion of Muslins, maturation of the Absolute State, Renaissance), meaning that 'the making of Europe' coincided with 'the invention of the Americas' and that metropoles had to face the challenge of extending their authority overseas.[36] As Jean and John Comaroff note, colonisers were confronted with two different worlds and sought to impose their perspective on a shared environment.[37] One way of doing this was to exert control over words and the standardisation of vernaculars.[38]

Mexique; Région du Plateau Central de l'Amérique du Nord et des Pays limitrophes a l'Est et a l'Ouest; 8. Région Missouri-Colombienne; 9. Région Alleghanique et des Lacs; 10. Région de la Côte occidentale de l'Amérique du Nord; 11. Région Boréale de l'Amérique du Nord. In: Adrien Balbi, *Introduction a l'Atlas ethnographique du globe: contenant un discours sur l'utilité et l'importance de l'étude des langues.* Paris: Rey et Gravier, 1826, pp. 278-321.

[32] Firbas, p. 135.

[33] Denny Moore, "Historical Development of Nheengatu (Língua Geral Amazônica)," in *Iberian Imperialism and Language Evolution in Latin America*, ed. Salikoko S. Mufwene. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2014, p. 119; A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807.* vol. 2. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 250; John Frederick Schwaller, *The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: from conquest to revolution and beyond.* New York: New York University Press, 2011, p. 43; Wachtel. p. 23; Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, "Introdução a uma história indígena," in *História dos Índios no Brazil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992, pp. 11-14; Carlos Fausto, *Os índios antes do Brasil.* Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 2000, p. 383.

[34] Cohen, "Was there an Amerindian Atlantic? Reflections on the limit of a historiographical concept," pp. 397-398; Ribeiro. 221; Warren Dean, *With broadax and firebrand: the destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest.* Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 1995, p. 30. The Amerindians in Brazil were less easy to exploit than the ones in Spanish America, as the former were not used to systematic labour as the latter. See: Klein and Vinson III. p. 19.

[35] David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic encounters in the age of Columbus.* New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008, p. 9; Bailyn and Denault. p. 4; Moore, p. 111.

[36] Trouillot. pp. 74-75; 113.

[37] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa*. p. 313.

[38] Ibid.

The spread of vernaculars and language contact was a remarkable outcome of maritime expansion. For example, João de Barros, author of one of the first Portuguese grammars, knew Arabic and Persian; Vasco da Gama met Tunisians who spoke a mixture of Spanish and of a Genovese dialect in Calicut; the first Portuguese maritime chart (1501, about the Indian Ocean) presents most of the names in Arabic.[39] As noted by A. J. R. Russell-Wood in his work on the Portuguese expansion overseas, when it comes to language, "what is truly amazing is the manner in which the Portuguese language was carried beyond the bounds of the confined area of Portugal to the uttermost ends of the earth and the sheer endurance to our own days of its linguistic legacy".[40] Along the same lines, L. Rebelo argues that Portuguese went from being spoken in a few areas along coastal Africa and the Indian Ocean, to being the primary means of communication in areas touched by intercontinental maritime trade in Asia, Africa, and the Americas in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.[41] In the same vein, J. C. Clements states that "Portugal's linguistic legacy was essentially established around 1550, about 135 years after Portugal began its maritime expansion to Africa, Asia, and the Americas".[42] In Brazil, this was particularly significant when taking into consideration the immense territory of the colony, combined with the numerous Amerindian and African languages, as well as Spanish.

Therefore, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are of paramount importance to understand what happened in the following two centuries in terms of language in Brazil, as doing so challenges the idea that the Portuguese language was homogenous, or the first and only linguistic alternative. As K. Lee observes, Portuguese was not impermeable to change or outside influences and it could have been surpassed by other languages.[43] The fact that Portuguese prevailed does not preclude it from being profoundly intertwined with Amerindian and African languages. On the contrary, such

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[39] Luís Filipe Thomaz, 'De l'autre côte du monde: languages véhiculaires et communication interethinique dans l'océan Indiane à l'époque de la découverte portugaise,' *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 41, no. 1 (2015).

[40] Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808*. p. 191.

[41] Luís de Sousa Rebelo, "Language and Literature in the Portuguese Empire," in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto. USA: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 372.

[42] J. Clancy Clements, *The Linguistic Legacy of Spanish and Portuguese: colonial expansion and language change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 42.

[43] Lee, p. 6.

languages formed a multilingual society, being largely responsible for the differentiation between European and Brazilian Portuguese. How did such differentiation occur? According to Fasold, four historical patterns lead to the existence of societal multilingualism: 1) migration; 2) imperialism; 3) federation; and 4) border area multilingualism.[44] The next section will look at migration to shed light on societal multilingualism in colonial Brazil.

Language, population, and migration

Studying population contact is essential to our understanding of the languages in Brazil, since "it is not language that enters in contact directly, but peoples/populations or parts thereof".[45] In Brazil, the interaction between various groups was a determining factor in the development of Brazilian Portuguese, as migration brought together large numbers of Amerindians, Africans, and Europeans in a way that created unique conditions for linguistic transformation.[46] In this section, I will work with two categories of migration: 1) large groups that expand their territories moving within contiguous areas and controlling smaller groups; and 2) smaller groups moving into a territory already under the control of another sociocultural group.[47] In Portuguese America, both types of migration occurred: the movements of native peoples within the Brazilian territory (type one) and immigration from Portugal (type two). These waves of migration contributed to the construction of the linguistic landscape in Brazil even before the arrival of the Portuguese and Africans. The African diaspora had its own peculiarities that cannot be placed in either category as it consisted of forced migration of large groups moving to a not contiguous territory that was already under another group's control (indigenous and Portuguese). Therefore, Africans will appear in both categories, accordingly.

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[44] Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. p. 9.

[45] Couto, p. 79.

[46] Heliana Mello, "African Descendants' Rural Vernacular Portuguese and its Contribution to Understanding the Development of Brazilian Portuguese," in *Iberian Imperialism and language evolution in Latin America*, ed. Salikoko S. Mufwene. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014, p. 168.

[47] Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. p. 9; Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, 'En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: l'invention de la language génerale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle,' *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 45, no. 1 (2015): pp. 78-79.

Long before the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil, members of the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family, which included the Tupinambá and the Tupiniquim, had conquered the coast of Bahia, driving speakers of another linguistic group, the Gê, into the hinterland.[48] There are two theories about Tupi inland migration to the coast.[49] The main theory (Métraux, 1927) is that the Tupi-Guarani migrated from the south to the north, from the Paraná-Paraguay basin.[50] According to this theory, such migration had taken place a few years before the arrival of the Europeans.[51] Another theory (Brochado, 1984) states that the Tupi expansion occurred from the north (Amazon) to the south: the proto-Guarani from Madeira-Guaporé to Paraguay; the proto-Tupinambá from the Amazon River to the west; then north-south.[52] The final occupation of the coast, according to Brochado, occurred between AD 700-900 and AD 1000-1200.[53] The Tupi-Guarani undertook other inland migrations as they searched for a 'Land without Evil' (*Terra sem Males*), a paradise where food was abundant and labouring was not necessary.[54] The *Terra sem Mal* played a key role in the Tupian cosmology and some of the ideas embedded in the Christian paradise revolved around the same plot of a long lifetime, prosperity, and victory.[55] The Land without Evil, therefore, did not exclude war, but potentialized it, a fact from which the Europeans took advantage of.[56] Language moved with the people in such a way that when the Portuguese arrived in Porto Seguro and met the Tupinambá, the Tupi-Guarani process of migration and conquest had already modified the linguistic environment.[57] In addition to migrating,

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[48] John Manuel Monteiro, *Negros da terra: índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000, p. 19; Ribeiro. pp. 9-15.

[49] Fausto. pp. 382; 384.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid; Lee, p. 1.

[52] Fausto. pp. 382; 384.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Lee, p. 2; Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, "De l'Observation à la Conversation: le Savoir sur les Indiens du Brésil dans l'Ouvre d'Yves d'Évreux," in *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs: XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile et al. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011, pp. 270-271; Francisco Bethencourt, "The Power of Utopia," in *Utopia in Portugal, Brazil and Lusophone African Countries*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt, Reconfiguring Identities in the Portuguese-Speaking World. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2015, p. 19; Andrea Daher, "Colonial Utopias: between Indians and Missionaries," in *The Power of Utopia*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2015.

[55] Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, "A inconstância da alma selvagem e outrps ensaios de antropologia." São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2006.

[56] Ibid.

[57] M. Kittiya Lee, "Language and Conquest: Tupi-Guarani Expansion in the European Colonisation of Brazil and Amazonia," in *Iberian Imperialism and Language Evolution in Latin America*, ed. Salikoko S.

the Tupi-Guarani had succeeded in establishing trade alliances and marriages with other Amerindian groups, enabling them to communicate in spite of dialectal differences.[58]

Having explained how the Tupi-Guarani group conquered the coast, I would like to examine how the Tupis arrived at the Amazon basin. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, they fled from the Europeans who introduced diseases and stoked pre-existing conflicts between tribes; migration provided the Tupis with a means to escape from the Portuguese without having to surrender or fight them.[59] Migration increased the numbers of Tupis in the Amazon and elevated the position of the Tupi-Guarani language over the Tapuia (the enemy in coastal language, those who did not speak the *língua geral* and were barbarians)[60]. As result, the Tupi linguistic legacy in the north of Brazil was born. [61] Tupi languages were also found in southern hinterlands. There, not only Amerindians, but also *bandeirantes* – frontiersmen from São Paulo responsible for the capture of Indians and the discovery of gold – introduced a Tupi-based general language to Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, and (Mato Grosso do Sul at the end of the seventeenth century.[62]

How was the Brazilian population distributed during the colonial period and to what extent was this related to language? According to estimates, by the end of the sixteenth century, there were around 25,000 whites in Portuguese America; in the following two centuries, the Portuguese presence grew, reaching 50,000 in the end of the seventeenth

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Mufwene. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014, p. 144; Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759", pp. 1-2; 81; 83; 172.

[58] Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759", p. 74.

[59] Ibid., pp. 83-84; Disney. p. 218; Monteiro. p. 29; Bakewell. p. 40; Wachtel. p. 25; Ribeiro. p. 27; Tamar Herzog, "Struggling over Indians: territorial conflict and alliance making in the heartland of South America (seventeenth to eighteenth centuries)," in *Empire by Treaty: negotiating European expansion, 1600-1900*, ed. Saliha Belmessous. 2015, p. 78.

[60] Barros, ""Em razão das conquistas, religião, commercio": notas sobre o cocneito de língua geral na colonização portuguesa da Amazônia nos séculos vii-xviii," p. 32; Almeida.

[61] Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759", p. 172; Mufwene, p. 6.

[62] Couto, p. 86; Gilvan Müller de Oliveira, "Última Fronteira: história da língua portuguesa no Brasil meridional (1680-1830)," in *O Português Brasileiro: pesquisas e projetos*, ed. Sybille Grosse and Klaus Zimmermann. Frankfurt am Main: TFM, 2000, p. 136; Bakewell. p. 344; Klein and Vinson III. p. 65.

century (increasing 5,000-6,000 a year between 1700 and 1720).[63] The bulk of the population consisted of Amerindians at the beginning of colonisation, followed by Africans and their descendants as the slave trade began to provide the main workforce for the colony in mid-seventeenth century.[64] The Amerindian population dropped from 2.43 million in the sixteenth century to less than 50,000 in the twenty-first century.[65] On the other hand, in the end of the seventeenth century, there were 560,000 Africans in Brazil, reaching a peak of 1.9 million in the end of the nineteenth century.[66] The free coloured population in Brazil grew more rapidly than in most of Spanish America, particularly in the nineteenth century.[67] In 1818, the population of Brazil was 3.8 million, of which 250,000 were Amerindians; the European population numbered 1 million, followed by 2.5 million of African descent.[68] In 1823, Africans and mestizos made up seventy-five per cent of the population, with the remaining twenty-five per cent consisting of Portuguese and other Europeans.[69] The figures indicate that African peoples were in the majority in Brazil. As they were not all necessarily coming from Africa, for some of them, their language was Portuguese.

The Portuguese were virtually outnumbered during most of the colonial period, but this did not prevent their language from prevailing because inside the pockets of the colonial society, they predominated. The Portuguese were displacing people (across the oceans and between and within continents).[70] As a result, they gave the impression of

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[63] It is not explicit in the text whether 'whites' refers to European or Portuguese, but from the context of the book it is possible to infer that they were Portuguese. See: Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808*. p. 61.

[64] Mello, "African Descendants' Rural Vernacular Portuguese and its Contribution to Understanding the Development of Brazilian Portuguese," 173-175; Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808*. p. 63; Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil*. New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 9; 151; John E. Elliott, "Introduction: Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World," in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Nicholas P. Canny and A. R. Pagden. Princeton; Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 7; Bakewell. p. 334.

[65] Mello, "African Descendants' Rural Vernacular Portuguese and its Contribution to Understanding the Development of Brazilian Portuguese," p. 173.

[66] Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808*. pp. 61-62.

[67] Klein and Vinson III. p. 198.

[68] Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808*. pp. 61-62.

[69] Castro, "Redescobrindo as línguas africanas," p. 361.

[70] Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808*. p. 63.

omnipresence and being more numerous than they really were.[71] In producing this hegemonic illusion, they also conveyed the idea that Portuguese was the best linguistic choice. If "hegemony is a habit forming", the Portuguese gradually created an ideology of superiority that became naturalised and, as time passed, ceased being perceived as a creation altogether.[72] Underlying this is the perception of not being on the European periphery but at the forefront of overseas expansion.[73]

Portuguese was a symbol and representation of power that, incorporated in the local culture, brought the distant Portuguese influence closer to the colony.[74] This perception led the Lusophone intellectual elite to act as though Portugal was a centre of culture in which Portuguese played a central role.[75] The mining district became a magnet for immigrants from the end of the seventeenth century onwards: "white immigrants and their descendants probably never constituted a majority in Minas Gerais; but they were certainly a substantial and vociferous minority in the early years."[76] The Portuguese maintained the illusion of a powerful presence, despite the fact that Africans and Afro-descendants outnumbered them until as late as 1805.[77] The demand for African labour was so high in Minas Gerais that in 1750 around sixty per cent of the slaves that arrived in Bahia were taken to the district.[78] This favoured the consolidation of the Portuguese language in Minas.

To summarise this section, inland migrations disseminated languages throughout the colony and, as colonisation progressed and indigenous peoples came into contact with Portuguese and Africans, they became familiar with other languages and a varied linguistic knowledge prevailed wherever they went.[79] In the case of Minas Gerais, migration from other parts of the colony brought together speakers of Amerindian

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa*. pp. 23; 25.

[73] Rebelo, p. 365.

[74] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Modernity and its Malcontents: ritual and power in postcolonial Africa*. p. xxii.

[75] Rebelo, p. 365.

[76] Disney. p. 272.

[77] Klein and Vinson III. p. 66.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759", pp. 85-86.

languages who communicated in Portuguese out of necessity in order to better understand each other.[80] This introduced variations to European Portuguese.[81] On balance, Luso-Brazilians carried Portuguese with them, or at least the variety of Portuguese they spoke.[82] At a more formal and local level, the mestizos and missionaries who worked in the colonial administration also contributed to the spread of Portuguese.[83]

In the following section, I will examine the relationship between evangelisation and colonisation and how both religious and lay agents handled the linguistic issues in colonial Brazil.

Colonisation, evangelisation, language and power

European colonisation, in addition to territorial and cultural discontinuities, demanded articulation between economy, administrative structures, and social rearrangements.[84] I emphasise that colonisation implied the maintenance of power in a broader sense, not only by coercion, but also by creating legitimacy.[85] I am not suggesting that colonisation was not violent and coercive, but that rites and symbols played a key role in indirectly legitimising it.[86] In the legitimising process of colonisation, language was one of the most powerful symbols and contributed to the Portuguese domination in Brazil since it was a key component of culture that the colonial project relied on (whether consciously or not).[87] Although the imperial language was used in colonial government and education, the colonisation in Brazil also relied on general languages with Portuguese only later rising in prominence.[88] The fact that Portuguese was the imperial language, the decline of Amerindian populations, and the subjugation of the

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[80] Mello, "African Descendants' Rural Vernacular Portuguese and its Contribution to Understanding the Development of Brazilian Portuguese," p. 182.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Disney. p. 272. Variety is a way of speaking that a community applies. See: Burke, *The Art of Conversation*. p. 8.

[83] Mufwene, p. 14; Silva Neto. p. 78.

[84] Henriques, p. 49.

[85] Swartz et al. p. 14.

[86] Ibid., p. 25.

[87] Ibid., pp. 5; 25; Edwards. p. 17.

[88] Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. p. 10.

African populations are insufficient to explain this language shift.[89] As G. Ramos observes about the indigenous elite in colonial Peru, "the process by which individuals different individuals *became* part of an indigenous elite, as a consequence of acquiring a specific type of knowledge, has been overlooked."[90] It is thus necessary to look at (intentional or indirect) language policies in colonial Brazil.

The language policy that predominated in the colony at the beginning of colonisation was haphazard: as elsewhere in Europe during the early modern period, there was no coherent language imposition programme.[91] Although there was no clear pro-Amerindian language policy from the Portuguese Crown, from 1686 to 1727 authorities declared the Brasílica – the term preferred by K. Lee to designate the general language most spoken in Brazil – to be the official language of "contact, education, colonization, and catechesis" in the Amazon.[92] On the other hand, the Crown also made intermittent attempts to impose Portuguese (1681, 1701, 1717, 1722, 1727), commanding missionaries to teach Portuguese to the Amerindians.[93] In some areas such as São Paulo and the Amazon, the population spoke Amerindian-based languages until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[94]

In comparison, Spanish language policies towards native tongues were more forceful than those of the Portuguese.[95] From the early stages of colonisation, Spain created more material conditions and infrastructure for institutionalising the teaching and

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[89] Disney. pp. 219; 240; 250-251; Moore, p. 11; Mello, "African Descendants' Rural Vernacular Portuguese and its Contribution to Understanding the Development of Brazilian Portuguese," p. 172; Monteiro. p. 17; Abulafia. p. 4; Mufwene, 4;13;27; Cláudia Roncarati, Jussara Abraçado, and Jürgen B. Heye, *Português brasileiro: contato lingüístico, heterogeneidade e história.* Niterói: 7 Letras; FAPERJ; EdUFF, 2003, p. 352; José Ribamar Bessa Freire, *Rio Babel: a história das línguas na Amazônia.* Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2011, pp. 45-58.

[90] Ramos, "Indigenous Intellectuals in Andean Colonial Cities," p. 31.

[91] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", p. 654.

[92] Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759", pp. 4-5.

[93] Silva Neto. pp. 74-76; Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: the Society of Jesus in Portugal, its empire, and beyond, 1540-1750.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996, p. 477.

[94] Rodrigues, pp. 43-44.

[95] Leonor Lopes Fávero, "A política linguística na América Latina colonial e as línguas gerais," in *VIII Congreso de Linguística General* (Madrid: Antonio Moreno Santova, 2008).

reproduction of general languages in its domains.[96] For example, in sixteenth-century Peru, colonial authorities ordered Quechua to be the main language in indigenous groups to facilitate the teaching of the doctrine; the colonial administration also advised priests to spend longer periods of time in the same parish in order to learn local languages.[97] The fact that the University of Lima offered Standard Colonial Quechua lessons is another sign of the efforts that the Spanish administration made to consolidate general languages.[98] Similarly, in Guatemala, there were classes of Nahuatl for judges, notaries, and other Spaniards.[99] In Brazil, Portuguese authorities only founded the first universities at the beginning of the nineteenth century, without offering any indigenous language subjects until the twentieth century, three centuries after Mexico and Peru.[100]

The adoption of the printing press also explains the difference between language policies in Spanish and Portuguese America. According to S. Auroux, both the printing press and standardisation were part of the same revolution; printing had consequences for the writing and publishing of grammar books, not only because it increased the number of copies in circulation, but also because printing itself demanded standardisation.[101] To organise a vernacular, standardise it and "endow it with a grammar", was to legitimise it as a language.[102] At the same time, a 'translation fever' occurred in Europe as language started to be seen as a human creation and a global means of communication.[103] The printing press was present in Spanish America from the sixteenth century, whereas in Brazil – despite earlier attempts to establish one occurred in 1705 and 1745 – printing only officially started in 1808, when the

[96] Consuelo Alfaro Lagorio, "Elementos de política linguística colonial hispânica: o Terceiro Concílio Limense," in *Línguas Gerais: política linguística na América do Sul no período colonial* ed. José Bessa Freire and Maria Carlota Rosa. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2003, p. 52.

[97] Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: the history of Christian translation in colonial Peru, 1550-1650.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007, p. 109.

[98] Ibid., p. 114.

[99] Laura E. Matthew and Sergio F. Romero, 'Nahuatl and Pipil in Colonial Guatemala: a Central American Counterpoint,' *Ethnohistory* 59, no. 4 (2012): p. 773.

[100] Fávero; Bakewell. p. 371.

[101] Sylvain Auroux, *La révolution technologique de la grammatisation: introduction à l'histoire des sciences du langage.* Liège: Mardaga, 1994, pp. 96-7.

[102] Rafael. p. 24.

[103] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa*. p. 215.

Portuguese royal family relocated to the colony.[104] Although the importance of the printing press cannot be overrated, the high numbers of Amerindian grammar books published in Spanish America contributed to the greater consolidation of native tongues in their colonies compared to Brazil.[105]

Given the Crown's haphazard language policies, missionary work was crucial for their organisation in Brazil. In both Portuguese and Spanish empires, the Crown was in charge of ecclesiastical affairs, a prerogative known as *padroado régio* (royal patronage).[106] The kings were responsible for nominating bishops and creating bishoprics, later subject to papal confirmation.[107] The Crowns also controlled the missions overseas and the missionaries, as even if they were not Portuguese, they had to abide by Portuguese rules.[108] The Society of Jesus was founded in 1540 and, contrary to the mendicant orders such as the Benedictines and Franciscans (that supported their activities through alms and gifts) the Jesuits could accumulate wealth.[109] They played a pivotal role in evangelisation and in the education of the elites, as in spite of the presence of Carmelites, Benedictines, and Franciscans, the Society of Jesus was the first to establish a mission in Brazil (1549), becoming the most active religious order in the fields of both evangelisation and education.[110] Such was the case until the second half of

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[104] J. H. Elliott, "Spain and America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 336. Márcia Abreu, "Duzentos anos: os primeiros livros brasileiros," in *Impresso no Brasil: dois séculos de livros brasileiros*, ed. Aníbal Bragança and Márcia Abreu. São Paulo: Editora da Unesp, 2010, p. 41; Rubens Borba de Moraes, *Livros e bibliotecas no Brasil colonial.* São Paulo: Secretaria da Cultura, Ciência e Tecnologia do Estado de São Paulo, 1979, pp. 62-64; Nireu Oliveira Cavalcanti, *O Rio de Janeiro setecentista: a vida e a construção da cidade da invasão francesa até a chegada da Corte.* Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2004, p. 145; Aníbal Bragança, "António Isidoro da Fonseca e frei José Mariano da Conceição Veloso: precursores," in *Impresso no Brasil: dois séculos de livros brasileiros*, ed. Aníbal Bragança and Márcia Abreu. São Paulo: Editora da Unesp, 2010, pp. 25-29; Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," p. 109.

[105] Durston. p. 177.

[106] Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "Ecclesiastical Structures and Religious Action," in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto. USA: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 257.

[107] Ibid; C. R. Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português: 1415-1825.* São Paulo: Editora Schwarcz, 2002, pp. 242-243.

[108] Schwaller. p. 7.

[109] Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation.* London: Routledge, 1999, p. 8; Schwaller. p. 60.

[110] Alden. pp. 75; 466; Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a new view of the Counter-Reformation.* London: Burns and Oates, 1977, p. 74; Moore, p. 112; Disney. pp. 219-221; Thomas Worcester, *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

the eighteenth century (1757), when the *Diretório dos Índios* (The Law of the Directorate) prohibited indigenous children from using general languages and officially institutionalised Portuguese in the colony.[111]

The Society of Jesus controlled a considerably large portion of indigenous labour, grouped in village settlements called *aldeias*.[112] The establishment of *aldeias* constituted a significant part of colonisation, as they were places where the Amerindians learned the doctrine and the necessary skills to supply the colonial project with workforce.[113] Traditionally seen as coercive spaces where the Amerindians were deprived of agency and subject to colonial interests, the *aldeias* were environments where the indigenous peoples survived and constructed new cultures and memories.[114] The Crown supported the *aldeias*, but they were founded and administrated by missionaries.[115] The *aldeias* were constant involved in disputes between settlers and missionaries, as the former were avid to explore the Amerindians as workforce outside the *aldeias*, while the latter were protective of the Amerindians.[116]

The difficulties in defining the borders between Portuguese and Spanish America in the south of Brazil complicated the Jesuits situation from 1750 onwards.[117] As the Jesuits had controlled the *aldeias* in this area outside the Portuguese Crown jurisdiction, they posed a problem for the expansionist purposes of the Crown.[118] This, combined with the fact that the Society of Jesus had achieved a greater power than the Portuguese Crown expected, culminated in the expulsion of the Jesuits (1759).[119] The Marquis of Pombal – Secretary of State from 1750 to 1777 – banned the Jesuits from all Portuguese

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2008, pp. 4; 206; 218; Zwartjes. pp. 143-144; Bakewell. p. 327; Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile: les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil, 1580-1620.* Lisbonne: Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000, p. 10.

[111] Mariani. pp. 103-104; Kenneth Maxwell, *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 96; Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe.* p. 166.

[112] Bethencourt and Curto, p. 4; Alden. p. 73.

[113] Almeida. p. 71; Bethencourt and Curto, p. 4.

[114] Almeida. pp. 71-73.

[115] Ibid., p. 71; Bethencourt and Curto, p. 4.

[116] Cunha, p. 16.

[117] Bethencourt and Curto, p. 6; Almeida. p. 107.

[118] Bethencourt and Curto, p. 6.

[119] Disney. p. 219; Alden. p. 466; C. R. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: growing pains of a colonial society.* Berkeley: 1962, p. 158.

domains. The conflict with the Jesuits did not mean a rupture with the Catholic Church.[120] On the contrary, the separation between the state and religion occurred much later, gradually, and not completely.[121] Initially supported by the Jesuits, Pombal turned them into a universal enemy in order to fulfil his regalist intentions.[122]

The haphazard language policy of the Portuguese Crown allowed Amerindian and African languages to influence the Portuguese spoken in Brazil in spite of its late 'victory'.[123] By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, language contact had already changed Portuguese to such an extent that it gained the attention of intellectuals of the time. Early modern Portuguese sources mention *fala da Guiné* (the chatter of Guinea) or *fala dos negros* (the chatter of the blacks), a pidgin formed in West Africa through contact between African languages and Portuguese.[124] It was usually an object of ridicule in written sources, depicted as 'bastardised' and 'miscellaneous'. With time, the Portuguese spoken by Africans became part of popular culture and was usually regarded as a variant of Portuguese and not a creole.[125]

Playwright Gil Vicente observed different ways of speaking Portuguese in Portugal under Spanish and African influence, considering it a 'half-language' due to the prevalence of grammatical slips and mispronunciation.[126] One of the most important Portuguese intellectuals of his time, the Jesuit António Vieira also noted different forms of the Portuguese language.[127] Since Vieira was an educated man who was familiar with

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[120] Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal.* Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2008, pp. 250-251.

[121] Asad. pp. 28-29.

[122] Monteiro. pp. 97-98; 168-169. Regalism: a sovereign's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters.

[123] Rodrigues, pp. 57-58.

[124] Paul Teyssier, *A Língua de Gil Vicente.* Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional; Casa da Moeda, 2005.

[125] Philip J. Havik, "Kriol without Creoles: rethinking Guinea's Afro-Atlantic Connections," in *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic*, ed. Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca, and Dave Treece. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 45; 48.

[126] Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759", p. 95; Rebelo, pp. 363-364; Teyssier, *La langue de Gil Vicente.* pp. 227; 293.

[127] Vieira was born in Lisbon but he lived in Brazil for most of his life. The missions under his control in the north of Brazil (1659) converted around 200,000 Amerindians. João Lúcio D'Azevedo, *Historia de A. Vieira: com factos e documentos novos.* vol. 1. Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1918, pp. 11; 36;231; Regina Célia Gonçalves and Pereira Jonathan de França, 'Os 'Brasis' e o jesuíta: os povos indígenas nos escritos do padre António Vieira (1652-1651),' *Revista brasileira de História das Religiões*, (2012): pp. 382-384; Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808.* p. 90; Disney. p. 261.

a number of languages, his observation of differences between European Portuguese and its colonial variants is significant. António Vieira made his awareness explicit in the sermon *Xavier Dormindo e Xavier Acordado* (Sleeping Xavier, Awaken Xavier) written in the seventeenth century in which he also employed the term 'half-language' in reference to the Portuguese spoken in different colonies such as Brazil, Angola, Malaysia and Japan.

Vieira elaborated on why these languages were 'half' or 'broken': they were half European, half indigenous; half political, half barbarous; half Portuguese, half the property of the nations which 'chewed' and pronounced them in their own way.[128] The comparison reflects the meaning of the term barbarian, derived from the Greek: to utter unintelligible sounds (to babble).[129] By establishing a dichotomy between being European/political and indigenous/barbaric, the Jesuit (whether consciously or not) placed the Amerindians in an inferior, subordinated position that could lead either to war or truce.[130] Father Vieira shared the same views with contemporaries in other parts of the world, including France and England: subordinate languages and dialects were barbarous and the peoples who spoke them were savages.[131] This comparison mirrors the power dynamics that existed between colonisers and colonised, where the latter were not civilised, their 'half-language' standing as a proof of barbarism.[132] Therefore, if the indigenous peoples were barbarian, they did not have God, law or justice. As barbarians, they were incapable of speaking Portuguese or pronouncing it 'entirely', as the verb 'to chew' might mean either 'to omit certain words or sounds', or 'to speak in a different rhythm and intonation'.

According to Vieira, all Eastern nations, as well as the Angolans and the Amerindians in Brazil, spoke Portuguese but each in their own 'style' including 'barbarisms'

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[128] "Meyas linguas, porque eram meyo Europèias, & meyo Indianas: meyas-linguas, porque eraõ meio politicas, & meyo barbaras: meyas linguas, porque eram meio portuguesas, & meio de todas as outras Naçoẽs que as pronunciavaõ ou mastigavaõ a seu modo". In: António Vieira, "Sermão Primeiro: Anjo," in *Xavier Dormindo e Xavier Acordado*. Lisboa: Oficina de Miguel Deslandes, 1694, p. 165.
[129] Grillo. p. 174.
[130] Herzog, p. 79.
[131] Grillo. p. 174.
[132] Ibid., p. 177.

(mistakes).[133] He claimed that there were two kinds of Portuguese: the 'right' language and the 'inside out'. In his view, the native peoples throughout the Portuguese Empire spoke a distorted version, while those born in Portugal communicated in the correct way.[134] Despite making negative observations about the differences between the Portuguese spoken in various colonies and European Portuguese, António Vieira perceived them all as Portuguese, not as a creole or as a 'chat' (*fala*), highlighting the importance of learning them. In doing so, Vieira addressed another trait associated with the missionary work of the Jesuits: the importance of an effective communication for the success of evangelisation.

The Jesuits early reflected on native languages and did everything on their power to give adequate training to missionaries, which included learning native languages.[135] They had printing presses in Goa, Macao, and Japan to print doctrinal material, in Portuguese or in local languages.[136] Other religious orders had similar strategies, but not on the same scale as the Jesuits.[137] Whether the Portuguese spoken in Brazil was 'right' or 'wrong', it served both lay and clerical powers. Once they had become Christians, the Amerindians would have God, law, and justice, which would facilitate their subjugation and colonisation.[138] The connection between religion and colonisation was the motto of Iberian colonisation. As V. L. Rafael concludes about the Spanish presence in the Philippines, "Catholicism not only provided Spain's colonial enterprise with its ideological frame; it also embedded the structure of colonial rule within the practice of religious conversion".[139]

It was hence fundamental to speak to the colonised population in their languages, imitating their accent and if necessary their mistakes.[140] The Jesuits preferred using

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[133] Vieira, p. 164.

[134] Maria Carlota Rosa, "A língua mais geral do Brasil nos séculos XVI e XVII," in *Línguas gerais: política lingüística e catequese na América do Sul no período colonial*. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2003, p. 139.

[135] Sá, p. 263.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Pero de Magalhães Gandavo, *Tratado da Terra do Brasil: história da província de Santa Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil.* Brasília: Senado Federal, 2008, p. 65.

[139] Rafael. p. 17.

[140] Vieira, p. 164.

general languages, as native peoples had to understand the doctrine in order to legitimise their conversion and the sacraments, particularly baptism, marriage, confession, and the anointing of the sick. One of the most important points in the anointing of the sick was that Indians who were on the verge of dying had to abjure their ancestors' practices under the threat of eternal damnation. In this case, conversion meant more than accepting a new faith: it meant forgetting their ancestors' costumes and rituals once and for all.[141] António Vieira urged the missionaries in Brazil to do as the missionary Francis Xavier did in Japan, where he spoke the 'low language' of 'vile peoples' in order to instruct them.[142] Low language here is not Japanese, as Xavier never spoke it, but probably a general language, that was considered inferior. At the same time, Vieira criticised slave owners in Brazil for making their captives pray in Portuguese without verifying that they understood what they were saying, because as a result the captives repeated the prayers like 'parrots' and remained as pagan as they were from the start.[143] This is evidence that Portuguese was spread and it also lays bare the missionaries' obsession: the converts ought to understand the doctrine.

Adaptation to the native languages was therefore a strategic and useful move. This is interesting because in terms of power relations, if the dominant group expects to remain dominant, it carries on with its language, making little attempt to adapt and assuming that subordinate groups will make the necessary linguistic adjustments.[144] However,

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[141] João Filippe Betendorf, *Compendio da Doutrina Christãa na Lingua Portugueza, e Brasilica* ed. José Mariano da Conceição Velloso. Lisboa: Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1800, pp. 105-106; Luís Vicencio Mamiani, *Catecismo da Doutrina Christãa na Lingua Brasilica da Nação Kiriri.* Lisboa: Officina de Miguel Deslandes, 1698, pp. 156-157; Castelnau-L'Estoile, "De l'Observation à la Conversation: le Savoir sur les Indiens du Brésil dans l'Ouvre d'Yves d'Évreux," p. 288; Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, 'Interações missionárias e matrimônios de índios em zonas de fronteiras (Maranhão, início do século XVII),' *Revista Tempo* 19, no. 35 (2013): p. 82.

[142] "No Japão ha huma lingua baixa, de que só usa a gente vil, & de nenhum modo os nobres; & desta maneira ensinava o Santo a estes, fallando-lhe na língua baixa, ou no baixo da língua: *Sub língua tua*". In: Vieira, p. 164. Saint Francisco Xavier was a Jesuit missionary in Asia during the sixteenth century. He used Portuguese pidgins and composed jingles to spread the Gospel. See: Subrahmanyam. p. 84; Mullett. pp. 96-97.

[143] "Agora pergunto eu: E he este o modo com que no Brasil ensinão aos escravos os seus Senhores, ou os seus Feitores, ou os seus Capelaens, ou os seus filhos? Os menos negligentes fazem quando muyto, que os escravos, & escravas buçaes saibaõ as Orações na lingua Portugueza, nam entendendo mais o que dizĕ, que os Papagayos pardos de Angola, ou verdes do Brasil. E assim vivem, & morrem tam Gentios como dantes eraõ," *[…]*. In: Vieira, p. 169. Also see: Mary C. Karasch, *Slave life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 255.

[144] Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. p. 190.

new situations require new strategies and colonial society required other forms of exercising power – the adoption of local languages was essential for this.

Alonso de Sandoval, a Spanish Jesuit living in Cartagena (Colombia – **MAP 4**) during the seventeenth century, also insisted in his *Treatise on Slavery* (1627) that missionaries ensured that African slaves fully understood the catechism in order to be baptised, otherwise they would remain pagans.[145] Sandoval argued that when the missionaries instructed the captives, they had to consider the nation they came from and how much Spanish they understood.[146] He admitted that some slaves did not want to be baptised even if they comprehended the doctrine but that usually they simply did not understand the missionaries.[147] The Jesuit advised missionaries to ask slaves if they had had water poured on them and to carefully enquire if they had been spoken to in a language they understood.[148] It is evident from Sandoval's observations that language was fundamental for religious instruction and that it was not sufficient to ask future converts to repeat the catechism: they had to understand it. As the colonisation of language was an important step towards the process of symbolic domination of the colony, it was better for missionaries to learn the local languages though they usually relied on intermediaries and interpreters.[149]

Administrative authorities also saw the importance of interpreters for colonisation. Pero Vaz de Caminha suggested a solution that would allow them to establish better communication between the Portuguese and the Amerindians: that of leaving two convicts in Brazil instead of taking a few natives to Portugal because the Indians 'were people that no one understood' and captured Amerindians would probably say yes to whatever they were asked.[150] The practice of sending convicts (*degredados*) to Brazil

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[145] Alonso de Sandoval was a Spaniard and he was sent to Cartagena (1605) to evangelise Africans. See: Alonso de Sandoval, *Treatise on Slavery: selections from De instauranda Aethiopum salute.* trans., Nicole von Germeten. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., 2008, pp. ix-x.

[146] Ibid., p. 110.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid., p. 131.

[149] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa.* pp. 216-218; Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile: les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil, 1580-1620.* pp. 142-143.

[150] "Sobre isto acordaram que não era necessário tomar por força homens, porque costume era dos que assim levavam por força para alguma parte dizerem que há de tudo quanto lhes perguntam; e que melhor

reached its peak in the sixteenth century; the Portuguese Crown purposefully left them on the shores of nearly all the recently discovered areas with the aim of creating intermediaries who would acquire linguistic and cultural skills in order to become interpreters.[151] There were around twenty convicts in Cabral's ship: two of them remained in the newly discovered land to learn the indigenous languages and mediate future contacts with the Portuguese; the captain also took two natives to Portugal.[152]

The Portuguese were not alone in using interpreters to facilitate communications with the people they subdued. Early European explorers took natives to Europe in order to learn their languages and return as interpreters.[153] As P. Cohen notes, "in virtually every context, the success of European settlement, campaigns of conquest, and commercial enterprises was predicated on effectively soliciting Amerindian partners or intermediaries."[154] The Spaniards soon recognised that language and empire (stately power) were interwoven and worked on keeping both under control: Nebrija expressed this idea in the first Castilian dictionary published in 1492.[155] The first interpreters were Indians, as the colonised in general learned the language of the coloniser first.[156] In his work on Spanish America, T. Todorov highlights the importance that interpreters, particularly of the Aztec La Malinche (Doña Marina) – offered as gift to the Spaniards during the first contacts – in the success of Hernán Cortés's enterprise in America.[157] In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Lima, General Interpreter was a prestigious position held by Indians in Peru.[158] The General Interpreter acted as a link between the indigenous population and the Spanish authorities in the second most

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e muito melhor informação da terra dariam dois homens desses degredados que aqui deixássemos do que eles dariam se os levassem, por ser gente que ninguém entende." In: Jaime Cortesão and Pero Vaz de Caminha, *A carta de Pêro Vaz de Caminha.* vol. 7. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1994, p. 164. Also see: Castelnau-L'Estoile, "En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: l'invention de la language génerale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle," p. 80.

[151] Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: forced and state-sponsored colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001, pp. 79; 86.

[152] Alida C. Metcalf, *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005, p. 20.

[153] Cohen, "Was there an Amerindian Atlantic? Reflections on the limit of a historiographical concept," p. 399.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Todorov. p. 221.

[156] Ibid., p. 219.

[157] Ibid., pp. 99-100; Metcalf. pp. 4-5.

[158] Ramos, "Indigenous Intellectuals in Andean Colonial Cities," pp. 26-27.

important colonial body in Spanish America: the *Real Audiencia*.[159] In spite of the inferior position occupied by the indigenous people, facilitating communication could work in their favour, as there was no guarantee that the interpreters were translating accurately and not manipulating the discourse as they pleased.

The introduction of African slavery to the Americas meant that European colonisers, particularly the missionaries, resorted to African interpreters in addition to Amerindians, usually accompanied by the same suspicion aforementioned. Alonso de Sandoval dedicated a significant number of pages of his *Treatise* to the importance of "multilingual and faithful" mediators for the teaching of the doctrine, repeatedly warning other missionaries of its limitations.[160] According to Sandoval, a missionary ought to walk all day long if necessary in order to find interpreters; otherwise, "the entire structure of his work [would] collapse".[161] Sandoval assured the missionaries that it was not "undignified for a priest to go from home to home looking for translators", claiming that the use of interpreters was not new in evangelisation since the Apostles had also resorted to them. Furthermore, in his instructions, the Jesuit warned that some interpreters said whatever they pleased in their own language.[162] According to Sandoval, it was difficult to find interpreters of "good nature" and who were "religious enough to clearly state the truth".[163] On the contrary, they often did not translate what missionaries said or put it in a simpler way when they felt like doing it.[164]

Although the missionaries could not entirely trust interpreters, they knew that without them the evangelising mission would be impossible. According to Alonso de Sandoval, the first thing missionaries looked for in a group of new arrivals was a *ladino* interpreter.[165] He uses the term ladino when referring to multilingual slaves who spoke Spanish in addition to other African languages.[166] The first slaves forced into the Americas were Christianised and 'Europeanised' Africans that had lived in the Iberian

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[159] Ibid.
[160] Sandoval. pp. 102-105.
[161] Ibid., pp. 102-103.
[162] Ibid., p. 104.
[163] Ibid., p. 132.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid., pp. 126-127.
[166] Ibid., p. 103.

Peninsula for a while (Lisbon and Seville, for example) and spoke either Portuguese or Spanish.[167] Conversely, the slaves called *bozales* only spoke their mother tongues and were unbaptised.[168] The ladinos had a crucial role even before arriving in the New World: they were responsible for "guarding and protecting the *bozales*" on the ships and they also explained work in the plantations and mines to the newcomers.[169] A ladino slave was usually baptized and had lived among Christians for a while, hence their relative ease in moving between both cultures.[170] It is interesting to note that Sandoval did not agree that the *bozales* were less intelligent than the ladinos; they simply did not understand Spanish. When spoken in their languages, however, they were perfectly capable of understanding the catechism: "when they speak in their own language, they seem as intelligent as if they were ladino. *[…]* It seems they are not capable of receiving the sacraments because they are thought to be *bozales*. Because they do not understand our language, they are left to die without the sacraments, as if they were beasts. I know one black *bozal* man who is certainly not a beast".[171]

Centuries later, Friar Bernardo Maria de Cannecattim, a Capuchin missionary in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Congo, wrote about the same subject in his *Dicionário da Língua Bunda ou Angolese* (dictionary of the Bunda or Angolan language - 1804).[172] Cannecattim stressed the importance of establishing effective communication with the natives; however, as missionaries and administrative authorities did not speak the local languages, they had to submit to interpreters who spoke whatever pleased them most, deceiving both sides. For Cannecattim, ignorance of the local languages compromised the success of evangelisation and also of the political and commercial enterprises. This posed a particularly serious problem for evangelisation because the preaching of the Gospel and the ministering of the

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[167] Mário Maestri, "A pedagogia do medo: disciplina, aprendizado e trabalho na escravidão brasileira," in *Histórias e Memórias da Educação no Brasil*, ed. Maria Stephanou and Maria Helena Camara Bastos. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 2011, p. 200; Klein and Vinson III. pp. 12-14.

[168] Klein and Luna. p. 160; Klein and Vinson III. pp. 12-13.

[169] Sandoval. pp. 126-127; Maestri, p. 199; Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-grande & senzala): a study in the development of Brazilian civilization*. p. 376.

[170] Sandoval. pp. 126-127.

[171] Ibid., pp. 107-109.

[172] Fr. Bernardo Maria de Cannecattim, *Diccionario da Lingua Bunda, ou Angolense, explicada na Portugueza, e Latina*. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1804.

Sacraments could not be completed unless the interpreter accurately translated everything that the missionaries said.

It is possible to infer from Sandoval and Cannecattim's remarks that the use of intermediaries cut two ways: despite being essential for a successful conversation, there was no guarantee that they would accurately convey the message. Sandoval did not necessarily attribute such discrepancy to mischievous behaviour, as the interpreters could simply become tired of translating.[173] Cannecatim, on the other hand, had a more biased view and blamed the Africans' lack of knowledge of their own language and their inability to find an accurate corresponding term in their mother tongues for the poor translation.[174]

The first ladinos in Brazil spoke Bantu languages such as Kikongo, Kimbundu, and Umbundu, being from Angola and Congo.[175] Other languages from the Bantu family were spoken in Mozambique, such as Xironga, Cishona, and Zulu.[176] As Mozambique was one of the main connexions between Africa and Asia, the presence of other languages with vocabulary derived from Arabic, such as Somali.[177] As a ladino, a slave was able to switch from Portuguese to creoles and to African languages, increasing their opportunities for social mobility since they were able to act as intermediaries in commercial and political transactions.[178] As H. S. Klein and F. V. Luna argue, autonomy and knowledge (of the African culture of the past or of the European culture of the present) played an important role in slaves' lives, whatever occupation they were employed in.[179] Ladinos could have a number of occupations such as being in charge of discipline in slave dwellings or, if they were freed, working as bush captains to capture

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[173] Sandoval. p. 132.

[174] "Os interpretes são Negros do Paiz, gente bruta, que ignora da sua propria lingua huma grande parte, e que da Portugueza apenas sabe os termo mais vulgares, e usuaes. *[...]* mas succede, frequentemente, que huns taes interpretes, ou não percebem a força, e o verdadeiro espirito das palavras Portuguezas, ou não sabem achar, e escolher na sua Lingua termos, que propriamente lhes correspondão", *[...]*. In: Cannecattim. p. II.

[175] Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia*. p. 16.

[176] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. p. 41.

[177] M. Newitt, *A History of Mozambique.* London: Hurst & Company, 1995, p. 36; Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*.

[178] Havik, p. 51; Ribeiro. pp. 75-76.

[179] Klein and Luna. p. 217.

runway slaves.[180] Occupations such as these became available to the Africans along with greater opportunities for social mobility.[181]

Manumission could be granted, but self-purchases were common and usually paid in small instalments over a certain number of years. This process was known as *coartación* or *coartação*.[182] The possibilities for self-purchase were higher in Minas Gerais than in plantation societies and rural areas elsewhere in Brazil and in the Americas.[183] In gold mining villages, slaves had certain autonomy to perform small urban trades on their owners' account and save part of their income to buy their freedom.[184] For this reason, the number of free coloured people in the mining district grew more rapidly and became more important than in any other slave society in America. These possibilities led slaves and manumitted slaves to identify themselves more with the colonisers than with other captives.[185]

Hence, despite all the cruelty inherent in slavery, a wider range of more advantageous social possibilities may have encouraged Africans to adopt Portuguese rather than retaining their mother tongues, pidgins or creoles. In the linguistic landscape, the 'Africanisation' of Brazilian Portuguese by Bantu ladinos played a crucial role in shaping the language.[186] In the following section, I will examine how contact not only with Amerindian, but also with African languages changed the Portuguese spoken in Brazil. Portuguese, as any living language, continued to change from the nineteenth

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[180] Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia*. p. 16; Kathleen J. Higgins, *"Licentious Liberty" in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: slavery, gender, and social control in eighteenth-century Sabará, Minas Gerais.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999, p. 180.

[181] Higgins. p. 5. Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia*. pp. 16-17.

[182] Klein and Vinson III. pp. 67; 204.

[183] Higgins. p. 5; Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia*. pp. 16-17.

[184] Bennassar, "The Minas Gerais: a high point of miscegenation," p. 39; Eduardo França Paiva, *Escravidão e universo cultural da colônia: Minas Gerais, 1716-1789.* Belo Horizonte: Ed. UFMG, 2001; Eduardo França Paiva, "Depois do cativeiro: a vida dos libertos nas Minas Gerais do século XVIII," in *História de Minas Gerais: as Minas setecentistas*, ed. Maria Efigênia Lage de Resende and Luiz Carlos Villalta. Belo Horizonte, MG: Companhia do Tempo; Autêntica, 2007.

[185] Higgins. p. 195.

[186] Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia*. pp. 17-19.

century onwards; nevertheless, in order to understand its development in Brazil, it is essential to investigate the events that took place prior to this period. [187]

The Amerindian and African (general) languages

The study of Amerindian languages is one step towards restoring their importance in Atlantic history.[188] When Portuguese conquerors first arrived in Brazil in 1500, they encountered a multilingual landscape – scholarship estimates that 1,200 Amerindian languages existed in the colony.[189] In the face of this diversity, it goes without saying that the missionaries created general languages using common features observed only in the most widely spoken languages in Brazil and not in all of them. A similar situation occurred in Peru where the Standard Colonial Quechua was not the same as the Quechua spoken in Cuzco, despite the latter influencing the former.[190] These common features started developing in the period prior to the European arrival as result of inland migration by the Tupi-Guarani groups seeking territorial expansion.[191]

Bakewell divides colonial Brazil's interior into three main linguistic zones: 1) from the north coast to the Paraguay River (Gê speakers in the coast); 2) Amazonia rainforest, Rio Negro and Orinoco Rivers (Arawak speakers); and 3) lower Amazon, upper Orinoco, and the Guiana highlands (Carib speakers).[192] Similarly, historiography highlights three general languages in colonial Brazil, all based on Tupi: Paulista, Nheengatu, and Coastal. Coastal was based on the Tupinambá's tongue and was spoken in Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Espírito Santo. In northern Grão-Pará and Maranhão, lower social groups, which constituted the majority of the population, spoke Nheengatu

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[187] Mello, "African Descendants' Rural Vernacular Portuguese and its Contribution to Understanding the Development of Brazilian Portuguese," p. 172.

[188] Cohen, "Was there an Amerindian Atlantic? Reflections on the limit of a historiographical concept," pp. 391; 394.

[189] Mufwene, p. 15; Cristina Altman, "As línguas gerais sul-americanas e a empresa missionária: linguagem e representação nos séculos XVI e XVII," in *Línguas gerais: política lingüística e catequese na América do Sul no período colonial*, ed. José Ribamar Bessa Freire and Maria Carlota Rosa. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2003 p. 57; Couto, pp. 81-82.

[190] Durston. pp. 107; 133.

[191] Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759", pp.1-2;78-9.

[192] "Arawaks and to a lesser degree Caribs, provide a human and cultural link between South and North America". See: Bakewell. p. 40.

(also known as Amazonian language) until the nineteenth century.[193] There, the Portuguese language continued to be the preserve of the elite.[194] Finally, Paulista, the general language of the south, was spoken mainly in São Paulo by the *bandeirantes*. It originated from Tupi and was the primary means of communication in mestizo households until mid-eighteenth century.[195]

References to Guarani – members of the larger Tupian language group and still spoken in Paraguay and Bolivia today – were less frequent but early modern reports maintain that a considerable number of mestizo and Portuguese settlers spoke Guarani until the late sixteenth century, from the Paraná-Paraguay basin on the coast to the captaincy of São Paulo (**MAP 4**).[196] J. Delumeau considers the Jesuit missions on the banks of Paraná, among the Guarani Indians, "the most surprising and successful of the missionary experiences".[197] Arguing along the same lines, Fasold states that "in no other country in the New World has an indigenous language been so thoroughly adopted".[198]

In spite of multilingualism, the linguistic landscape in colonial Brazil gradually changed into a monolinguist landscape.[199] I am not suggesting that this monolingual process was inexorable and it certainly did not occur without power disputes, but in such a diverse context, Portuguese was one of the most unified languages available for communication, taking on the role of a general language more efficiently than any other in Brazil. According to S. Leite, the Africans that went to Brazil spoke a creole-Portuguese dialect that was a general language in the African coast form the fifteenth to

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[193] Grão-Pará and Maranhão was a Portuguese colony separated from the south. It was created in 1621 and its capital city, São Luís, was transferred to Belém in 1737.

[194] José Ribamar Bessa Freire, 'Da 'fala boa' ao Português na Amazônia Brasileira,' *Amerindia: revue d'ethnolinguistique amérindienne* 8, (1983): p. 66; José Ribamar Bessa Freire, "Nheengatu: a outra língua brasileira," in *História Social da Língua Nacional*, ed. Laura do Carmo and Ivana Stolze Lima. Rio de Janeiro: Edições Casa Rui Barbosa, 2008, pp. 127-129; Luiz Carlos Villalta, "O que se fala e o que se lê: língua, instrução e leitura," in *História da vida privada no Brasil*, ed. Laura de Mello e Souza, Cotidiano e vida privada na América portuguesa. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998, p. 341.

[195] Zwartjes. pp. 145-152; Rodrigues, p. 43; Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759", p. 9; Villalta, pp. 336-337; Holanda. p. 97.

[196] Holanda. p. 96; Villalta, pp. 334-335; Edwards. p. 81; Bakewell. pp. 38-39.

[197] Delumeau. p. 72.

[198] Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. p. 14.

[199] Andrea Daher, 'Escrita e Conversão: a gramática tupi e os catecismos bilíngües no Brasil do século XVI,' *Revista Brasileira de Educação* 8, no. mai/jun/jul/ago (1998): pp. 35-36.

the seventeenth century.[200] Portuguese – or a creole dialect based on it – was a *lingua franca* in inter-continental maritime trade and it relates to Portuguese mercantile communities, such as those in the Bay of Bengal, West Africa, Goa and Macau.[201] In Brazil, the situation was different, since Portuguese became the main communication tool in colonial urban pockets, from which the territory was politically and economically organised.[202]

In addition to the indigenous languages, there is another influencing factor in Brazilian Portuguese that invites examination: Africans. As A. Games has noted, similarly to the Indians, it is urgent to restore Africans back to Atlantic history.[203] It is possible to divide them into three main Sub-Saharan groups: 1) Africa South of the Equator or Central Africa (e.g. Angola, Congo); 2) West Africa, or the Bight of Benin (e.g. Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory-Coast); and 3) East Africa (Mozambique).[204] The first group belonged to the Bantu linguistic family (Kikongo, Kimbundu, and Umbundu) and were broadly called *Angolas*; members of the second group spoke languages from the Kwa family (Yoruba and Ewe-Fon), and were generally known as *Minas* or *Mina-Jeje*.[205] The *Minas* were taken mainly to Bahia while the *Angolas* went to Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, and Minas Gerais.[206] However, a map elaborated by Y. Pessoa de Castro shows both Bantus (*Angolas*) and Ewe-Fons (*Minas*) living in Minas Gerais, as the district received slaves from both Bahia and Rio de Janeiro.[207] The same occurred in the main ports of Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco and Maranhão, where the variety of

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[200] Silva Neto. p. 42.

[201] Zwartjes. p. 61; Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808*. p. 192; Câmara. pp. 3-4; Rebelo, pp. 372-375; Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: a succinct survey*. pp. 55-56.

[202] Bethencourt, "Colonização e Pós-Colonialismo: as teias do património," p. 142.

[203] Games, "Atlantic History: definitions, challenges, and opportunities," p. 754.

[204] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. p. 39; Klein and Luna. p. 153. See **MAP 1**.

[205] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. 39-45; Disney. p. 274; Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, "Kongo and Dahomey, 1660-1815: African Political Leadership in the Era of the Slave Trade and Its impact on the Formation of African Identity in Brazil," in *Soundings in Atlantic History*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London; England: Harvard University Press, 2009, p. 110.

[206] Disney. pp. 274-275; Klein and Luna. p. 154.

[207] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. p. 45; Klein and Luna. p. 154; Bennassar, "The Minas Gerais: a high point of miscegenation," p. 40.

African ethnicities was greater than in other areas.[208] In the rest of the colony, the Bantu group prevailed and was probably the most common linguistic family present in Brazilian slave quarters.[209]

The Africans taken to Brazil came from different areas but they could understand each other without much difficulty, either because their languages belonged to the same family, or because they knew a pidgin/creole.[210] In Maranhão, most Africans were from Upper Guinea (Kwa family) and spoke Yoruba and Ewe-Fon.[211] Despite belonging to different ethnic groups, they also spoke a creole used in trade that, in combination with other factors such as religion, contributed to forge a regional identity.[212] Similarly, Mina-Jeje captives in the eighteenth-century gold mining district spoke an Ewe-Fon language that marked the beginning of creolisation in Brazil, resulting from contact with other African languages.[213] In relation to Portuguese, Africans were the main agents of its dissemination in Brazil because they had acquired it as a second language.[214] Portuguese had been used as a general language on the African coast from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, meaning that a significant number of the slaves who went to Brazil spoke a creole based on Portuguese, or a Portuguese-based African pidgin.[215] After the growth of pidginised Portuguese speakers over three hundred years of colonisation – almost 5 million slaves were taken to Brazil – and the use of the Paulista

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[208] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. p. 45.

[209] Ibid; Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia*. p. 15.

[210] Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Making of the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660.* New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 56.

[211] Walter Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil: culture, identity, and an Atlantic slave trade, 1600-1830.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 178.

[212] Ibid.

[213] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. p. 59; Olabiyi Yai, "Texts of Enslavement: Fon and Yoruba Vocabularies from Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Brazil," in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy. London; New York: Continuum, 2009, pp. 104-105; Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia*. p. 20. According to H. S. Klein and F. V. Luna, early eighteenth century Minas Gerais counted on a high participation of slaves from the Bight of Benin (West Africa).

[214] Castro, "Redescobrindo as línguas africanas," p. 373; Ribeiro. p. 84.

[215] Stella Maris Bortoni-Ricardo, *The Urbanization of Rural Dialect Speakers: a sociolinguistic study in Brazil.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 15-16; Silva Neto. p. 42.

general language gradually diminished, giving way to a variety of Portuguese called the *Caipira* dialect.[216]

Caipira was formed by contact between speakers of Kimbundu and the Paulista general language in São Paulo, which inland migrations helped to spread throughout the mining districts.[217] It is important to note that although the Paulista disappeared at the same time that *Caipira* grew (in the first half of the eighteenth century), the latter is not a product of the first, but a combination of Paulista with African languages and Portuguese that came about in other parts of Brazil.[218] There is another dialect that resulted from the contact of African languages with Portuguese, this time without the influence of indigenous languages: the *Rural* dialect. Until today the *rural* dialect occurs in predominantly black societies that used to be unified around activities such as plantations and goldfields.[219] Such dialects developed and expanded as ladinos, African slaves, and their descendants climbed the social hierarchy and became free.

If the Africans in Brazil understood each other at least on a basic level (their mother tongues were similar, they spoke Portuguese-based creoles, or a pidginised Portuguese) it is striking that very few creoles survived in Brazil.[220] The formation of pidgins and creoles is associated with conditions surrounding sugar cane plantations, as they enabled communication between slaves who spoke different languages.[221] The cultivation of sugar cane began in Brazil a century before it did in the Caribbean, where the population adopted a creole.[222] Other Portuguese colonies such as Cape Verde (**MAP 1**) developed a Portuguese-lexified creole.[223] Why is there creole in the

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[216] Bortoni-Ricardo. pp. 15-16; Thomas Benjamin, *The Atlantic World: European, Africans, Indians and their shared history, 1400-1900.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 341. The Trans-Atlantic slave Trade Database (1801-1825): http://www.slavevoyages.org/estimates/H8gDhZNt

[217] Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia*. pp. 18-19; Couto, p. 88.

[218] Couto, p. 88; Holanda. p. 101.

[219] Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia*. pp. 17-19.

[220] Mufwene, p. 4; Klein and Luna. pp. 212-213; Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil: a study of race contact at Bahia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. 71-73. Some scholars argue that Brazilian Portuguese was a demi-creole, resulting from a long lasting contact between Portuguese and a non-creole language. See: Bonvini, pp. 18-19.

[221] Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Language*. p. 180. Jamaican creole and the Haitian creole are some examples of European lexified creoles in the Caribbean. See: ibid., pp. 184-185.

[222] Mufwene.

[223] Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Language*. pp. 184-185.

Caribbean and in Cape Verde, but not in Brazil? Although the structure of the plantations was similar to those in other sugar cane colonies (intense contact between slaves and masters, smaller properties that supplied larger plantations), economic segregation was as pronounced as (often more so) racial segregation in Brazil.[224] This fostered a greater degree of miscegenation, with the mulatto section of society performing key functions in economic activities and enjoying a higher social status than in other colonies.[225] As a result, second and third generations of African slaves were brought up speaking Portuguese and I propose that one reason for this was that speakers saw Portuguese as a possibility of social change. Linguistic convergence is a way of acceptance and it was a strategy used by subordinate groups to move up. If they did not see any possibilities for integration, they would have stayed in their groups and limited convergence to a minimum.[226]

The speakers of Amerindian languages were responsible for their maintenance, as they did not exist in the written form (similar to African languages once in Brazilian territory).[227] Missionaries and sometimes European settlers carried out the standardisation process through which these languages (or at least certain versions of them) have been recorded. The next section will therefore examine grammar books, wordlists, and dictionaries in order to illuminate the strategies, techniques, and power relations that surrounded their production.

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[224] Mello, "African Descendants' Rural Vernacular Portuguese and its Contribution to Understanding the Development of Brazilian Portuguese," p. 182.

[225] Ibid., pp. 182-183.

[226] Klein and Luna. pp. 215-216; Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. pp. 190-191. For more about code-switching, code-mixing, language choice and accommodation see: ibid., pp. 208-209. 241.

[227] About the existence of written tradition in Africa before the nineteenth century, see: Peter Burke, "Communication," in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. Ulinka Rublack. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 161; 168; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the era of the slave trade*. p. 140; Ana Paula Tavares and Catarina Madeira Santos, "Fontes Escritas Africanas para a História de Angola," in *Africae monumenta: a apropriação da escrita pelos africanos*, ed. Ana Paula Tavares and Catarina Madeira Santos. Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2002, pp. 475-476.

The standardisation of Amerindian and African languages: a colonising mechanism of power

Europeans wrote a considerable number of grammar books and dictionaries of general languages in Brazil, notwithstanding that Portuguese was the 'official' one. In the case of the Jesuit-authored grammar manuals, not only Latin, but also Portuguese provided a framework for their structure and acted as a conduit for linguistic transfers, with the most common organisational method being comparison between languages.[228] Such a strong presence of the Portuguese language in Amerindian grammar books provides evidence that Portuguese was never completely absent from the colonial linguistic landscape, being important both in the analysis and in the representation of the Brasílica.[229] What were the power relations within the knowledge of Amerindian and African languages? If one of the functions of written language is to interpret the world, can we see an attempt to interpret colonial nature in grammar books, dictionaries, and orthographies?[230] With these questions in mind, in this section I will look at reference books on general languages written by missionaries and settlers in colonial Brazil.

The general languages spoken in colonial Brazil were the product of European efforts to standardise the primitive indigenous languages based on pre-existing common features between them. The process of writing Amerindian grammar books occurred in a broader context of writing grammar of European vernaculars.[231] As J. Steinberg states, in mid-eighteenth century Europe "the origin, nature, superiority or inferiority, formal and informal uses *[of language]*, occupied the minds of many of Europe's intellectuals" and historians cannot gloss over this.[232] Conquest built on European linguistic ideas and encouraged the production of grammar books and dictionaries of the new languages that

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[228] Roland Schimidt-Riese, "Anchieta 1595 e Figueira 1621. Representações da gramática do Tupinambá " in *O Português e o Tupi no Brasil*, ed. Volker Noll and Wolf Dietrich. São Paulo: Editora Contexto, 2010, pp. 50-51; Rafael. p. 35.

[229] Schimidt-Riese, "Anchieta 1595 e Figueira 1621. Representações da gramática do Tupinambá " pp. 50-51. The author uses the term Tupinambá, not Língua Brasílica.

[230] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. p. 40.

[231] Schimidt-Riese, "Anchieta 1595 e Figueira 1621. Representações da gramática do Tupinambá " p. 50; Zwartjes. p. 16.

[232] Steinberg, p. 207.

the Europeans encountered.[233] In this context, Amerindian languages became new vernaculars that Europeans could study, codify, and register in the written form.[234]

The reduction of languages to grammar is relevant to understand the colonial project because it helped to create the symbolic conditions for domination: mastering the native cultures was a way of mastering the people.[235] As W. Hanks points out, writing grammar on Amerindian languages was a way of reducing them (*reducción*) as part of the colonising project.[236] Metropoles relied on Catholic missionaries to carry out such tasks, transferring the responsibility for developing grammar books and dictionaries of Amerindian languages to the Church in order to achieve linguistic competence.[237] To codify native languages was to communicate the authority of God and the King — missionaries regarded it as a gift.[238] The main missionary justification for the use of general languages was to convert the Indians, but other reasons, such as the recognition of the beauty of native tongues, or the importance of natural history and geography were also mentioned. It seems that missionaries sought to prove the grandiosity of their enterprise by highlighting the complexity of the subject. In doing so, they justified both their religious acts and colonial power.[239]

As Europeans tended to group different indigenous peoples, they standardised and promoted certain vernaculars over other dialects and languages.[240] I do not claim that moving from a heterogeneous to a more homogenous linguistic landscape was the main idea behind the construction of general languages, nor that Portuguese was naturally

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[233] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London; New York: Verso, 1991, p. 70.

[234] Durston. pp. 32-33.

[235] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa.* p. 221. Cohen, "Was there an Amerindian Atlantic? Reflections on the limit of a historiographical concept," p. 402.

[236] William F. Hanks, *Converting Words: Maya in the age of the cross.* Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2010, p. 4; Castelnau-L'Estoile, "En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: l'invention de la language génerale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle," pp. 95-96.

[237] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa.* p. 22.

[238] Rafael. pp. 26; 32.

[239] As C. de Castelnau-L'Estoile notes: "les arguments linguistiques sont donc aussi des arguments politiques dans la lutte colonial pour l'accès aux Indiens et pour le contrôle de la main d'œuvre indigène." In: Castelnau-L'Estoile, "En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: l'invention de la language génerale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle," p. 92.

[240] Durston. p. 32-33.

going to replace them. Language was a disputed cultural and political subject, where the personal choices of speakers and other factors such as migration and economic opportunities played a key role. However, I do argue that putting Portuguese aside for a period of time can be interpreted less as a sign of surrender than of strategy, even if this was not a conscious move of the Portuguese administration. At the same time that the spread of native languages was prioritised over Portuguese, the unification of Amerindian tongues facilitated the substitution of general languages for Portuguese; the most challenging part – reducing linguistic diversity from more than a thousand languages to three – had already taken place.[241] In this case, the construction of general languages was clearly part of the colonial project.

In the next paragraphs I will examine a number of grammars and vocabularies in an attempt to understand the main reasons for the composition of each book, the power relations behind their construction and their relation to the Portuguese colonial dynamics. The Jesuit discussion on native languages was a way of proving that they mastered all the necessary tools to evangelise the Amerindians.[242] Their insistence on learning native languages and writing about them reinforced the conversion purposes of the Society of Jesus.[243] According to Castelnau-L'Estoile, the Jesuits became language experts on native languages and they were alone in the task of registering Amerindian languages in written form and providing them with grammar rules.[244] I will start by looking at Amerindian general languages works, which can be organised around common themes, beginning with the absence of certain letters. In *Arte de Gramática da Língua mais usada na Costa do Brazil* (art of the grammar of the most used language in Brazil's coast - 1595), Father José de Anchieta records that Tupi lacked the letters *f*, *l*, and *r*.[245] Composed in six months, it was published in 1595, but it had been in used in Jesuit missions since 1556 when it was still a manuscript. Luís Figueira, the 'father' of

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[241] Rosa, p. 136; Castelnau-L'Estoile, "En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: l'invention de la language génerale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle," p. 80.

[242] Castelnau-L'Estoile, "En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: l'invention de la language génerale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle," pp. 93-94.

[243] Ibid.

[244] Ibid., p. 84.

[245] José de Anchieta, *Arte de gramática da língua mais usada na costa do Brasil.* Ed. fac-similar. ed., vol. 11. São Paulo: Loyola 1990, p. 9; Rebelo, p. 385; Zwartjes. pp. 146-152; Castelnau-L'Estoile, "En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: l'invention de la language génerale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle," pp. 78; 83-85; 93-94.

the Jesuit Missions in Maranhão who had lived in Brazil since 1602, noted in his *Arte da Gramática da Língua do Brasil* (art of the grammar of Brazil's language - 1621) the same phenomenon without passing judgement on it.[246] It is interesting to note that in contrast to Pero de Magalhães Gândavo – a Portuguese intellectual from the sixteenth century who wrote the first history book about Brazil – Anchieta and Figueira do not make any negative judgements about the lack of letters.[247] For Gândavo, it entailed that Amerindians had no *fé* (faith), *lei* (law), or *rei* (King), a quotation appropriated by a number of authors after him to demonstrate the inferiority of the Brazilian native peoples.[248]

Both Anchieta and Figueira's non-judgmental attitude may have arisen for two reasons. Firstly, as a result of the objectivity of their work: to fit an unknown language into European parameters that his peers could understand in order to preach the Gospel. Scholars argue that in *Arte da Gramática*, despite it following the classic model of Latin, Anchieta managed to grasp the particularities of the Tupi language.[249] Secondly, both Jesuits lived among the Amerindians for more than thirty years and knew that the lack of letters did not signify the absence of religion or law. José de Anchieta was born in the Canary Islands and entered the Society of Jesus in 1551, in Portugal. He travelled to Bahia in 1553, together with Father Manuel da Nóbrega who had already begun his mission in 1549. They founded a Jesuit college in São Paulo in 1554. Anchieta died in

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[246] *Arte da Gramática* was in its fourth edition in 1795. See: Luiz Figueira, *Arte da Grammatica da Lingua do Brasil.* 4ª ed. Lisboa: Officina Patriarcal, 1795; Breno Machado dos Santos, "Luís Figueira e a construção do projeto missionário jesuítico no Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará," in *XII Simpósio da ABHR* (Juiz de Fora: 2011); John Manuel Monteiro, "Traduzindo tradições: gramáticas, vocabulários e catecismos em línguas nativas na América portuguesa," in *XV Encontro Regional de História da ANPUH* (São Paulo: 2000), p. 40; Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile: les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil, 1580-1620.* pp. 435-447.

[247] Guilherme Gomes da Silveira d'Avila Lins, *Pero de Magalhães de Gândavo, autor da primeira obra sobre ortografia da língua portuguesa e da primeira história do Brasil.* Recife: Editora Universitária UFPE, 2009; Anchieta; Sérgio Alcides, 'F, L e R: Gândavo e o ABC da colonização,' *Escritos Três* 3, no. 3 (2009); Castelnau-L'Estoile, "En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: l'invention de la language génerale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle," p. 94.

[248] Villalta, p. 332; Castelnau-L'Estoile, "En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: l'invention de la language génerale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle," pp. 85-86; 91; Daher, "Colonial Utopias: between Indians and Missionaries," p. 103; Castro, pp. 218-219.

[249] Zwartjes. pp. 146-152; Anchieta. pp. 10-12.

1597, in the captaincy of Espírito Santo.[250] Luís Figueira returned do Portugal in 1637 to gather more missionaries to the Jesuit missions in Maranhão. In 1643, the ship that transported Figueira back to Brazil sank close do Belém; none of the crew survived the shipwreck.[251] Gândavo also lived in Portuguese America between 1565 and 1570 but he occupied an administrative position in Salvador that did not necessarily involve as much direct contact with the Indians as Anchieta and Figueira.[252]

The printing license granted to *Arte da Gramática* in 1594 exposes another characteristic that these works had in common: the desire to promote a better instruction of the catechism and to spread Catholicism across Portuguese America.[253] Jesuit Luís Vicêncio Mamiani in his *Catecismo da Doutrina Cristã* (1698) notes that his work was meant to help new missionaries to convert the 'barbarians': "*para facilitar aos novos Missionarios a conversaõ destes Barbaros.*"[254] The title of *Dicionário Portuguez e Brasiliano* (Portuguese and Brazilian dictionary - 1795) states that the book was directed at missionaries and priests who went to Brazil in order to evangelise the Amerindians, but it could also be of interest to people who had studied natural history and geography.[255] The fact that history and geography are mentioned in the title might be revealing of enlightened influence upon the eighteenth-century Portuguese society, particularly after the Marquis of Pombal expelled the Jesuits from the kingdom and its possessions overseas. The dictionary was still important for missionaries but it needed an extra reason for publishing, which the editor sought in the Enlightenment.

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[250] Jean-Claude Laborie, 'From Orality to Writing: The Reality of a Conversion through the Work of the Jesuit Father José de Anchieta (1534-1597),' *Diogenes (English ed.)* 48, no. 191 (2000): p. 63; Zwartjes. p. 148.

[251] Santos.

[252] Lins. pp. 29-33.

[253] "Para melhor instrução dos catecúmenos e aumeto da nova Cristandade daquelas partes e para com mais suavidade e facilidade de se plantar e dilatar a nossa Santa Fé". In: Anchieta. p. 21.

[254] Mamiani.

[255] *Diccionario Portuguez, e Brasiliano, obra necessaria aos ministros do altar, que emprehenderem a conversão de tantos milhares de Almas que ainda se achão dispersas pelos vastos certões do Brasil, sem o lume da Fé, e Baptismo.* ed. José Mariano da Conceição Veloso. Lisboa: Officina Patriarcal, 1795. The manuscript of the dictionary was from 1751. See: José Horta Nunes, *Dicionários no Brasil: análise e história do século XVI ao XIX.* São Paulo; Campinas; São José do Rio Preto: FAPESP; Pontes; FAPERP, 2006, p. 56.

In the same vein, Friar José Mariano da Conceição Veloso justified the reprinting in 1800 of João Felipe Bettendorf's *Compêndio da Doutrina Cristã* (compendium of the Christian doctrine - 1681) with the importance of spreading religion and evangelising the Brazilian Indians.[256] Bettendorf wrote this book because the general language spoken by the Amerindians on the coast had already been modified by the natives who lived in the missions of Maranhão.[257] The fact that on the brink of the nineteenth century, Friar Veloso – a respected botanist from the gold mining district and head of the Arco do Cego publishing house (1799-1801) – felt the need to publicise Bettendorf's work can be understood from two different perspectives.[258] Firstly, it signals that the Amerindian general languages were still largely used in northern Brazil. Secondly, it reveals a naturalist, almost archaeological interest, in exotic languages.

The acknowledgement of the differences between the various Amerindian groups and languages is another characteristic of these works. Father António de Araújo mentions Anchieta's *Arte de Gramática* but explains that his *Catecismo na Língua Brasílica* (Brasílica Language Catechism - 1618) was written for the Jesuit missions in Maranhão.[259] As J. Monteiro highlights, *Catecismo na Língua Brasílica* was the result of the work of various Jesuit missionaries. This practice was common among the Jesuits who usually had to bear the costs of publishing themselves.[260] It seems that eighty years later migrations of Tupi tribes had successfully spread the general language to the north, albeit with changes.[261] The aforementioned Mamiani addresses the Kiriri group (a Gê language) whose fierce Tapuia members lived in the hinterlands and did not speak the Coastal general language of the Tupi and Tupinambá groups.[262] Europeans generally

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[256] "[…] do augmento da Religião e a Conversão dos Indios do Brasil, *[…]*". In: Betendorf.

[257] Monteiro, "Traduzindo tradições: gramáticas, vocabulários e catecismos em línguas nativas na América portuguesa," p. 40.

[258] Arco do Cego specialised in natural sciences books which included Figueira's *Arte da Gramática da Língua do Brasil* and already mentioned *Dicionário Português e Brasiliano*. See: Fernanda Maria Guedes de Campos et al., *A Casa Literária do Arco do Cego, 1799-1801, bicentenário: sem livros não há instrução.* Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional; Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1999, pp. 48-49.

[259] António de Araújo, *Catecismo na Lingoa Brasilica.* Lisboa: Pedro Casbeeck, 1618.

[260] Monteiro, "Traduzindo tradições: gramáticas, vocabulários e catecismos em línguas nativas na América portuguesa," p. 39.

[261] Barros, ""Em razão das conquistas, religião, commercio": notas sobre o cocneito de língua geral na colonização portuguesa da Amazônia nos séculos vii-xviii."

[262] Mamiani.

applied the term Tapuia to the indigenous groups they did not know well (**MAP 4**).[263] The Amazonian general language, Nheengatu, is referred to in the manuscript *Vocabulary of South American Languages*.[264] This manuscript is structured in the form of a dialogue and written in the general language of 'Manaos'; the anonymous author claims that he does not know the language, but relies on the help of a converted Tupinambá to translate the catechism into Nheengatu.[265]

According to the anonymous author, his indigenous 'assistant' knew that the words he used were not always 'elegant', but they were the best he could find to express the doctrine he had learnt, while apologising for any mistakes.[266] This excerpt is interesting for a number of reasons. It confirms the mobility that indigenous people had before and after the arrival of the Portuguese, since the intermediary who helped to write the *Vocabulary* moved not only geographically – from the Atlantic coast to the Amazon – but also linguistically – from the Coastal general language to Nheengatu and Portuguese.[267] The text compares both general languages, revealing the difficulties of translation, as the words were not always the most appropriate or eloquent. However, the vocabulary that the interpreter chose was faithful to their meaning, which was the main objective of the translation.

Having identified the differences between the Amerindian languages, the missionaries raised the problem of pronunciation. José de Anchieta observes different pronunciation between the Paulista and the Coastal general languages, advising that usage would provide the best means of learning them.[268] Anchieta emphasises that it was very

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[263] Monteiro, *Negros da terra: índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo*. p. 19; Castelnau-L'Estoile, "En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: l'invention de la language génerale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle," p. 88.

[264] The manuscript cover stated that the copy was from 1757 and belonged to the Gelboé farm, under Jesuit administration, in the captaincy of Goiás. This is available at the British Library (King's MS 223) and is extensively analysed by K. Lee in Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759".

[265] 'Manaos' was in Amazonia.

[266] Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759", p. 192.

[267] Other missionaries, for example, in New Spain, counted on the help of collaborators. See: Hanks. p. 15.

[268] "*[…]* ha algũa diferença na pronunciação, & o vso de diuersas partes do Brasil sera milhor mestre". In: José de Anchieta, *Arte de grammatica da Lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil.* ed. Julio Platzmann. Leipzig: B. G. Teuber, 1876, p. 1.

important for spelling to reflect pronunciation because minor variations could completely change the meaning of words in Amerindian languages.[269] The Jesuit also recognised that the 'Brazilian language' did not exist in written form but only in its 'continuous speaking usage'.[270] Pronunciation could be daunting to the point that good *línguas* (*lenguas* in Spanish, missionaries who were familiar with a number of languages and transitioned well between all of them) did not know them all, usually disagreeing on the correct way to pronounce certain words.[271]

If pronunciation was of great importance for spelling, which languages did the missionaries rely on in order to make it comprehensible to all? Which methodology did they use in order to minimise mistakes? Anchieta uses Castilian or Portuguese as a means of comparison, while the anonymous author of the *Dicionário Português e Brasiliano* makes it clear that the book was written by a Portuguese man and, therefore, it followed the Portuguese orthography.[272] Father Araújo notes the importance of living among the Indians to learn their languages, claiming that taking notes was necessary in order to refine them.[273] Figueira's technique was to study the native peoples and the priests who were the most notorious *línguas*, born and raised among the Brazilian Indians.[274] Mamiani benefited from twelve years of missionary experience with the Amerindians and, as with Figueira, he also checked his work with Jesuit *línguas* and the natives.[275] These observations expose a long-standing debate about what could be learned through study/practice, and what depended on ingenuity/talent.[276] In this sense, the recurrent word Art (*Arte*) in missionary-authored books comes from the skill of being both ingenious and disciplined.[277]

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[269] Ibid., p. 6.

[270] "*[…]* mas como a lingoa do Brasil não está em escrito, senão no contínuo vso do falar *[…]*". In: ibid., p. 9.

[271] Ibid; Mamiani; Hanks. pp. 10-11.

[272] Anchieta, *Arte de grammatica da Lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil*. p. 6; *Diccionario Portuguez, e Brasiliano, obra necessaria aos ministros do altar, que emprehenderem a conversão de tantos milhares de Almas que ainda se achão dispersas pelos vastos certões do Brasil, sem o lume da Fé, e Baptismo*.

[273] Araújo.

[274] Figueira.

[275] Mamiani.

[276] Fernando J. Alvarez Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp. 52; 57; 63.

[277] Ibid.

Pronunciation and methodology were not the only obstacles that missionaries encountered when they codified general languages into grammar books, dictionaries, and catechisms. They also had to solve the problem of translation and incorporation of abstract ideas, chiefly religious, into indigenous languages. Where was the knowledge coming from: an unknown, barbaric society, or a civilised culture?[278] Referring particularly to religion, some missionaries were bewildered at the Indians' ability to take in and adapt concepts which they were not familiar with.[279] This illustrates the idea that local languages could "bear the meanings that civilization might demand" of them.[280] Conversely, other Jesuits such as Mamiani insisted that there was no equivalent for certain words such as 'God' and 'soul' in Amerindian languages.[281] In this sense, *Tupã* was not the best alternative, but the one that approximated most of the word God.[282] A silence existed between the indigenous people and the Portuguese, not only because their languages were different, but also because there were no equivalent words for law, or God, in the native tongues; in addition to a mere lack of words, there was a lack of concepts.[283] Burke claims that Christian missions in Latin America were full of misunderstandings and "lost in translation".[284] According to R. Vainfas, a 'word battle' took place in Brazil, reflecting the ambiguities of evangelisation in general languages.[285]

This meant that in order to convey the true meaning of certain words, it was necessary to keep them in Portuguese or Latin, explaining and paraphrasing to the Indians in general languages.[286] This created a linguistic hierarchy for the Indians in which

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[278] Asad. pp. 190-191.

[279] "Que naõ tendo elles idéa alguma de Religiaõ, excepto a da Natureza, na sua propria linguagem tiveraõ signaes para representar toda a sublimidade dos Mysterios da Religiaõ da Graça; *[...]*" In: *Diccionario Portuguez, e Brasiliano, obra necessaria aos ministros do altar, que emprehenderem a conversão de tantos milhares de Almas que ainda se achão dispersas pelos vastos certões do Brasil, sem o lume da Fé, e Baptismo*.

[280] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa*. pp. 216-217.

[281] Rafael. p. 29.

[282] Ronaldo Vainfas, *A Heresia do Índios.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010, p. 132.

[283] Anthony Pagden, *The Uncertainties of Empire: essays in Iberian and Ibero-American intellectual history.* Aldershot: Variorum, 1994, IX, 39-40; Couto, p. 86.

[284] Peter Burke, *Lost (and found) in Translation: a cultural history of translators and translating in early modern Europe.* Wassenaar: NIAS, 2005, p. 5.

[285] Vainfas. p. 114.

[286] "Advirto por ultimo que por faltar nesta lingua vocabulos, que expliquem com propriedade o significado de algũas palavras, q se usaõ nas Orações, Mysterios da Fè, & outras materias pertencentes a ella, usamos das mesmas vozes Portuguezas, ou Latinas, como se introduzio nas outras linguas de

Portuguese was superior because it expressed ideas beyond what could be said in their tongues.[287] The question was even more complex, as it was an issue about not confusing indigenous concepts with Christian ideas. In the power relationship between Amerindians and Portuguese, the native languages usually moulded themselves to the European vernaculars and not the other way round. However, some Amerindian words could not be translated into Portuguese which put the missionaries in the position of equally having to learn 'unaccustomed forms' of language.[288]

The Jesuits also devoted their attention to African languages manuals. In 1697, the first Kimbundu grammar, *Arte da Língua de Angola*, was published in Lisbon, but written in Brazil by the Jesuit Pedro Dias.[289] Kimbundu was the main language in São Paulo de Assunção de Luanda, Angola, the biggest slave port in the Atlantic.[290] Pedro Dias entered the Society of Jesus in 1641 and in 1663 he had already learned Kimbundu, without having ever lived in Angola.[291] Scholarship suggests that he learned the language from an Angolese missionary, Father Miguel Cardoso, and from African slaves in Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, and Bahia.[292] It is striking to learn that Kimbundu was so widely spread in Brazil that a missionary was able to write a grammar book about it without ever setting foot in Angola. This lends weight to the idea that numerous speakers of different languages were not completely segregated from the Portuguese pockets of colonisation. The *Arte*, however, was written from a non-native speaker to

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Europa; *[…]* quando não ha nesta lingua vocábulo proprio, usamos pelo ordinario da definiçõ, ou perifrasi para os Indios entenderem o significado delas, *[…]*". In: Mamiani.

[287] Rafael. p. 208.

[288] Asad. p. 190.

[289] Pedro Dias, *Arte da Lingua de Angola, oferecida a Virgem Senhora N. do Rosario, Mãy, & Senhora dos mesmos Pretos* Lisboa: Officina de Miguel Deslandes, 1697; Maria Carlota Rosa, *Uma língua africana no Brasil colônia de Seiscentos: o quimbundo ou língua de Angola na Arte de Pedro Dias.* Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2013, p. 22; Emilio Bonvini, 'Repères pour une histoire des connaissances linguistiques des langues africaines.: I. Du XVIe siècle au XVIIIe siècle: dans le sillage des explorations,' *Histoire Epistémologie Langage* 18, no. 2 (1996): p. 141.

[290] Rosa, *Uma língua africana no Brasil colônia de Seiscentos: o quimbundo ou língua de Angola na Arte de Pedro Dias.* p. 19.

[291] Emilio Bonvini and Margarida Maria Taddoni Petter, 'Portugais du Brésil et langues africaines,' *Langages*, no. 130 (1998): p. 75; Bonvini, "Repères pour une histoire des connaissances linguistiques des langues africaines.: I. Du XVIe siècle au XVIIIe siècle: dans le sillage des explorations," p. 141.

[292] Bonvini and Petter, "Portugais du Brésil et langues africaines," p. 75.

other non-natives.[293] Nevertheless, it pays testimony to the usage of an African language among Angolan slaves in Brazil. Pedro Dias did not write about a pidgin or a creole, but about a language that is very similar to the one spoke in Luanda to date.[294] Pedro Dias followed the model of Manuel Álvares's Latin Grammar (1572), but he noted the differences between Latin and Kimbundu.[295]

Various needs other than evangelisation stimulated other social groups to learn or find someone who knew general languages.[296] Such was the case of merchants, traders, sailors and farmers, who in order to facilitate commerce with native inhabitants made an effort to communicate with them.[297] Mixed marriages, usually between a white man and an Amerindian woman, encouraged both sides to learn each other's languages, although their usage was usually restricted to the domestic sphere.[298] The introduction of African slaves in Brazil in the seventeenth century, combined with the discovery of gold in Minas Gerais in the eighteenth century, forged new opportunities for language contact. Written sources on African languages in colonial Brazil cast light on the social situations in which settlers and captives chose to speak them. The motives for this choice varied from ensuring their own safety and protection to obtaining economical or personal (usually sexual) benefit. Such choices expose how speakers appropriated creoles in a multilingual environment and used them according to their needs.

Daily activities in which creoles were used are found in an Ewe-Fon dialect born out of contact between Africans and Portuguese in Minas Gerais. In the remainder of this section, I will examine *Obra Nova da Língua Geral Mina* (new book of the Mina General language - 1741), by the Portuguese settler Antônio da Costa Peixoto. Peixoto had written a short version of this work before (1731) under the name of *Alguns*

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[293] Bonvini, "Repères pour une histoire des connaissances linguistiques des langues africaines.: I. Du XVIe siècle au XVIIIe siècle: dans le sillage des explorations," p. 41; Rosa, *Uma língua africana no Brasil colônia de Seiscentos: o quimbundo ou língua de Angola na Arte de Pedro Dias*. pp. 54-57; 82.

[294] Rosa, *Uma língua africana no Brasil colônia de Seiscentos: o quimbundo ou língua de Angola na Arte de Pedro Dias*. p. 35.

[295] Ibid., pp. 66; 105.

[296] Robert Schwaller, 'The Importance of Mestizos and Mulatos as Bilingual Intermediaries in Sixteenth-Century New Spain,' *Ethnohistory* 62, no. 3 (2015): p. 716.

[297] Lee, "Conversing in Colony: the Brasílica and the vulgar in Portuguese America, 1500-1759", pp. 49-50; 152; Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile: les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil, 1580-1620*. p. 142.

[298] Holanda. p. 95.

Apontamentos da Língua Mina (Some Notes on the Mina Language). The main version used in this study was edited and analysed by ethno linguist Yeda Pessoa de Castro in 2002. Olaby Yai analyses another edition, published in 1944 by Luís Silveira.[299] As Castro claims, this text has relevant information not only for linguistics, but also for the history and sociology of African people in colonial Brazil.[300] In this work, Peixoto depicts the contexts in which he believed that using the Mina language was important in the form of dialogues and lists of words or expressions. This manuscript is revealing of the power relations between settlers and African captives and for this reason it is important to examine the social background of its author.

Costa Peixoto was originally from Entre-Douro and Minho, north Portugal (where most of the Portuguese that went to Brazil were from) and he lived in Vila Rica, in the gold mining district.[301] The great numbers of slaves newly arrived in the district propitiated the development of an African general language, as the captives came from various places.[302] Peixoto was a 'white ladino', although the current term used by scholarship for a European that spoke native tongues is *lançado*.[303] The *lançados* were profoundly integrated into the culture they lived in, although they never completely abandoned European habits.[304] Costa Peixoto was probably highly proficient in the Mina-Jeje dialect, but not a highly educated man, as his Portuguese had less polished features.[305] For example, he wrote 'pregunto' (I ask) instead of the correct form 'pergunto'.[306] Peixoto acknowledges his low education and 'limited discourse' in the prologue, explaining that he lacked proper instruction during the period when he might have been

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[299] Yai; António da Costa Peixoto, *Obra Nova de Língua Geral de Mina.* ed. Luís Silveira. Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colônias, 1944.

[300] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. p. 25.

[301] Ana Silvia Volpi Scott, *Famílias, Formas de União e Reprodução Social no Noroeste Português (Séculos XVIII e XIX)*. Guimarães: NEPS - Universidade do Minho, 1999, p. 36; Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, 'A circulação das elites no império dos Bragança (1640-1808): algumas notas,' *Tempo*, no. 27 (2009): pp. 63-65; Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: growing pains of a colonial society*. pp. 49; 164; Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. p. 26.

[302] Maestri, p. 200.

[303] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. p. 26; Disney. pp. 251; 372; Diogo Ramada Curto, "Portuguese Imperial and Colonial Culture," in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto. USA: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 318.

[304] Games, "Atlantic History: definitions, challenges, and opportunities," p. 752.

[305] Yai, p. 104.

[306] Ibid.

able to dedicate time to learning. From this statement, one can infer that instruction was supposed to happen during childhood, before the beginning of adult life when people were expected to work. It also reveals that Peixoto was aware of the 'rhetoric of modesty' expected from modern authors, according to which they noted their own weaknesses.[307] Costa Peixoto was not highly educated but he certainly underwent some basic education since, in spite of the spelling mistakes (mostly marks of orality), he was not illiterate.

Costa Peixoto organises his manuscript principally in the form of dialogues and there are a number of explanations for this choice. Teaching in dialogues was a common method at the time, used particularly in catechisms. Considering that Peixoto had basic education, his main model was probably a catechism. Therefore, consciously or not, he organised his manuscript in dialogues, as he would not have known how to write a more sophisticated grammar. Another possibility is that the dialogues recorded in his work were extremely common in everyday life and Costa Peixoto witnessed them, taking notes on the spot. Dialogues also facilitated memorisation and appealed to a larger audience more accustomed to oral traditions, revealing the connection that the written world maintained with orality, despite the spread of printing.[308]

Costa Peixoto considered the Mina language useful and important enough to be recorded in written form despite writing from the perspective of a coloniser. As stated in the prologue, his main objective was to help other Portuguese settlers avoid becoming victims of crimes such as robbery and murder because they did not understand the Mina dialect.[309] Colonial authorities and settlers nurtured a generalised fear of rebellions and runaway slaves in the colony as whole, particularly in the gold mining district.[310] This was almost an obsession for Assumar, who governed the captaincies of São Paulo and

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[307] Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*. p. 43.

[308] Roger Chartier, "Foreword," in *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*, ed. Fernando J. Alvarez Bouza. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, p. xiii.

[309] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. p. 26.

[310] Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: growing pains of a colonial society*. p. 177; Laura de Mello e Souza, *Norma e conflito: aspectos da história de Minas no século XVIII*. Belo Horizonte: Ed. UFMG, 1999, pp. 94; 178-179.

Minas Gerais between 1717 and 1721.[311] The situation continued into the eighteenth century and epistolary administrative communication pays testimony to the issue, particularly focusing on the activity of *calhambolas* (runaway slaves grouped into isolated communities called *quilombos)* that allegedly committed a series of crimes against freemen, mainly on the district's roads.[312] The formation of *quilombos* (maroons) was a form of resistance and rebellion to the slave regime. [313]

According to Costa Peixoto all of these problems that led to insult, ruin, robbery, death, atrocities and damages could be avoided if the slave owners and inhabitants of the gold mining district were 'less lazy' and 'more curious'.[314] Peixoto's audience may have been limited but he expected his manuscript to be published: at the end of the book he asks readers not to lend out their copies or reproduce them so as to encourage more people to buy his work when it came out.[315] The production of grammar books and dictionaries of general languages reflects a deeper European interest in native peoples. The importance of recording an African dialect on paper cannot, therefore, be glossed over, even if it was for colonising purposes, to restore settlers back in power, as it entailed the acknowledgement that it was important and needed to be recorded, fixed, and learned.[316]

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[311] Higgins. p. 176; Luciane Scarato, *Os Caminhos do Ouro nas Minas Setecentistas: contrabando, cotidiano e cultura material.* São Paulo: Annablume; FAPESP, 2014, pp. 100-105; Laura de Mello e Souza, *Desclassificados do ouro: a pobreza mineira no século XVIII.* Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1982, pp. 108-109.

[312] Scarato. pp. 100-105; Carlos Magno Guimarães, "Escravidão e quilombos nas Minas Gerais do século XVIII," in *História de Minas Gerais: as Minas setecentistas*, ed. Maria Efigênia Lage de Resende and Luiz Carlos Villalta. Belo Horizonte: Companhia do Tempo; Autêntica, 2007, pp. 440-442; 446-447; 452.

[313] The most famous quilombo in Brazil was seventeenth-century Quilombo dos Palmares, in the state of Alagoas, in the northeast. Mello, "African Descendants' Rural Vernacular Portuguese and its Contribution to Understanding the Development of Brazilian Portuguese," p. 176; Bakewell. p. 351; Klein and Vinson III. pp. 165; 176-177.

[314] "Pois é certo e afirmo, que se todos os senhores de escravos, e inda os que não têm, soubessem esta linguagem não sucederiam tantos insultos, ruínas, estragos, roubos, mortes, e finalmente casos atrozes, como muitos miseráveis têm experimentado: de que me parece de alguma sorte se poderiam evitar alguns destes desconcertos, se houvesse maior curiosidade e menos preguiça, nos moradores e habitants destes países". In: Peixoto. p. 12.

[315] "E que não o empreste, nem treslade, nem dê a tresladar a ninguém, e finalmente me enculque curioso para que me comprem outros volumes, que com ansia e fervor, fico dando ao prelo e breve me sairão". In: ibid., p. 36.

[316] Auroux. pp. 48;158.

The dialogues between freemen and captives in Costa Peixoto's text can be divided into three main subjects: slavery, commerce, and sexuality. There are also two short dialogues about religion and two pivotal Catholic sacraments: baptism and marriage. The interlocutors in one dialogue ask if a child has been baptised and in another if the person was married in Brazil or Portugal.[317] Angolan slaves were baptised in lots before they were taken to Brazil.[318] Missionaries attached great importance to baptism, leading Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval to write in his *Treatise* that it was more important to go the ports where slaves disembarked to ensure that they had been baptised, than to go to their lands to convert them.[319] The Church pressurised the Portuguese Crown to baptise all slaves, either in Africa, or aboard *tumbeiros* (slave trader ships). However, this task was "modestly accomplished".[320] As regards marriage, it was an ongoing issue in colonial Brazil, where Portuguese men outnumbered Portuguese women.[321] Hence it was not rare for Portuguese settlers to marry indigenous women and occasionally Africans, although the most common means of proceeding was to engage in unofficial and illicit relationships.[322]

On the subject of slavery, one of the most significant dialogues in the book is about a bush captain who, suspecting a slave of being a runaway, approaches the captive accusing him of escaping. When the slave denies the accusation, the captain asks the slave for his 'paper' but the captive replies that he had lost it.[323] This paper was probably a manumission letter, a document proving that slaves were free or in the process of paying for their liberty.[324] The fact that Costa Peixoto registered this type of

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[317] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII.* pp. 156-157.

[318] Pierson. p. 92.

[319] Sandoval. pp.8-9.

[320] Klein and Luna. p. 219.

[321] Higgins. p. 46; Alida C. Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580-1822.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, p. 167; Leila Mezan Algranti, "Famílias e vida doméstica," in *História da vida privada no Brasil*, ed. Laura de Mello e Souza, Cotidiano e vida privada na América portuguesa. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997, p. 84.

[322] Higgins. p. 46; Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580-1822.* p. 165; Algranti, pp. 86-87; Ronaldo Vainfas, "Moralidades brasílicas: deleites sexuais e linguagem erótica na sociedade na sociedade escravista," in *História da Vida Privada no Brasil*, ed. Laura de Mello e Souza. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997, pp. 231-232; Souza, *Desclassificados do ouro: a pobreza mineira no século XVIII.* p. 160.

[323] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII.* pp. 116-117; 152-153.

[324] Karasch. p. 335.

situation involving bush captains and black slaves leads to the conclusion that it was routine, or at least common. Bush captains were supposed to only apprehend slaves who had been reported missing. In exchange for this service, they received a payment.[325] However, many bush captains kept the captured runaway slave for long periods, frustrating slave owners.[326] It was therefore important for freemen to speak Mina in order to capture the 'right' runaway and not be deceived by them.

It was not uncommon for slaves and former slaves to work as bush captains as they were familiar with the territories where runaways could be found.[327] The fact that they probably knew the Mina-Jeje dialect must have influenced such a decision. There were no guarantees that, instead of helping the squad to find *quilombos*, slaves would not deceive bush captains in the opposite direction.[328] For this reason, it was of paramount importance that freemen understood the dialect. Another dialogue that clearly demonstrates the relevance of the Mina-Jeje dialect for settlers involved *canhambolas* capturing a white man.[329] In this example, the man has to convince the *canhambolas* that he has never stolen anything or offended any women, let alone injured a captive. In summary, he has to make the slaves believe he is an honest, generous, white man.[330] Speaking the Mina dialect creates empathy and makes communication possible between the freeman and the slaves, possibly saving his life.

Having examined the subject of slavery in *Obra Nova*, I would like to move to the question of commerce, which was usually mixed with sexuality. For example, a conversation between a black female vendor and a man begins with the man asking what she is selling, followed by an overt sexual proposition.[331] The connection between

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[325] Pablo Diener, Maria de Fátima G. Costa, and Johann Moritz Rugendas, *Rugendas e o Brasil.* São Paulo: Capivara, 2002, p. 192.

[326] Higgins. pp. 184-185.

[327] Ibid., pp. 194-195.

[328] Ibid., pp. 196-197.

[329] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. pp. 117-120.

[330] Ibid., pp. 119-120; 154-155.

[331] Ibid., pp. 159-160. In the referred dialogue, the man bought something, revealing another usual practice in Minas Gerais: to sell on credit. See: Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *Homens de Negócio: a interiorização da metrópole e do comércio nas Minas Setecentistas.* 2.° ed. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2006, pp. 128-129; Virgínia Maria Trindade Valadares, *A sombra do poder: Martinho de Melo e Castro e a administração da capitania de Minas Gerais (1770-1795).* São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 2006, p. 150; Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. pp. 159-162;

trade and sex reveals a common assumption about African women in colonial society or, at least, the idea that Europeans had of them.[332] Enslaved women had few alternatives when faced with white men seeking sex. Resistance was usually accompanied by retaliation but some women learnt to turn the situation to their benefit.[333] O. Yai points out that Costa Peixoto had female informants who contributed to the construction of his *Vocabulary*.[334]

Costa Peixoto referred to the Sixth Commandment (adultery) before writing the four conversations relating directly to sexuality, explaining that it was a sin against God, the soul, and the body. His justification to write about it was to help his readers to identify the situation and run away from it.[335] These dialogues seem to have been highly relevant to colonial society as Peixoto wrote personal comments on some of them, such as 'you can also say that', or 'it will be more certain', or 'sometimes, the best practice I see is such'.[336] The latter comment applied to a more explicit situation with a vendor who refused to have sexual intercourse because the man did not have any gold to pay her. He then became more assertive, telling the woman to sell her body on credit, to which she refused.[337] She was probably a *negra de tabuleiro* – enslaved women who sold food and spirits at stalls or from a big tray in the goldfields, but could also be prostitutes.[338] These women worked for their masters but could also save enough to pay for their liberty or,

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Angelo Alves Carrara, *Minas e Currais: produção rural e mercado interno em Minas Gerais, 1674-1807*. Juiz de Fora: Editora UFJF, 2007, p. 210.

[332] Vainfas, "Moralidades brasílicas: deleites sexuais e linguagem erótica na sociedade na sociedade escravista," pp. 230-231.

[333] Hawthorne. p. 175; Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *Chica da Silva: a Brazilian slave of the eighteenth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 118-119; A. J. R. Russell-Wood, 'Women and Society in Colonial Brazil,' *Journal of Latin American Studies* 9, no. 1 (1977): p. 4.

[334] Yai, p. 106.

[335] Peixoto. p. 35.

[336] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. pp. 162-165.

[337] Ibid., p. 165. Another dialogue is revealing of the spaces where sexual intercourse happened, for example, showing that intimacy in the colony usually took place in public spaces. See: Vainfas, "Moralidades brasílicas: deleites sexuais e linguagem erótica na sociedade na sociedade escravista," pp. 253-254.

[338] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. pp. 156-158; Higgins. pp. 197-200. They were also known as *negras quitandeiras*. See: Souza, *Desclassificados do ouro: a pobreza mineira no século XVIII*. pp. 122; pp. 177-200; Russell-Wood, "Women and Society in Colonial Brazil," p. 27.

in the case of already being *forras* (manumitted), a means of subsistence.[339] Residents near mining fields and even slave owners complained about the *negras de tabuleiro*, claiming that they caused disorder, led men astray, took their gold or got them drunk.[340] In spite of ongoing complaints and persecution, these vendors persisted throughout the colonial period, partly because their masters, who benefitted from their labour, supported them.[341]

Costa Peixoto's book serves as a unique record of language interaction in colonial Brazil. He approaches everyday life in the gold mining district, recreating and reproducing daily situations in which speaking the Mina dialect could be useful. He clearly wanted to provide settlers with the linguistic tools to interact with Africans and avoid putting themselves in risky situations: management of slaves was crucial. Travelling in the captaincy was a dangerous business and speaking Mina could, for example, save a life or avoid capturing the wrong runaway.[342] Ordinary activities such as buying food from a vendor in a mining land shed light on the delicate relationship between enslaved women and men, whether they were masters, freemen, or captives. The *negras de tabuleiro* illegally sold food and spirits to pay their owners. They could also sell their bodies and accumulate enough resources to pay for their manumission or even buy a slave of their own.[343] The complexity of exchanges reveals a society in which language reflected social stratification, but at the same time opened possibilities, as African and mestizos could turn the linguistic situation around in their favour. Portuguese was the language of power, but it coexisted with African and Amerindian languages in a way that neither settlers, nor captives and native peoples were able to ignore.

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[339] Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. pp. 156-158; Higgins. pp. 197-200; Souza, *Desclassificados do ouro: a pobreza mineira no século XVIII*. pp. 122; 177-180.

[340] Higgins. pp. 197-200.

[341] Ibid., p. 200; Souza, *Desclassificados do ouro: a pobreza mineira no século XVIII*. pp. 122; 177-180.

[342] Scarato. pp. 100-122.

[343] Bakewell. p. 351.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the two main objectives of the European expeditions overseas: commercial interests (usually related to precious metals) and the expansion of Christianity, both of which were challenged by linguistic differences.[344] In Brazil, Amerindian languages played a central role in colonisation for more than two hundred years. In some areas such as Grão-Pará and Maranhão, they continued into the nineteenth century as the first language of the largest proportion of the population. Nevertheless, general languages in Brazil never acquired the same status of those in Spanish America, perhaps because the Amerindian populations in Brazil were nomadic or seminomadic, differently from the settled Nahua, Maia, and Quechua.[345]

The Jesuits preferred to use Amerindian tongues when converting the Indians, only occasionally resorting to Portuguese.[346] They had a 'translation policy' in Asia, the Americas, and Europe which was linked to the missionary work.[347] In the sixteenth century, new missionaries were required to study Amerindian languages, where they were to preach preferably in the local vernaculars.[348] Grammar books and dictionaries contributed to the task of learning such languages, while in Brazil missionaries also counted on multilingual intermediaries, translators between two distinct worlds.[349] However, unlike Amerindian general languages, when Europeans produced works on African languages, they hardly ever recognised complexity in them or acknowledged their contributors.[350] This is significant in showing the place that African slaves occupied in the Brazilian colonial society: lower than Amerindians despite their numbers becoming higher.[351]

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[344] Todorov. pp. 10-11.

[345] Abulafia. pp. 263; 303; Fausto. pp. 13-14.

[346] Fávero.

[347] Burke, *Lost (and found) in Translation: a cultural history of translators and translating in early modern Europe*. p. 13.

[348] Fávero, p. 141; Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile: les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil, 1580-1620*. pp. 144-152; 217.

[349] Metcalf, *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600*. pp. 1-15.

[350] Disney. p. 250; Yai, p. 105.

[351] Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," p. 110.

I have highlighted that the number of written sources on African general languages appears lower than Amerindian records.[352] Similarly, in spite of the large numbers of African slaves taken to Brazil, few African general languages emerged (the most remarkable examples occurred in places such as in Bahia, Minas Gerais, and Maranhão).[353] These discrepancies expose the power relations in colonial Brazil that determined which stories were to be told and which should be silenced.[354] Silence is not neutral, it reveals inequalities that existed among individuals and led to unbalanced power in the production of historical evidence.[355] In spite of great numbers, African slaves occupied the bottom of the society and, therefore, written testimonies of their activities are scarce.

Amerindians, Africans, and mestizos gradually shifted from their mother tongues to *línguas gerais*, creoles or pidgins and, on the following, to Portuguese. A number of cultural, economic, and political factors contributed to this language shift and to spread Portuguese as a symbol of power. Portuguese settlers succeeded in creating an illusion of cultural superiority and of having greater numbers than Amerindians and Africans. This was particularly clear in the case of Brazil, where from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, the Portuguese presence went from being purely commercial to an effective settlement process involving a high degree of miscegenation.[356]

Evangelisation, combined with demographic changes might also explain why the Amerindians, Africans, and their descendants shifted to Portuguese.[357] At the beginning of colonisation, the missionaries, outnumbered by the Amerindians, made an effort to learn and codify their languages. The process was then inverted: the Amerindians and later on the Africans continued using the Portuguese language in order to participate more actively in the colonial society. In Spanish America, Castilian was not always forcibly imposed, but stimulated by the desire to attain status and to participate in the

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[352] Castro, *Os falares africanos na interação social do Brasil colônia*. p. 11.

[353] Castro, *Falares Africanos na Bahia: um Vocabulário Afro-Brasileiro*. p. 58; Castro, *A Língua Mina-Jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. p. 27; Bonvini, "Línguas Africanas e o Português falado no Brasil," pp. 20-21.

[354] Trouillot. p. 25.

[355] Ibid., p. 48.

[356] Mello, "African Descendants' Rural Vernacular Portuguese and its Contribution to Understanding the Development of Brazilian Portuguese," p. 172.

[357] Reflections based on: Rafael. pp. 208-212; Klein and Luna. pp. 215-216.

colonial dynamics.[358] A similar situation occurred in Brazil, where Amerindians and Africans took advantage of their situation, and used Portuguese as a tool to participate in colonial society. For example, belonging to an *aldeia* could be an advantage for the Amerindians, and so they identified themselves by their Christian names when sending a petition to the king.[359] Knowledge of the language became an effective tool for social advancement, since speaking Portuguese could open doors that would remain shut if they did not adopt the language.[360] The ability to read and write Portuguese granted status within a slave community.[361] The Jesuit linguistic policy was, therefore, a two-pronged sword: the general languages were an evangelisation tool, used to level up different ethnic groups, but the Amerindians later appropriated and used them accordingly to their interests and needs.[362]

As soon as Portugal achieved control over the indigenous peoples, the administration felt the need to introduce more aggressive linguistic policies in order to maintain the dominance of the Portuguese in the colony. What was at stake was not only political authority, but also cultural, with the Portuguese language increasingly occupying a central role. The need to assert political authority and to expand the borders culminated in the expulsion of the Jesuits and the subsequent prohibition of general languages. This change was also related to the importance that Brazil had acquired following the discovery of gold in the late seventeenth century, although Brazil's emergence in the Portuguese empire dates back to the first half of the seventeenth century (decline of Portuguese India).[363]

This chapter has challenged the idea that the spread of Portuguese and language shift was a conscious product of the Portuguese Crown, as it often depended on the

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[358] Firbas, p. 139.

[359] Almeida. p. 79.

[360] Mello, "African Descendants' Rural Vernacular Portuguese and its Contribution to Understanding the Development of Brazilian Portuguese," pp. 182-183.

[361] Klein and Luna. p. 218; Wachtel. p. 149.

[362] Almeida.

[363] Francisco Bethencourt, "O complexo atlântico," in *História da Expansão Portuguesa: do Índico ao Atlântico (1570-1697)*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri. Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 1998, pp. 318-319.

missionaries, the population, and the colonial dynamics in Brazil.[364] The typical mobility of Brazilian colonial society, particularly in the gold mining district, created a sense of belonging among the captives and native peoples, as they gradually identified more with the colonisers than their peers.[365] Mobility was also a decisive factor in miscegenation.[366] I further argue that miscegenation caused a change of identity and as such, the shift to Portuguese occurred.[367]

Multilingual African slaves, mestizos, and Amerindians contributed to the spread of Portuguese as a symbol and tool of power. The Portuguese presence in Africa was established much earlier than the discovery of Brazil. As a consequence, the Portuguese were used to African dialects, whereas the Amerindian languages represented an entirely new linguistic world. Africans too were familiar with Portuguese as it had been used as a lingua franca in Africa.[368] I argue that, as with Spanish America, Portuguese became an alternative to linguistic multiplicity after many years of contact.[369] In the next chapter I will look at both the state and the population to reveal the power relations involved in education and language standardisation.

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[364] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", p. 20.

[365] Pierson. p. 162.

[366] Bennassar, "The Minas Gerais: a high point of miscegenation," p. 39.

[367] Ramos, "Indigenous Intellectuals in Andean Colonial Cities," p. 29.

[368] Klein and Luna; Rebelo, p. 385.

[369] Ramos, "Indigenous Intellectuals in Andean Colonial Cities," pp. 28-29.

Chapter 2: Education and censorship in the shaping of the Portuguese language in colonial Brazil and Portugal

In this chapter, I will argue that education and censorship played a significant role in the consolidation of the Portuguese language in Portugal and in Brazil. I will assess the relationship between literacy and the powers involved in the standardisation of Portuguese. Why was it important for a language to be standardised? The standardisation and preservation of European vernaculars in the modern period largely relied on written records, which were directly related to both literacy and education.[1] Literacy gradually became a symbol of cultural privilege in a society that increasingly communicated about legal, religious, and administrative subjects on paper.[2]

Writing was a powerful force for transformation in human communication, but it did not act independently from other communicative tools.[3] Similarly, grammar rules and schooling were not themselves sufficient to determine whether people continued speaking a language or switched to a new one.[4] However, the existence of organised writing systems, whether manuscript or printed, indicates that some sort of standardisation process was taking place.[5] Variations in spelling were greater in manuscripts than in printed texts as copying by hand created ample opportunities to modify the texts.[6] The invention of printing meant, therefore, that identical copies of books, including teaching manuals, spelling books, and dictionaries circulated more widely, promoting the standardisation of language.[7] It is important, therefore, to study

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[1] Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983, p. 19; Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. pp. 89-90.

[2] Stock. p. 19; Justino Pereira de Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal.* vol. 2. Braga: Universidade do Minho, Instituto de Educação, 1994, p. 54.

[3] Matthew Innes, 'Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society,' *Past & Present*, no. 158 (1998): p. 34; Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*. p. 11.

[4] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", p. 465; Edwards. p. 130.

[5] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", p. 465; Dell H. Hymes, *Language in Culture and Society: a reader in linguistics and anthropology.* New York: Harper & Row, 1964, p. 667; Gumperz, p. 45.

[6] Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro*. p. 78.

[7] Burke, *The Art of Conversation*. p. 86.

education in connection with standardisation because both shaped the range of literacy skills that were available to the population. I use the word education here in the sense that it was used in the eighteenth century: to be able to read, write, and reckon.[8] I also include informal instruction, such as that provided by cultural intermediaries other than teachers – for example, family and friends.[9]

How did attitudes towards literacy vary from place to place? Following the Reformation and Counter Reformation in the sixteenth century, attitudes varied significantly between Northern and Southern Europe.[10] In contrast with other European countries, the Church's main objective in Portugal was not to open schools, despite the fact that it remained its duty to teach the doctrine.[11] There, in spite of religious censorship, literacy was important because it increased the chances of achieving success in the colony (mainly in trade) and certain social groups were aware of such opportunity.[12] For example, research on the ability to sign one's name in Porto between 1580 and 1650 indicates that the majority of literate people were men from upper social classes and that some occupations such as traders showed high levels of literacy (almost 100 per cent).[13]

It is of paramount importance to recognise that some families in both Portugal and Brazil invested in their children's education despite experiencing economic difficulties; immigrants who went to the colony learnt to read and write in their home towns before

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[8] Anne-Marie Chartier and Jean Hébrard, "Literacy and Schooling from a Cultural Historian's Point of View," in *Cultural History and Education: critical essays on knowledge and schooling*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin, and Miguel A. Pereyra. New York, London: Routledge Falmer, 2001, p. 265.

[9] R. S. Schofield, "Pre-measurement of literacy in pre-industrial England," in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. Jack Goody. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 315; António Gomes Ferreira, "A educação no Portugal Barroco: séculos XVI a XVIII," in *Histórias e Memórias da Educação no Brasil*, ed. Maria Stephanou and Maria Helena Camara Bastos. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 2011, p. 65.

[10] W. Reginald Ward, *Christianity under the Ancien Régime, 1648-1789*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 34-35.

[11] Aurea Adão, *Estado Absoluto e o ensino das primeiras letras: as escolas régias (1772-1994)*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbekian, 1997, p. 15.

[12] Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, "As reformas na monarquia pluricontinental portuguesa: de Pombal a dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho," in *O Brasil Colonial 1720-1821*, ed. João Fragoso and Maria de Fátima Gouvêa. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2014, p. 121; Caroline B. Brettell, *Men who migrate, women who wait: population and history in a Portuguese parish*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princenton University Press, 1986, p. 82.

[13] Francisco Ribeiro da Silva, 'A alfabetização no antigo regime: o caso do Porto e da sua região (1580-1650),' *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, no. 3 (1986): pp. 151; 157-158.

leaving for the colony. Families provided for their children's education with the sole aim of sending them to Brazil – between 1835 and 1850 young and literate men continued migrating to Brazil to occupy posts in trade.[14] The lucrative opportunities in the gold mining district of Minas Gerais further justified this investment.[15] For these reasons, it is relevant to analyse the cultural habits that shaped literacy in the Lusophone world, since literacy served a social purpose, influencing people's decisions, their choices of teaching methods and teachers, as well as their reading habits.[16] This behaviour was not unique to Luso-Brazilian society – in England, if the time and resources invested in pupils did not result in them having better chances in life, there would be no reason to invest in educating them.[17] In other words, families would not put their subsistence at stake if literacy was not worth the risk.

To contribute to our understanding of language, education, and censorship in colonial Brazil, I will start by presenting an overview of education in Portugal and Brazil within the context of the Atlantic world, looking at how immigrants acquired and used their knowledge to stand out in colonial society. Having established this framework, I will examine the reforms carried out by Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo – the Marquis of Pombal (1759-1772 and 1772-1777). All sectors in Portuguese society and government were affected by the Marquis but I will focus on the Pombaline reforms in education. As I do so, I will analyse the participation of religious orders in schooling and literacy, together with lay agents, such as family and private teachers, as well as early official attempts to regulate Portuguese teaching in Portugal and overseas.

I will go on to look at the connections between religion, printing, and language, setting Iberian printing within a European, Counter-Reformation context. Following this, I will address the question of censorship and the extent to which it was related to power and the standardisation of language. Focusing on censors' reports on reference books and

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[14] Francisco Ribeiro da Silva, "História da Alfabetização em Portugal: fontes, métodos, resultados," in *A História da Educação em Espanha e Portugal: investigações e actividades*, ed. António Nóvoa and Julio Ruiz Berrio. Lisboa: Sociedade Portuguesa de Ciências da Educacão; Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación, 1993, p. 105. For 1785, Caroline Brettell notes a similar situation. See: Brettell. p. 82.

[15] Roberta Giannubilo Stumpf, *Cavaleiros do ouro e outras trajetórias nobilitantes: as solicitações de hábitos das Ordens militares nas Minas Setecentistas*.UNB, 2009, p. 281.

[16] Silva, p. 105.

[17] Lawrence Stone, 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900,' *Past & Present* 42, (1969): p. 74.

wider literature, I will further argue that they reveal institutional attempts to standardise the Portuguese language, as they expose the relations of power involved in the production of a discourse of language purity.[18] A comparison of school books and language teaching methods will help to illuminate their roles as instruments through which individuals also exercised power.[19] Finally, I will examine power at the extreme ends of its exertion, as power is present in every human interaction and flows between people and institutions: teachers, students, immigrants, traders, schools and the government.[20] In the end, I hope to contribute to the debate of cross-cultural colonial exchanges and demonstrate that Brazil was closely integrated into the cultural European landscape but, at the same time, adapted it to the colonial dynamics.

Education in Portugal and Brazil: an overview

Preparing to migrate to the New World involved learning to read and write, which contributed to the cross-cultural exchange within the Atlantic world. In this section, I will analyse education in Brazil and Portugal primarily in the first half of the eighteenth century but also going back as far as the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Focusing on subjects related to language teaching, my objective is to link education on both sides of the Atlantic, studying education of the elite and intermediary social groups in Brazil by looking at Portugal. This is crucial to gaining an understanding of the development of literacy in the colony.

The Church played a key role in education within the Lusophone world. At different levels, religion it influenced both education and literacy throughout this period in most of Western Europe including not only Catholic monarchies like Portugal, Italy, Spain and France, but also Protestant countries such as England.[21] Since the seventeenth century, catechisms in France had ceased to be an exclusive schoolmaster's manual and became a book for pupils to learn reading, writing, and counting, as they came with "an

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[18] Foucault and Gordon. p. 93.

[19] Ibid., p. 102.

[20] Ibid., pp. 97-98; 199.

[21] Francisco da Gama Caeiro, 'As Escolas Capitulares no primeiro século da Nacionalidade Portuguesa,' *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa* 1, no. 2 (1966): pp. 6;29.

alphabet primer and syllable charts".[22] According to A. R. Disney, the number of schools that offered basic literacy skills grew in Portugal throughout the sixteenth century, and it was possible to make a living as a teacher.[23] In 1550, there were about 8,000 pupils in schools learning to read and write Portuguese, Latin, and sometimes Greek and Hebrew.[24] Thomas Cox wrote that education was very low among the Portuguese. In Lisbon, only three men understood Greek. However, the visitor later lowered his tone and recognised that this would be an exaggeration, assuming that more people knew Greek but were not 'Grecian' (not proficient).[25] In Portugal, the network of small schools and colleges that the Church controlled experienced continuous growth until the eighteenth century.[26] The first schools sought to instruct priests and prepare them for their posts.[27]

In this context, looking at the episcopal chapter records of certain cathedrals in Portugal that also had schools can contribute to our understanding of education, as the data provided by probate inventories for that period does not elaborate on the guidelines for teaching at the time.[28] Ecclesiastical schools in Coimbra and Braga (such as the Benedictine monastery of Tibães) served as cultural centres in the thirteenth-century.[29] This is important considering that most of the immigrants that went to Brazil were from this area. In Lisbon, schools tended to be located near the Cathedral; in addition to grammar lessons, they provided religious studies classes for those who wanted to become priests.[30] The curriculum generally covered religion, logic, music, basic

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[22] Chartier and Hébrard, p. 267.

[23] A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807.* vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 164.

[24] Ibid.

[25] "O saber está muito por baixo entre eles. O sr. S levou-me a ver o seu Advogado e disse-me que ele e mais 2 eram os únicos homens do Reino que entendiam o Grego; para falar a verdade, penso que entre eles há mais quem saiba a Língua, mas sou da Opinião do sr. Thorpe, que me contou que não há um entre eles a quem se possa chamar Helenista, quer dizer, um que domine bem as Línguas". Thomas Cox and Cox Macro, *Relação do Reino de Portugal 1701.* vol. 1. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2007, pp. 44.

[26] António Nóvoa, *Le Temps des Professeurs: analyse socio-historique de la profession enseignante au Portugal (XVIIIe-XXe siècle).* vol. 1. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1987, p. 68.

[27] Schofield, p. 315. Since the Second and Fourth Council of the Lateran (1179 and 1215), the Catholic Church advised all cathedrals to provide not only the clergy, but also poor children with education. See: Caeiro, "As Escolas Capitulares no primeiro século da Nacionalidade Portuguesa," p. 7.

[28] Caeiro, "As Escolas Capitulares no primeiro século da Nacionalidade Portuguesa," p. 11.

[29] Ibid., p. 8.

[30] Ibid., p. 42. The situation was similar in late medieval England. See: Schofield, p. 315.

mathematics and Latin. After the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the Catholic Church determined the clergy to be more 'professional', better prepared and better qualified to teach the doctrine.[31] The Church thus created a number of institutions, such as diocesan seminaries, ecclesiastical courts, and visitations to supervise the conduct of parish members.[32] There were the parish visitations, carried out by the delegates of the bishops, and the visitations of the districts by the Inquisitors. Although both types of visit shared some points in common, the inquisitor held a more distinctive position in relation to the delegates.[33]

Urban and rural schools differed as the former enjoyed a greater range of educational institutions – such as fee-paying schools with lay teachers, charities, religious congregations and private teachers.[34] Inhabitants of rural areas, on the other hand, had to resort to local noblemen, clergymen, and parish councils; moreover, most of the 'teachers' came from agricultural and handicraft backgrounds.[35] Private tutors were also common in Portugal. They would usually receive students in their homes, whether or not they were part of the local administration and the Church.[36] This is significant, as material culture such as the existence of furniture (benches and bookshelves), together with the presence of books like catechisms, may indicate that the deceased had carried out teaching activities even when this was not clearly stated in the probate inventory.

In Brazil, the Crown did not make much effort to institutionalise education, as priority was given to the establishment of the colonial apparatus.[37] As a consequence, settlers wanting to provide their children with an education hired private tutors or sent them to religious institutions in the main cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Salvador (Bahia) and

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[31] R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 115-116.

[32] Ibid., pp. 42; 116; Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 212.

[33] Francisco Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições: Portugal, Espanha e Itália.* Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1994, pp. 185-193.

[34] Nóvoa. pp. 64-65.

[35] Ibid., p. 64.

[36] Justino Pereira de Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal.* Braga: Universidade do Minho, Instituto de Educação, 1994, p. 177.

[37] Thais de Nivia Lima e Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa.* Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2009, pp. 34-35.

Recife (Pernambuco), all founded in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.[38] High Church members usually criticised clergymen for their lack of preparation and insufficient literacy but their significance to education during the colonial period was undeniable.[39] The Society of Jesus played a crucial role in education in Brazil and elsewhere in the Lusophone Atlantic such as Angola (a Jesuit college was founded in Luanda in 1623).[40] The Jesuit College in Salvador accepted students from outside even if they were not potential Jesuits and in 1694 their library held 3,000 volumes. The same was true of the Jesuit College in Rio de Janeiro which was, in the mid-eighteenth century, as important as the College in Bahia.[41] In Pernambuco, lay citizens could send their children to the Jesuit Colleges of Olinda and Recife.[42]

These establishments followed a similar structure to Portugal: first, pupils learnt the alphabet, then arts, followed by theology and sometimes philosophy.[43] In addition to the colleges, religious orders organised expeditions into the hinterlands to teach the rural population, including indigenous people, African slaves, and settlers.[44] Such expeditions were "popular missions" and were in line with the Counter Reform effort that the Catholic Church instigated during the sixteenth century, which was based on the education of the congregation and the spread of devotional practices.[45] The main objective of these expeditions, however, was not to educate, but rather to spread the religious message. The Crown did not allow religious orders in Minas Gerais – although their members were the main source of education in the colony – because friars were frequently accused of smuggling gold.[46] Gomes Freire de Andrade (the governor of the captaincy in 1753) wrote about the possibility of allowing religious orders in the

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[38] José Ferreira Carrato, *Igreja, iluminismo e Escolas Mineiras Coloniais.* São Paulo: Cia. Ed. Nacional, 1968, p. 106; Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil.* vol. 6. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1945, p. 3.

[39] Bruno Feitler, *Nas malhas da consciência: Igreja e Inquisição no Brasil: Nordeste 1640-1750.* São Paulo: Phoebus: Alameda, 2007, p. 50.

[40] Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the era of the slave trade.* pp. 139; 141-142.

[41] Leite. pp. 3; 6.

[42] Feitler. p. 51.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., p. 58.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Leandro Pena Catão, *Sacrílegas palavras: Inconfidência e presença jesuítica nas Minas Gerais durante o período pombalino.* Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2005, p. 180.

district, advising for their continued prohibition as it was more important to tackle the contraband of gold than to educate the inhabitants.[47]

There were very few private teachers in the mining district: there is evidence of two schoolmasters in Minas Gerais between 1733 and 1734 – one in Sabará and another in Curral-del-Rei (**MAP 5**).[48] It was possible to find Jesuits employed in private teaching activities in Minas despite the prohibition but the first schools were domestic or parish schools, similar to the ecclesiastic schools in Portugal.[49] Around 1744, Father Bento Cardoso Osório founded a secondary school that followed the Jesuit model in Sumidouro, near Mariana.[50] It was known as the *Colégio dos Osórios* (Osórios' College) and it lasted until the nineteenth century.[51] In 1750, King José I authorised the creation of a seminary in Mariana.[52] Initially under Jesuit control, this institution was a landmark in education and was aligned to the Council of Trent proposal of reforming the clergy.[53] The seminary was an alternative for parents who did not want or have the means to send their children outside Minas Gerais. It went on to train a significant number of future teachers and members of other respected professions.[54]

In 1721, King João V had sent an order to the authorities in Minas Gerais to open a school and appoint two teachers in each village; one to teach reading, writing, and accounts; and another to teach Latin, to be paid by students' families.[55] Historians such as C. Boxer note that in 1750, representatives from the Portuguese government travelled around the mining district and visited some of these schools.[56] J. Carrato, however, claims that this order was never obeyed, since the governor of the district at the time,

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[47] Luiz Carlos Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," in *História de Minas Gerais: as Minas Setecentistas*, ed. Maria Efigênia Lage de Resende and Luiz Carlos Villalta. Belo Horizonte: Companhia do Tempo; Autêntica, 2007, p. 257.

[48] Carrato. p. 9; Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," p. 258.

[49] Carrato. pp. 98-99; Catão, pp. 180; 236-237; Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-grande & senzala): a study in the development of Brazilian civilization*. p. 346.

[50] Carrato. pp. 120-121; Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," p. 267.

[51] Carrato. p. 122.

[52] Ibid., pp. 102-104; Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," pp. 255-259.

[53] Carrato. p. 104; Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," pp. 259-260.

[54] Carrato. pp. 111-112; Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," pp. 259-260.

[55] Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: growing pains of a colonial society*. p. 169; Carrato. pp. 96-97; Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," p. 256.

[56] Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: growing pains of a colonial society*. p. 169.

Lourenço de Almeida, was opposed to the measure, claiming that most of the inhabitants of Minas Gerais were 'sons of black women' and would therefore not benefit from any instruction.[57] As the economic relevance of Brazil grew, the Crown recognised the importance of educating some colonists in basic literacy skills that would enable them to communicate with the metropole and engage in commercial activities.[58] The general metropolitan attitude towards education in Minas was marked by an extremely utilitarian view.[59] This attitude allowed Portugal to control the amount and type of knowledge circulating in the district, reducing it to what was essential for the maintenance of colonial dynamics.

The district's inhabitants had worried about their education in Portugal and, once settled in the colony, they transferred the same concerns to their children.[60] Whenever possible, they sent their offspring to study outside Minas Gerais, in Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and even Coimbra. But they also sought alternatives within the gold mining district before the Portuguese Crown royal schools were established in the colony. I do not claim that these families and individuals reflect the totality of the educational tradition in Lusophone society as I am aware that they represent a small and elite group. However, to deny any literacy beyond these families would mean to gloss over the connections between popular and high culture.[61] In the next section I will look at the Pombaline reforms and the ways in which they changed education in the Luso-Brazilian world.

The role of education in the Pombaline reforms

One dramatic event strengthened both Pombal's personal power and state intervention in Portugal and its domains.[62] The earthquake that hit Lisbon in 1755 catalysed a series of political, economic, and cultural changes in Portugal, marking the consolidation of the Marquis of Pombal as Secretary of State. Although the Pombaline reforms were not

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[57] Carrato. pp. 76-97.

[58] Antônio Wilson Silva de Souza, "Manuais de caligrafia no Brasil do século XVIII: caminhos e concepções do desenho," in *Do desenho das Belas Letras à livre expressão no desenho da escrita*, ed. Gláucia Maria Costa Trinchão. Salvador: Edufba, 2012, p. 26.

[59] Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," p. 257.

[60] Carrato. p. 101.

[61] Innes, "Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society," pp. 23-24.

[62] Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal*. pp. 104-105.

a direct consequence of the Enlightenment, they certainly benefited from the enlightened culture and environment, allowing new ideas about education to enter the Portuguese Empire.[63]

Religious education remained dominant during the years preceding the Pombaline reforms, including in Brazil, where the few educational establishments belonged to religious orders such as the Franciscans, Jesuits, and Oratorians.[64] The foundation of the Congregation of the Oratory (1575) was part of the same Counter Reform momentum that enabled the establishment of the Order of Christ. Expanding from Italy to Spain, Portugal, Goa and South America, the Oratorians played a fundamental role in the Catholic Reformation in early modern Europe.[65] In Portugal, the Jesuits had thirty-four colleges (thirteen in Lisbon), while in Brazil they controlled seventeen colleges and seminaries, in addition to thirty-six Jesuit missions.[66] Generally speaking, the Oratorians' pedagogy was very different from the Jesuits, for they embraced moderate enlightened ideas more than the Jesuits.[67] Thomas Cox wrote that the Dominicans and the Oratorians were renowned and the wisest in the kingdom. He stated that the Society of Jesus was wise and the richest but that Jesuits usually focused on one aspect of education, particularly grammar and oratory.[68] For example, the Oratorians taught Newton in physics, while the Jesuits rejected both Newton and Descartes.[69] Therefore, the Oratorians were the main competitors of the Society of Jesus in the educational field and the Portuguese administration largely favoured them during the second half of the eighteenth century, especially after the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal and its

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[63] Ibid., pp. 286-287.

[64] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 276.

[65] Mullett. pp. 100-102.

[66] Maxwell. p. 96; Cox and Macro. p. 45.

[67] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. pp. 276-277; Ferreira, p. 63.

[68] "Os Dominicanos e os Padres do Oratório são reconhecidamente os homens mais universalmente sábios entre eles. A Ordem dos Jesuítas é realmente muito sábia, mas um Jesuíta dedica-se a apenas uma Ciência. Quando percebem que o génio de um homem tende para a área da Gramática, mesmo que ele seja suficientemente sabedor para poder fazer palestras acerca de outras Ciências, esse homem Será obrigadao a praticar apenas a Gramática. Por vezes, um homem que tenha uma boa maneira de compor Sermões escrevê-los-á, e outro que tenha um bom domínio da oratória será o Pregador. A Ordem dos Jesuítas é mais rica." Cox and Macro. p. 44v.

[69] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 277; Rómulo de Carvalho, *História do ensino em Portugal: desde a fundação da nacionalidade até o fim do regime de Salazar-Caetano*. 3a ed. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2001, pp. 386-387.

domains in 1759.[70] The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a change – or, at least, an attempt to change – the methods of teaching and organisation of the education system. In this section, I will look at the educational reforms that the Marquis of Pombal implemented, first in Portugal and later overseas.

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo served as Portugal's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and War between 1750 and 1777.[71] King José I granted Carvalho e Melo the title of Earl of Oeiras in 1759; ten years later, he became the Marquis of Pombal, for which he is most famously known.[72] Carvalho e Melo assumed the position during a turbulent time for Portugal, given the earthquake that devastated Lisbon in 1755. His decisive response to the disaster helped him bring about deep cultural, economic, and political changes in the country.[73] Prior to this, he had worked as a diplomat in London (1739-1743) and in Vienna (1745-1750).[74] Scholars consider Carvalho e Melo's activities in diplomacy to be of paramount importance to his career as a minister and the intellectual foundation of his reform programme.[75] It was during diplomatic service, particularly in England, that he gained access to academic works and individuals that helped him develop new ideas, which he drew upon later when implementing his reforms.[76] For example, he attended the Royal Society in London, where he developed a refined understanding of British economic and naval pre-eminence.[77] His library in London contained a wide range of titles that varied in subject from mercantilist and trading companies, to works on mines, sugar, navigation and manufacturing.[78]

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[70] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. pp. 276-277; Carvalho. p. 399; Adão. pp. 26-27. Other countries followed Portugal in expelling the Jesuits: France (1762), Spain (1767), and Italy (1768). See: Ward. pp. 188-189; Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal*. p. 257.

[71] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 281; Maxwell. p. 1.

[72] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 280; Maxwell. p. 2.

[73] Maxwell. p. 87; Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal*. p. 107.

[74] Maxwell. pp. 4; 8-9.

[75] Gabriel Paquette, "Views from the South: images of Britain and its empire in Portuguese and Spanish political economic discourse, ca. 1740-1810," in *The Political Economy of Empire in the Early Modern World*, ed. Sophus A. Reinert and Pernille Røge, Cambridge imperial and post-colonial studies series. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 90-91.

[76] Maxwell. pp. 4-9.

[77] Ibid., p. 6.

[78] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

Pombal's stay in Britain was undeniably important to his intellectual development but it was Austria that was most instrumental to his future career.[79] In Vienna, he met an influential Portuguese aristocrat, Manuel Teles da Silva, who was a confidant of the Austrian empress Maria Theresa.[80] The Marquis' personal doctor, Gerhard van Swieten, supported the reformation of the censorship system in Austria as well as the reformation of the University of Vienna; both reforms opposed the Jesuits.[81] His Austrian connections also put Carvalho e Melo in contact with António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, a Portuguese physician and 'New Christian' who became a personal friend of Pombal. Sanches openly advocated education that prepared recipients for civilian life and the secularisation of pedagogic practices.[82]

Pombal thus found inspiration for his reforms in the Enlightenment, particularly the Catholic Italian and Austrian Enlightenment, which rejected anti-absolutist ideas and overlooked the revolutionary character of the French Enlightenment. At the same time, it valued rationalism, secularisation and method, especially in history and literature.[83] Literature usually classifies this brand of 'cherry-picking' Enlightenment as 'moderate', since it emphasised science and empiricism but advocated absolutism and sought to reconcile secular and religious interests.[84] As G. Paquette puts it, "Bourbon ministers in Madrid and their Pombaline (and post-Pombaline) counterparts in Lisbon siphoned foreign ideas – from Britain, Naples, Denmark, Prussia, Holland and France – and blended them with peninsular ones to produce hybrid policy prescriptions."[85]

The minister meticulously justified every measure he passed, always anchoring his decisions on systematised laws.[86] However, this rationalism did not prevent him from taking absolutist measures like extending the crime of lèse-majesté to the King's

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[79] Ibid., p. 8; Souza, p. 57.

[80] Maxwell. p. 9.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Carlota Boto, "Iluminismo e educação em Portugal: o legado do século XVIII ao XIX," in *Histórias e Memórias da Educação no Brasil*, ed. Maria Stephanou and Maria Helena Camara Bastos. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 2011, p. 63.

[83] Leo Magnino, 'Influência do Iluminismo na Cultura Portuguesa,' *Bracara Augusta: Revista cultural da Câmara Municipal de Braga* XXVIII, no. 65-66 (77-78) (1974): p. 288.

[84] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 305; Boto, p. 166.

[85] Paquette, p. 77.

[86] Maxwell. p. 88.

ministers. In addition, he also employed personal bodyguards, one of the few ministers to have done so in European history (including Richelieu, Louis XIII's chief minister in the seventeenth century).[87] In the colonies, the Marquis prioritised the creation of trade companies in Brazil in an attempt to reinforce control of the national economy.[88] Accordingly, in 1761 Pombal created the Royal Treasure (*Erário Régio*) where the Crown's financial operations would be recorded, centralising and rationalising the administration.[89]

Overall, the education system in Portugal was outdated and in need of reform, as the Jesuits practically monopolised education from primary to university level, employing the same methods over a period of centuries.[90] It is necessary to establish a difference between the secularisation of the education system and the replacement of clergymen with lay teachers, as the existence of one does not necessarily imply the extinction of the other.[91] The Pombaline reforms did not prevent religious agents from teaching and although it was difficult to replace the Jesuits, there were other religious orders dedicated to education, such as the afore-mentioned Oratorians, in addition to private teachers.[92] The Portuguese licensing system did not do much for the spread of new ideas as it constituted a triple-faced form of censorship. The Pombaline reforms tackled both issues with "a highly utilitarian purpose – to produce a new corps of enlightened officials to staff the reformed state bureaucracy and church hierarchy".[93] Carvalho e Melo started implementing the education reforms in 1759, and in 1768 began reforming the censorship system.

The first tranche of reforms (1759-1772) altered the structure of the education system and teaching methods in secondary studies – Latin, Greek, Hebrew and rhetoric. The 1759 law forced the closure of all Jesuit secondary schools in Portugal and transformed

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid., p. 90.

[90] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 276.

[91] Nóvoa. p. 225.

[92] Ibid., p. 175; Carvalho. p. 467; Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, "A educação da mulher e das crianças no Brasil colônia," in *Histórias e Memórias da educação no Brasil*, ed. Maria Stephanou and Maria Helena Camara Bastos. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 2011, p. 132.

[93] Maxwell. p. 101.

the structure of Latin and Greek classes.[94] The Crown stipulated that three teachers of Latin should go from Lisbon to Brazil – two to Pernambuco and one to Grão-Pará.[95] However, education in Brazil probably remained confined to unlicensed private teachers who continued using Jesuit books until the second tranche of reforms.[96] The same bill created the Directorate General of Studies (*Diretoria Geral dos Estudos*) whose director was personally appointed by the King to supervise the education reforms and report on progress annually.[97]

The second tranche of reforms occurred between 1772 and 1777, Pombal's final years in government. Historiography recognises a 1772 law as the first attempt to organise an official primary curriculum in Portugal and overseas.[98] In 1771, the Royal Board of Censorship assumed responsibility for the education system instead of the Directorate General of Studies.[99] In the same year, the Marquis of Pombal introduced a literary tax called the *subsídio literário* (literary subsidy) to be used to pay for more public teachers (*professores régios*) in the Portuguese Empire.[100] In Portugal and the islands, the tax was levied on wine, spirits and vinegar; in Brazil, on spirits and beef. [101] In Portugal, the fact that the economically active population had to pay this tax encouraged them to

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[94] António Alberto Banha de Andrade, *A reforma pombalina dos estudos secundários (1759-1771): contribuição para a história da pedagogia em Portugal.* Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1981, pp. 79-80, vol. 2; Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807.* p. 306; Maxwell. p. 88.

[95] Andrade. p. 788-789.

[96] Ibid., p. 801.

[97] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807.* p. 306.

[98] Silva, p. 101; A. H. de Oliveira Marques and Joel Serrão, *Nova História de Portugal.* vol. 7. Lisboa: Presença, 1987, p. 518; Boto, p. 171; Adão. pp. 5; 48.

[99] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807.* p. 307; Maxwell. p. 92.

[100] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807.* p. 307; Maxwell. p. 97; Christianni Cardoso Morais, *Posse e usos da cultura escrita e difusão da escola de Portugal ao Ultramar, Vila e Termo de São João Del-Rei, Minas Gerais (1750-1850).*Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2009, pp. 72-73.

[101] Diana de Cássia Silva, "Ser Mestre de Primeiras Letras no termo de Mariana: desafios de uma profissão em construção (1772-1835)," in *Entre o Seminário e o Grupo escolar: a história da educação em Mariana/MG (XVIII-XX)*, ed. Juliana Cesario. Hamdan, Marcus Vinícius. Fonseca, and Rosana Areal de Carvalho. Belo Horizonte: Mazza Edições, 2013, p. 34; Morais, p. 73.

demand more lessons.[102] In Minas Gerais, some settlers asked to stop paying the tax because the schools were too far from their hamlets and farms.[103]

It is not accurate to claim that professional teaching did not exist in the Lusophone world prior to the nationalisation of the education system, for at the beginning of the eighteenth century there was already a significant group whose main occupation was teaching.[104] For example, according to Banha de Andrade, when teaching exams came into existence in Rio de Janeiro in 1760, seventeen teachers applied.[105] Four of them had never been teachers before, while the others were experienced: seven were teachers in Rio de Janeiro, two of whom worked in seminars; Vila Rica (Minas Gerais), Parati (Rio de Janeiro), São Paulo and Santos (São Paulo) had one teacher each. Minas Gerais had two more from unspecified areas; among those, three were former Jesuits.[106] In Portugal, a variety of individuals sat the exams: artisans, clergymen, notary officers, civil servants and even students.[107] It is possible that the same applied in Brazil.

The first royal teachers did not arrive in Brazil until 1765.[108] In the early 1770s, there were seventeen primary education teachers in the colony: two in Rio de Janeiro, two in Bahia, four in Pernambuco, one each in São Paulo, Maranhão, and Pará and four in Minas Gerais.[109] In 1773, the Crown appointed 167 teachers in Brazil.[110] In comparison, Angolese authorities complained in 1766 about the shortage of royal teachers and stated that only three candidates had applied for the vacancies.[111] Two public schools were opened in the 1770s and in 1784 the local administration requested two or three masters

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[102] António Nóvoa, 'Do Mestre-Escola ao professor do ensino primário: subsídios para a história da profissão docente em Portugal (séculos XV -XX),' *Análise Psicológica* 3, no. IV (1987): p. 419; Morais, pp. 78-80.

[103] Morais, p. 98-99.

[104] Nóvoa, *Le Temps des Professeurs: analyse socio-historique de la profession enseignante au Portugal (XVIIIe-XXe siècle).* p. 72.

[105] Andrade. pp. 804-805.

[106] Ibid., p. 804.

[107] Rui Ramos, 'Culturas da alfabetização e culturas do analfabetismo em Portugal: uma introdução à História da Alfabetização no Portugal contemporâneo,' *Análise Social* XXIV no. 103-104 (1988): p. 1100.

[108] Morais, pp. 56; 69.

[109] Álvaro de Araújo Antunes, "A Civilização das Letras: considerações sobre as dimensões da cultura escolar em Mariana (1750-1822)," in *Termo de Mariana: história e documentação*, ed. Helena Miranda Mollo and Marco Antonio Silveira. Ouro Preto: Editora UFOP, 2011, p. 105.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Morais, p. 69.

of writing and reading.[112] Some merchants in Angola sent their children to study in Rio de Janeiro.[113] Once again, scholars highlight that most of the teachers had experience in the profession before the reforms, especially when taking into account that teachers of Latin also taught Portuguese.[114]

In terms of Portuguese teaching, while standardising the language was not the main objective of the Pombaline reforms, I argue that it constituted the first formal attempt at it. The first tranche of reforms did not focus on primary studies and said little about Portuguese teaching, although it offered glimpses at it. For example, the instructions for Latin, Greek, Hebrew and rhetoric teachers clearly stated that they should teach grammar in the vernacular, as it was absurd to learn a new tongue in a language of which pupils had little knowledge.[115] The same instructions stated that it was easier for students to understand Latin grammar if teachers introduced them to Portuguese grammar first, pointing out the similarities between both languages.[116] The reforms also prescribed teaching methods that emphasised the importance of learning Portuguese and the Royal Board of Censorship paid special attention to the matter. Carvalho e Melo took other measures in this direction: in 1757, he passed the Law of the Directorate, emancipating the native population in Brazil, banishing the use of general languages and imposing the teaching of Portuguese.[117] As W. Mignollo puts it, "forbidding conversations with the mother meant, basically, depriving the children of the living culture imbedded in the language and preserved and transmitted in speech."[118] Therefore, although Portuguese teaching was not the main focus of the reforms, it was clear that the Crown was trying to standardise it in a demonstration of its power over all matters, including language.

[112] Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the era of the slave trade*. p. 142.

[113] Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, *Transforming Atlantic Slaving: trade, warfare and territorial control in Angola, 1650-1800.* 2003, p. 137.

[114] Nóvoa, "Do Mestre-Escola ao professor do ensino primário: subsídios para a história da profissão docente em Portugal (séculos XV -XX)," p. 105; Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal*. p. 196.

[115] Andrade. p. 85, vol. 3.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Rodrigues, pp. 50-51; Mariani. pp. 103-104; Maxwell. p. 96; Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. p. 166; Maria Helena Ochi Flexor, 'Aprender a ler, escrever e contar no Brasil so século XVIII,' *Filologia e Linguística Portuguesa* 4, (2001): p. 101.

[118] Mignolo, "Literacy and Colonization: the New World Experience," p. 67.

To what extent did the reforms change education in the Lusophone world? A number of traditional educational practices persisted during and after the Pombaline reforms – clergymen and sacristans, for example, continued to teach reading and writing to poor children using catechisms or prayer books.[119] However, the state recognised the importance of this and tried to standardise it by recommending the use of the Montpellier catechism instead of *cartilhas* (spelling books), amongst other suggestions. The education reforms of 1770 meant that children should no longer use lawsuits to learn reading. Instead, it prescribed the Montpellier catechism – published in 1703 for the Montpellier diocese in France. [120] Similarly, lay teachers in private schools opened up their teaching to middle class groups, despite the need for a licence. Craftsmen and farmers continued to teach their neighbours' children the first elements of reading, writing, and counting, probably using manuscripts.[121] The changes brought about the Pombaline reforms did not occur overnight but I argue that they were a significant step towards standardisation. The following section will further look at standardisation in connexion with language, printing and religion.

Religion, printing, and language

The importance of literacy for religion cannot be overlooked, particularly after the advent of the printing press, which was established in Spain in 1472 and Portugal in 1487 (where the first published book was the Torah in Hebrew).[122] Significant debate remains about whether the Church, chiefly in Spain and Portugal, was hostile to printing, at the same time as using it for propaganda and censorship purposes by

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[119] Nóvoa, *Le Temps des Professeurs: analyse socio-historique de la profession enseignante au Portugal (XVIIIe-XXe siècle)*. p. 279.

[120] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", p. 543; António Alberto Banha de Andrade, *Contributos para a história da mentalidade pedagógica portuguesa.* Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1982, p. 628; Boto, p. 169.

[121] Nóvoa, *Le Temps des Professeurs: analyse socio-historique de la profession enseignante au Portugal (XVIIIe-XXe siècle)*. p. 279.

[122] Jewish migration to Portugal increased after their expulsion from Spain (1492). In 1497, the Portuguese monarchy forced them to choose between conversion to Catholicism or expulsion. See: Artur Anselmo, *Origens da imprensa em Portugal.* Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1981, pp. 26; 87; 417; Jorge Carvalho Martins, *Portugal e os Judeus.* 2a ed., vol. 1. Lisboa: Vega, 2010, pp. 124-131; 131-143; Maxwell. p. 9; Buettner, p. 254; Russell-Wood, "The Portuguese Atlantic, 1415-1808," p. 100; M. Nazzari, 'Concubinage in Colonial Brazil: the inequalities of race, class, and gender,' *Journal of Family History* 21, no. 2 (1996): p. 422.

publishing devotional material (sermons, catechism) and preventing other faiths from using the press to their advantage.[123] In the fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, Catholics in Spain, Portugal, Austria, France, southern Germany and Italy were as interested in reading the Bible in vernacular as were the populations of Protestant regions later on.[124] Similarly, Catholic printers were "as enterprising and industrious as the Protestant" and made effective use of the printing press from the outset.[125] An additional indicator is that Catholic printers worked for "the most populous, powerful and culturally influential realms of sixteenth-century Europe: Portugal and Spain (with their far-flung empires), Austria, France, Southern German principalities and Italian city-states".[126] This conflict lays bare the existence of two competing discourses: a lay desire to read and official attempts to control printing.

In spite of the interest, sixteenth-century Catholic printers were less successful in expanding their business, mainly due to Inquisitorial activities. In contrast with Protestant countries such as the Netherlands and England, where reformers saw the press positively and encouraged it to grow, Catholic religious authorities in southern Europe looked at it suspiciously and attempted to control it.[127] Censorship occurred elsewhere in Europe although not necessarily linked to the Inquisition. In France during the 1700s and 1800s, censorship was in the hands of clergymen but also lay academics and intellectuals.[128] Preventative censorship occurred in Prussia from 1749 onwards; close attention was paid to books that "touched public affairs" and "scandalous writings

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[123] Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven, *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 35; 87-88; Hsia. p. 51. In France, the fact that printing remained in Catholic hands secured the success of the Counter-Reform. See: Bamji et al. p. 121.

[124] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, p. 407.

[125] Ibid., pp. 43-47; Bamji et al. pp. 124-125; Clive Griffin, "Itinerant booksellers, printers, and pedlars in sixteenth-century Spain and Portugal," in *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote. Newcastle; London: Oak Knoll Press; British Library, 2007, p. 43.

[126] Eisenstein. p. 407.

[127] Ibid., pp. 406-407.

[128] Daniel Roche, "Censorship and the Publishing Industry," in *Revolution in Print: the press in France, 1775-1800*, ed. Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche. Berkeley: University of California Press; New York Public Library, 1989, p. 13.

contrary to religion and morals".[129] These are demonstrations that censorship was practiced throughout Europe and that the Marquis of Pombal sought to modernise Portugal.

The Iberian Inquisition worked in a similar way in Portugal and Spain, closely monitoring the production, circulation, and ownership of books from the sixteenth century onwards.[130] Censorship took place mainly in the form of inspections of bookshops, printing houses, libraries and ships, in addition to the publication of catalogues of banned titles.[131] The Portuguese Inquisition existed from 1536 to 1834, implementing a system known as 'triple censorship', as it worked in collaboration with the *Desembargo do Paço* (Royal Tribunal) and the ecclesiastical courts.[132] It briefly ceased its activities between 1768 and 1794, when the *Real Mesa Censória* (Royal Board of Censorship) – later *Real Comissão Geral sobre o Exame e Censura de Livros* (General Committee on the Censorship of Books) was established.[133] The board changed the targets of censorship, handing over control of printed material in Portugal and its domains to the state.[134] Such changes empowered the state over the Inquisition through the control of the circulation of books and education.

It was possible, however, to get reading licences for forbidden works, as long as they remained in the hands of prepared and skilled readers.[135] It was common for non-authorised people to read such books, as it was impossible for censorship to impose

[129] Pamela Eve Selwyn, *Everyday Life in the German Book Trade: Friedrich Nicolai as bookseller and publisher in the Age of Enlightenment, 1750-1810.* University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000, pp. 190-191.

[130] Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834*. pp. 221-236.

[131] Ibid., p. 221.

[132] Ibid., p. 227; Ferreira, p. 57; Márcia Abreu, 'A liberdade e o erro: a ação da censura luso-brasileira (1769-1834),' *Fênix: revista de história e estudos culturais* 6, no. 3 (2009): p. 7; Luiz Carlos Villalta, *Usos do Livro no Mundo Luso-brasileiro sob as Luzes: reformas, cesura e contestações.* Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço, 2015, pp. 175-176. In Brazil, censorship ceased to exist in 1821, a while before King João VI returned to Portugal.

[133] Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834*. p. 227; Villalta, *Usos do Livro no Mundo Luso-brasileiro sob as Luzes: reformas, cesura e contestações*. pp. 180; 185; Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 319; Maxwell. p. 92.

[134] Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal*. p. 254.

[135] Angela Barcelos da Gama, 'Livros, Editores e Impressores em Lisboa no século XVIII,' *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa* 13, no. 49-52 (1968): pp. 49-52; Villalta, *Usos do Livro no Mundo Luso-brasileiro sob as Luzes: reformas, cesura e contestações*. pp. 269-213. The concession of reading licenses was seen as a personal favour from the king.

total control over who could have access to them. Booksellers used to sell authorised books along with proscribed titles for readers with a license and their ideas circulated in society despite restrictions on access. Whether legally, through the granting of trading and reading privileges for restricted works, or 'under the counter', through smuggling, unauthorised books circulated.[136] This occurred not only in the book trade, but also in several sectors of the Portuguese empire. For example, Portugal unsuccessfully attempted to prevent smuggling from the gold mining district to Africa, Iberia, and England.[137] The vigour of the Atlantic trade also meant that foreign products flooded Brazilian ports, meaning that books were likely to be among 'illegal' merchandise.[138] Censorship was, therefore, porous and in that its power was consensual rather than coercive, demonstrating the flexibility of the system.[139] The absence of a locus of power could have created chaos in the system but I argue that it was precisely this fluidity that guaranteed the strength of Portuguese colonisation: there was more room for adaptation and accommodation of differences, lessening the need for deep ruptures between the colony and the metropole.[140]

I would now like to take a closer look at printing and the relationship between writing and orality. There was no official printing press in Brazil until the nineteenth century (unlike in Spanish colonies such as Peru and Mexico where printing was established in the sixteenth century). This meant that to receive books, Brazil depended either on the metropole, or on individuals travelling around Europe who could obtain a license to export reading matter for personal use.[141] This does not mean, however, that there was

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[136] Maria Teresa Esteves Payan Martins, *A censura literária em Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII.* Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2005, pp. 635-637; Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: a publishing history of the 'Encyclopédie', 1775-1800.* Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap Press, 1979, pp. 312-313.

[137] Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, "From Brazil to West Africa," in *The legacy of Dutch Brazil*, ed. Michiel van editor Groesen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 94-96.

[138] Bailyn. p. 89. English ships were very present in the trade between Portugal and Brazil as the first did not have sufficient naval capacity to maintain the annual fleets to the latter. See: Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: growing pains of a colonial society.* p. 24.

[139] Swartz et al. pp. 14-15; Bicalho, p. 95.

[140] Swartz et al. p. 17.

[141] Márcia Abreu, 'Livros ao mar – Circulação de obras de Belas Letras e Rio de Janeiro ao tempo da transferência da Corte para o Brasil,' *Tempo* 24, (2007): pp. 68; 87; Abreu, "Duzentos anos: os primeiros livros brasileiros," p. 41; Burke, "Communication," p. 168.

no intellectual life in Brazil, as despite restrictions, books still circulated.[142] For instance, the Portuguese Crown had a policy of transporting books with ships carrying explorers to the colonies.[143] Historians such as L. Villalta, M. Abreu, and C. Morais have built a socio-economic profile of book owners in Brazil and described the most popular books in the colony.[144] Nineteenth century Brazilian readers (an elite that had the time and money to read, buy books and pay for the legalities of taking them to the colony – for example colonial administrative personnel and students) preferred books in Portuguese, although publications in foreign languages, mainly French, were numerous.[145]

The picture below (**Figure 1**), painted by the French artist Jean-Baptiste Debret in the nineteenth century, reveals how people in Brazil would read in their spare time.[146] The figure in the centre of the painting is a man in a relaxed position, holding a small book and wearing domestic clothes. Debret described this work as *As distrações dos ricos depois do jantar* (the distractions of the rich after dinner) but it is not only the wealthy in the scene. The presence of a black (or mulatto) man playing the flute suggests that the environment was mixed, where reading aloud was probably still the norm. Although the man who is reading does not appear to be doing so out loud, one can infer that the other people depicted in the painting were familiar with books and with the written world, as they shared the same environment. As historians such as P. Burke and F. Bouza have

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[142] Bakewell. p. 372; Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," p. 119.

[143] Lucien Febvre et al., *The Coming of the Book: the impact of printing 1450-1800.* London: N.L.B., 1976, p. 212.

[144] Christianni Cardoso Morais and Luiz Carlos Villalta, "Posse de Livros e Bibliotecas Privadas em Minas Gerais (1714-1874)," in *Impresso no Brasil: dois séculos de livros brasileiros*, ed. Aníbal Bragança and Márcia Abreu. São Paulo: UNESP, 2010, pp. 404-409; Luiz Carlos Villalta, "Ler, escrever, bibliotecas e estratificação social," in *História de Minas Gerais: as Minas setecentistas*, ed. Maria Efigênia Lage de Resende and Luiz Carlos Villalta. Belo Horizonte: Companhia do Tempo; Autêntica, 2007, pp. 298-310.

[145] Abreu, "Livros ao mar – Circulação de obras de Belas Letras e Rio de Janeiro ao tempo da transferência da Corte para o Brasil," pp. 85-86; Márcia Abreu, 'Leituras no Brasil colonial,' *Remate dos Males* 22, (2002): pp. 134-135; 142; 154-155.

[146] Jean Baptiste Debret et al., *Rio de Janeiro, cidade mestiça.* ed. Patrick Straumann. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001, pp. 58-59. Debret lived in Brazil between 1816 and 1831. He went with the *Missão Francesa* (Artistic French Mission), sponsored by the government. See: J. F. de Almeida Prado, *O artista Debret e o Brasil.* São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1990, pp. 37; 41; 46-47; 146.

noted, orality and printing went hand in hand.[147] As A. Daher observes, from written texts it is also possible to identify orality marks.[148] Debret's painting exposes the maintenance of an older tradition that broke down the barriers between illiterate and literate cultures.[149] Reading out loud and asking others to write in their behalf, meant that illiterate people were in contact with written matter, whether printed or manuscript.[150]

Figure 1: Jean-Baptiste Debret, *As distrações dos ricos depois do jantar*
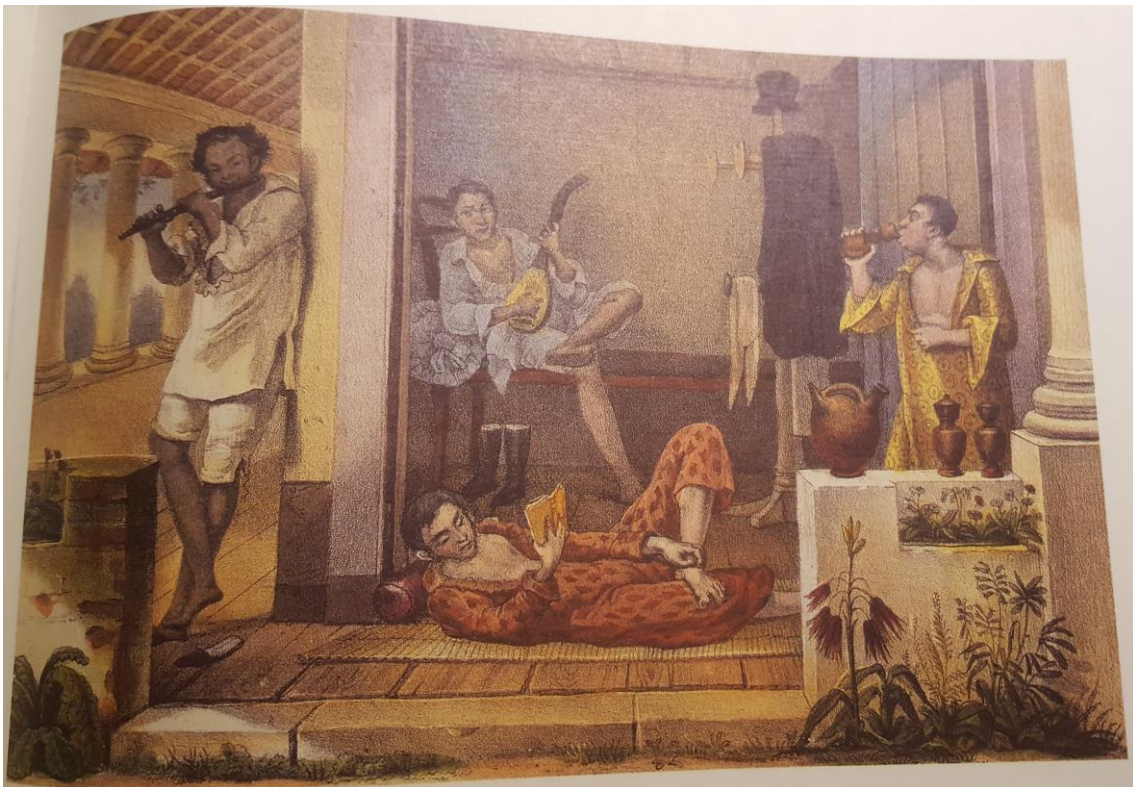
Source: Jean-Baptiste Debret, *As distrações dos ricos depois do jantar*. In: Jean Baptiste Debret et al., *Rio de Janeiro, cidade mestiça.* ed. Patrick Straumann. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001.

Orality, printing, and paper allowed speakers of different language variations to better understand each other, creating a new sense of community and belonging.[151] Vernacular

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[147] Burke, "Communication," pp. 160; 169; 172; Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain.* p. 15.

[148] Andrea Daher, *A Oralidade Perdida: ensaios de história das práticas letradas.* Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2012.

[149] Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro.* pp. 68-69.

[150] Burke, "Communication," p. 169.

[151] Anderson. pp. 44-45.

standardisation was one consequence of printing, which fixed, codified, created and influenced vernaculars, particularly in their written form.[152] The need to standardise the vernaculars arose in the sixteenth century for two reasons: 1) to reduce differences and facilitate communication between regions; and 2) to align with the prestige of Latin – for without rules or consistency, a language was considered barbaric.[153] Vernaculars did gradually come to share the same status as Latin, becoming standardised and more relevant to scholarship.[154]

The first book published in Portuguese was a religious work called *Sacramental* (1488), a translation from the Spanish "language of Léon", originally written by Clemente Sanchez de Vercial. Important books in Spanish were published for the first time in Portuguese and vice-versa, as a consequence of an intense inter-penetration of both Iberian kingdoms.[155] The majority of books published in Portugal during the sixteenth century were in Portuguese, followed by Latin and Spanish. In the 1550s, there was a local readership market for over twenty booksellers in Lisbon.[156] As a means of comparison, eighteenth-century provincial France (Franche-Comté, a frontier area located at the crossroads of important publishing centres such as Paris and Switzerland) had twenty-five major booksellers.[157] Such significant number in Lisbon presupposes a large audience for the time and also opportunities for discussion and the spreading of ideas, as bookshops were places where oral and written communication coexisted and interacted.[158] This tradition continued through the eighteenth century when, in spite of

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[152] Eisenstein. pp. 8; 117; Burke, "Communication," pp. 169-170; Febvre et al. p. 319.

[153] Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. pp. 89-90.

[154] Alberto Manguel, *A History of Reading*. London: HarperCollins, 1996, p.69; Febvre et al. p. 319; Marques and Serrão. p. 465.

[155] For example, Garcilaso de la Vega's *Primera parte de los commentarios reales que tratan del origen de los yncas* was published for the first time in Lisbon (1609). See: The Iberian Book Project (http://n2t.net/ark:/87925/drs1.iberian.36717); Anselmo. p. 100; Bethencourt, "The Iberian Atlantic: ties, networks, and boundaries " p. 24; H. Bernstein, *Pedro Craesbeeck & Sons: 17th century publishers to Portugal and Brazil.* Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1987, pp. 6-9.

[156] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. pp. 164-165; Fernando Guedes, *Os livreiros em Portugal e as suas associações desde o século XV até aos nossos dias.* Lisboa: Verbo, 2005, p. 43.

[157] Michel Vernus, "A Provincial Perspective," in *Revolution in Print: the press in France, 1775-1800*, ed. Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche. Berkeley: Univeristy of California Press in collaboration with the New York Public Library, 1989, p. 124.

[158] Burke, "Communication," pp. 160-161.

restricted readership, there was sufficient demand for a variety of pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals and calendars.[159]

As most non-scholars could not read Latin, but were increasingly interested in reading, the market for translation grew, boosting the demand for reference books in the vernaculars.[160] Nebrija published the first grammar book on the Castilian language (1492), followed by Alberti (1495) and Fortunio (1516) on Italian grammar.[161] In Portuguese, the first grammar books were by Fernão de Oliveira (1536), João de Barros (1539-1540), and Duarte Nunes Leão (1606).[162] Teaching grammar usually meant teaching Latin grammar, but historiography is not very clear on whether students first learnt to read and write using Latin or vernacular texts.[163] A number of scholars suggested that the grammar of the mother tongue, rather than Latin, should be learnt first. The French scholar Jean-Baptiste De La Salle advocated for the adoption of the vernacular in the end of the sixteenth century claiming that French was more useful than Latin and that reading French was preparation for Latin, but the opposite was not true.[164] In the case of Portugal, Fernão de Oliveira was the first to suggest such a method, developed later by philosopher Luís António Verney in the eighteenth century.[165] This is further evidence of the cultural mobility in Europe and across the Atlantic.

A period of deep reflection on the standardisation of language occurred in the sixteenth century – when the first grammar books were published – and in the eighteenth century,

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[159] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 275; Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro*. pp. 59; 143.

[160] Geoffrey P. Baldwin, "The Translation of Political Theory," in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 105.

[161] Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. p. 95; Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, *Historiografia da língua portuguesa: século XVI.* Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1984, p. 53.

[162] Buescu. p. 53; Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. p. 95.

[163] Maria de Lurdes Correia, 'O ensino das primeiras letras no interior do Beirão no século XVIII: o colégio dos Jesuítas de Gouveia,' *Revista da Faculdade de Letras "Língua e Literatura"* XIX, (2002): p. 44.

[164] William John Battersby, *De La Salle, a pioneer of modern education.* London; New York: Longmans; Green, 1949, pp. 79; 86.

[165] Buescu. pp. 64-65.

when there was a rise in the number of reference books published.[166] One reason for this was that deviation from the norm was more likely to occur when primary education material was not standardised.[167] As the cost and accessibility of printed editions were considerably lower than manuscript copies, A. R. Disney associates improvements in education with an increase in the use of printed matter.[168] These changes did not go unnoticed and both authorities and intellectuals attempted to control them. The following section seeks to contribute to our understanding of the relationship between censorship, language standardisation, and power.

Censorship: standardising language, measuring power

The Royal Board of Censorship was one of the first institutions in Portugal concerned with the management of language conflict and language planning.[169] It acted at the centre of the education reforms in the Portuguese empire. Despite the fact that standardisation was not the board's *raison d'être*, a number of censors took a deep interest in language for political and often personal reasons. Language organises knowledge and knowledge is power.[170] Therefore, the desire to protect knowledge in all types of texts, from operas to piety books, explains the active interest that censors took in language and grammar. Language policies had already been formulated during the Counter-Reformation, but until they became a secular concern, they came under the remit of the Church, rather than the state.[171] The Luso-Brazilian censorship was profoundly connected to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation from 1517 to 1768.[172] Different reasons guided the practice of state and religious censorship. While the latter focused on heresy and religious offences, the first sought to combat treason and threats to royal power.[173]

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[166] Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal*. p. 173.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*.
[169] Burke, *The Art of Conversation*. p. 32.
[170] Foucault and Gordon. pp. 59; 102; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. pp. 27-28.
[171] Burke, *The Art of Conversation*. pp. 31-32.
[172] Villalta, *Usos do Livro no Mundo Luso-brasileiro sob as Luzes: reformas, cesura e contestações*. pp. 171-172.
[173] Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834*. p. 50.

The censors' reports are rich resources for studying language standardisation and censorship in Portugal and its territories, as they manifest R. Chartier's concepts of representation, practice, and appropriation.[174] Representation is a central argument in Chartier's theory and shows how absence becomes visible. It asks what is being represented, what the represented is doing, and the product of the social group that forged it. The symbolic relationship between the object and what it represents is crucial in the concept of representation. As for the concept of practice, it encompasses discursive, political, and social mechanisms, strategies, and rhetorical apparatuses. Practices produce social structures and show historians how to reconstruct them and their meaning. The concept of appropriation is perhaps the most difficult to grasp, as it looks at the ways in which different cultural intermediaries make sense of and use representations and practices. In other words, appropriation looks at differentiated practices and contrasted uses.

How do I apply Chartier's concepts to this subject? I argue that the censorship of language represented monarchic power: censors made it visible through the practices of writing reports and producing discursive texts related to language standardisation. I further argue that by examining materials such as these, historians can grasp the ways in which censors appropriated what they read, as they had access to an extensive range of books and would record their personal impressions, rather than merely allowing or preventing a title's publication.[175] I challenge the idea that censors' views on language were detached from popular culture, as there were no fixed boundaries between the latter and high culture.[176] The reports reveal the ideas of how censors – in their role as specialists – administrative personnel, and notables made sense of their readings and presented their world views according to the environment in which they lived.[177]

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[174] Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: between practices and representations.* Cambridge: Polity, 1993, pp. 1-16.

[175] Márcia Abreu, "Os censores lêem romances," in *XXV Congresso Brasileiro de Ciências da Comunicação*, ed. Sociedade Brasileira de Estudos Interdisciplinares da Comunicação INTERCOM (Salvador: 2002).

[176] Burke, *What is Cultural History?* p. 28; Innes, "Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society," p. 22.

[177] Chartier, *Cultural History: between practices and representations*. p. 5.

A few words about the organisation of the board are important to understand how censorship worked in the Luso-Brazilian world. Preventative censorship was one of the Board's most important activities. Hence, the books yet to be published or reedited were usually distributed according to the expertise of the main censor who would write the report, while two assistant censors would read and sign it once they had agreed on its content.[178] The composition of the Royal Board of Censorship was relatively homogenous in terms of political inclination, and its balance relied more on individual characteristics than on political orientation.[179] Interestingly, five of the eight members that made up the Board were clergymen and one was an Inquisitor.[180] Nevertheless, as the Board members were highly educated men, this composition meant that they encouraged the circulation of moderate enlightened titles, but rejected books that went against religion and the state.[181]

The president of the Board at the time of its creation (1768) was Friar Manuel do Cenáculo Vilas Boas, who was opposed to scholasticism and the Jesuits, and in favour of pro-moderate Enlightenment.[182] Other renowned members were António Pereira de Figueiredo, the most influential scholar in Portuguese regalism, Friar Joaquim de Santa Ana, a former censor of the Inquisition, and Luís do Monte Carmelo, an experienced censor and well-known grammarian who was a member of the commission that drew up the education reforms, acting as president of the board from 1780-1794.[183] As the Crown took the censors' political loyalty for granted, their experience, intellectual ability, and erudition would carry considerable weight when the time came for them to be selected.

Censors also needed to be able to identify the tricks that booksellers used to circumvent censorship. A report in 1769 gives evidence of the strategies used to obtain printing authorisation from the board. According to Friar Joaquim de Santa Ana, the bookseller

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[178] Rui Tavares, *O Labirinto Censório: a Real Mesa Censória sob Pombal (1768-1777)*.Universidade de Lisboa, 1997, p. 53; Andrade, *A reforma pombalina dos estudos secundários (1759-1771): contribuição para a história da pedagogia em Portugal*. p. 565, vol. 3.

[179] Tavares, pp. 52-53.

[180] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 320; Maxwell. p. 92.

[181] Maxwell. pp. 92-93.

[182] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 307.

[183] Abreu, "A liberdade e o erro: a ação da censura luso-brasileira (1769-1834); Adão. pp. 46; 53.

João Batista Reycend tried to obtain a license to print a catalogue that contained prohibited titles by means of omitting their authors' names.[184] When the censors discovered his intentions, they not only denied his request, but also mandated that all booksellers must provide the title, place and date of publication, alongside the name of the author when applying for a licence. The report justified this decision, claiming that the same book could be published in different countries at different times, with censored sections omitted or included. If booksellers only provided the title, it would be difficult to decide whether or not the advertised edition could be sold.[185]

Having presented an overview of the Board, I now analyse censor reports. These reveal multiple attempts to standardise Portuguese with two interwoven main goals: facilitating learning and standardising spelling. Censors evaluated books that were directly or indirectly related to language, looking for spelling mistakes and postulations that could be detrimental to the Church and to the King's authority. In the reports that I assessed, it is clear that the notions of 'good', 'aesthetically pleasing', and 'morally acceptable' varied from member to member and mirrored discourses constructed according to the interests of specific social groups in order to promote, protect or legitimate such interests.[186] It is notable that two authors – António José dos Reis Lobato and João Pinheiro Freire da Cunha – caused a storm among the censors in 1771, requiring a number of reports to reach a solution in a clear demonstration of the power conflict between authors and the Royal Board of Censorship, and perhaps among authors themselves.[187] These reports also reveal a great deal about the education system prior to the reforms and the status of the Portuguese language in the modern world, at least from the censors' point of view. For that reason, it is worth analysing them individually.

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[184] Reycend had connections with publishers in Italy and Switzerland. See: Domingos, p. 22.

[185] RMC, cx. 5, nº 44, 1769.

[186] Kroskrity. p. 8.

[187] The main books involved in the debate were *Resumo da Gramática da Língua Portuguesa* (summary of the Portuguese language grammar) and *Breve Tratado da Orthografia para os que não frequentam os Estudos* (concise orthography treatise for those who do not attend the lessons). See: Pedro Eduardo Andrade Carvalho, *Minas de Babel: padrões ortográficos e alterações burocráticas na Câmara de Mariana – MG entre 1824 e 1853*.UFOP, 2012, p. 99; Tavares, pp. 138-141; Pedro Eduardo Andrade Carvalho, 'Escrever e Publicar Gramáticas no Império luso-brasileiro (1770-1813),' *Crátilo: Revista de Estudos Linguísticos e Literários* 2, (2009); Abreu, "A liberdade e o erro: a ação da censura luso-brasileira (1769-1834)."

In 1768 the Royal Board of Censorship had approved *Arte da Gramática da Língua Portuguesa* (grammatical art of the Portuguese language), the complete version of the *Resumo da Gramática* (grammar summary) and in 1770 the King announced *Arte* as an official book for teaching Portuguese in public schools.[188] The board requested that the summary be used in primary schools, as the unabridged version was too difficult for younger pupils.[189] The differences between the reports on the *Arte* and its summary are striking. While the first was highly prized, the second faced a series of criticisms. Friar Manuel do Cenáculo approved the printing of *Arte da Gramática* because it was clear that Lobato had devoted considerable effort into writing it.[190] As all modern nations had grammars in their vernacular, it would become an extremely useful book. Despite recognising the importance of publishing this work, Cenáculo argued that people usually learnt their mother tongue by using it. This statement sparked a debate about language norms, usage, and ingenuity (mentioned in the last chapter).

A few years later, António dos Reis Lobato sent a petition to the Royal Board of Censorship asking the King to recommend his *Arte* as the official reference book for public Latin classes, which was unanimously approved.[191] The censors requested a summary of the *Arte*, in order to educate young students. While this argument supported the publication of reference books, it did so not by recognising the importance of the Portuguese language itself, but its use in facilitating learning other languages. At the same time, the board reinforced the role of Portuguese as an imperial language, claiming that it was more widely spoken in Asia than any other European vernacular because it was the main language in trade and catechising. Therefore, the fact that Portuguese was a lingua franca further reaffirmed the fundamental need for standardisation.

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[188] Carvalho, "Minas de Babel: padrões ortográficos e alterações burocráticas na Câmara de Mariana – MG entre 1824 e 1853", p. 97-98; Carvalho, "Escrever e Publicar Gramáticas no Império luso-brasileiro (1770-1813)," p. 125.

[189] Carvalho, "Minas de Babel: padrões ortográficos e alterações burocráticas na Câmara de Mariana – MG entre 1824 e 1853"; Carvalho, "Escrever e Publicar Gramáticas no Império luso-brasileiro (1770-1813)," p. 125.

[190] RMC, cx. 4, nº 114, 1768.

[191] RMC, cx. 6, nº 96, 1770.

One of the reasons why it was so important to standardise teaching material is that, in addition to catechism books, another common text type used in language teaching were juridical manuscripts (such as lawsuits, contracts, and notary office documents) compiled by teachers themselves.[192] This is in accordance with what Thomas Cox – a British doctor and trader who visited Lisbon in 1701 – observed at the beginning of the eighteenth century: "ensinam-lhes a ler dando-lhes primeiro a caligrafia" (they teach how to read using calligraphy first).[193] In theory, anyone that had access to this kind of document could be a primary teacher of Portuguese.[194] This throws weight behind the idea that writing in Portuguese to able to go to Justice or writing for other reasons was of great importance to participate into colonial society. In Portugal under the Old Regime, there was no lack of teachers, but instead a lack of textbooks and reference material.[195] Such an absence of standardisation may have influenced the variety of Portuguese that was spoken in Brazil, which had been altered by Amerindian and African languages. If anyone with access to manuscripts could teach, the possibilities of passing through non-standard spelling forms were greater than in printed books.[196]

The censors condemned the use of legal documents to teach the alphabet because they wasted pupils' time and were a bad influence on students, who were exposed to 'trickeries of the Law'.[197] In at least three instances the Board mentions the importance of Portuguese grammar in facilitating the learning of both dead and living languages without 'wasting time'.[198] Curiously, João de Barros, author of one of the first

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[192] Rogério Fernandes, 'A história da educação no Brasil e em Portugal: caminhos cruzados,' *Revista Brasileira de Educação* 7, (1998): p. 10-11; Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal*. p. 176; Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro*. p. 34.

[193] Cox and Macro. p. 45.

[194] As Fernando Bouza notes for sixteenth-century Spain, teachers and also students usually worked as copyists. See: Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro*. pp. 33; 35.

[195] Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal*. p. 192.

[196] Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro*. pp. 38; 75;78.

[197] "Della será justo que VMag.^de mande abolir a licaõ dos Processos litigiozos, test.^os, que some.^te servem de consumir o tempo, e de costumar a Mocidade as Calunias, e trapacas do Foro *[...]*." Also: "Roga o supp.^e humildem.^e a V. Mag.^e seja servido mandar q. os Professores da Lingoa Latina recommendem aos seus Discipulos o estudo da dita Gramatica, e q. nas Escollas de lêr, se ensine aos meninos em lugar dos processos de letigios, em q. inutilm.^e despendem o tempo; *[...]*." RMC, cx. 6, nº 96, 1770.

[198] "*[...]* e que adquiram com mais facilidade, e sem perda de tempo a perfeita inteligencia das outras liguas vivas e mortas *[...]*." RMC, cx. 6, nº 96, 1770.

Portuguese grammar books in the sixteenth century, had already criticised such methods and suggested royal intervention to replace them. This throws weight behind the idea that older practices and new types of media do not disappear when innovations occur.[199] After Barros wrote a simplified version of his grammar guide, *Cartinhas,* Lobato did the same at the censors' request, submitting it to the board on 16 May 1771.

Friar Luís do Monte Carmelo wrote a report that triggered controversy about the *Resumo.*[200] He denied its license with the argument that it was the Board's duty to promote the 'good letters', enlightening the Portuguese vassals and teaching them to be 'politicians' and Catholics. Carmelo's words revealed the 'enlightened' purpose invested in the Board, and raised questions about the concept of the 'politician' under the Old Regime. According to Bluteau's dictionary the word 'politics' originated from the Greek *polis* (city) and from the word *itiqui* (ethics).[201] Politics was the science of the principles which substituted God in ruling the world, and it aimed at glorifying God through the administration of justice and obedience of its laws.[202] Hence, a good politician, in the sense that Carmelo used it, was a person of moderate passion and good morals who respected religion and the laws.[203] He argued that Lobato constantly contradicted himself in the book: for example, when the author notes that Portuguese spelling should follow Latin as frequently as possible, but then does not follow the rule himself. Carmelo lists a number of mistakes that he considers serious, alleging that Lobato had not studied enough and therefore had created incorrect rules. Was this criticism well founded, or could it be that there was resentment and competition between them, as Carmelo was also a grammarian?

When criticising the general rules that Lobato had established for grammatical gender in Portuguese, Carmelo maintained that he had tried to establish rules, but that it was

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[199] Burke, "Communication," p. 157.

[200] "Pelo que, sendo este Sapientissimo e Regio Tribunal instituido por El Rei Nosso Senhor, p.ª promover com suavidade e prudencia, quanto lhe seja possivel, as boas Letras, Artes Liberaes, e Sciencias p.ª illuminar os seus Vassalos como Politicos e como Catholicos; *[...].*" RMC, cx. 7, nº 42, 1771.

[201] Raphael Bluteau, *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino (O-P).* Lisboa: Officina de Pascoal da Sylva, 1720, pp. 576-577.

[202] "Esta he propriamente a sciencia dos Príncipes, que saõ os substitutos de Deos no governo do mundo. O fim principal da boa Politica não he a prosperidade temporal dos Estados, mas a gloria de Deos, na administração da justiça, & observancia de suas leys." Ibid., p. 576.

[203] Ibid.

impossible because there were too many exceptions which could only be taught through practice. Once again, the censor turned to the argument around usage versus standardisation. I highlight that this was part of the aforementioned traditional debate about *Arte* and ingenuity: to what extend could grammar be learned through study and discipline?[204] In this case, the shape of the power dynamics surrounding knowledge is clear: Carmelo probably meant that he had studied more than Lobato and did not reach a conclusion. Therefore, Lobato had been arrogant in trying to establish rules. It is necessary to point out, however, that Carmelo was a grammarian who followed the etymologic system.[205] For that reason, he was less tolerant of oral influences on spelling and probably wanted to prove himself a better scholar by picking out Lobato's mistakes.

Four reports were written on the same book (*Resumo)*, all from different censors. The first was by Friar Francisco Xavier de Santa Ana, who approved the book as long as the author corrected the spelling.[206] The censor attributed the mistakes to a secretary's slip, claiming that they were excusable. Xavier de Santa Ana also reminded the Board that it was customary to grant printing licenses in such cases, provided that the authors agreed to amend the mistakes. The censor noted that it was impossible for Lobato to include all grammar rules because the *Resumo* was supposed to be a summary – a simplified version of the original work. Overall, the friar's tone was lenient, avoiding controversy, but nonetheless criticising the fact that Carmelo had denied the book a license. This passage clearly reveals the conflict among censors and challenges any sense of homogeneity within the Board, despite the fact that they all represented the monarchy.

Friar Joaquim de Santa Ana was less moderate in his report, mainly because he believed it was a matter of authority and consistency.[207] He claimed that the *Resumo* was an abridged version of a book that the Royal Board of Censorship had already approved

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[204] Reflections on the concept of ingenuity based on a talk given by Dr Raphaële Garrod at Newnham College on 9 May 2016 entitled *The Spider*: a Jesuit emblem at *La Flèche* in the 17th Century. Dr Garrod is a postdoctoral researcher in the project *Genius Before Romanticism*: Ingenuity in Early Modern Art and Science, led by Dr Alexander Marr at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH) in the University of Cambridge.

[205] Maria Filomena Gonçalves, *As ideias ortográficas em Portugal: de Madureira Feijó a Gonçalves Viana (1734-1911).* Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian; Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia; Ministério da Ciência e do Ensino Superior, 2003, pp. 40-42.

[206] RMC, cx. 7, nº 46, 1771.

[207] RMC, cx. 7, nº 53, 1771.

and recommended to the King, and of which he had made an official manual for Latin classes. Prohibiting *Resumo* would create a backlash against the authority of the Board and the reputation of the censors, putting their 'soft power' (appearance of legitimacy) at stake.[208] Using a slightly ironic tone, Santa Ana praised Carmelo's wisdom and his knowledge of the intricacies of the Portuguese language, but stated that he should have taken other factors into account before refusing the book. One of the censor's most interesting observations was that neither the theologians, nor the French grammarians were unanimous in their propositions and this did not invalidate their work. For all these reasons, he decided that the *Resumo* should be printed exactly as it had been sent to the Board, with the exception of one grammar rule that was different from that which Lobato had stated in the *Arte*.

The antepenultimate report on the *Resumo* – which also dealt with the controversy between Lobato and Pinheiro – focused on the philosophical reasons for granting the printing license.[209] These reasons shed light on the tenets behind the creation of the Royal Board of Censorship. According to Friar Francisco de São Bento, all works submitted to the board should be approved for printing provided they did not cause offence regarding religion and the monarchy. He defended freedom of thought as a means of reaching truth, improving the educational system, and developing literature, following examples from elsewhere in Europe.[210] Both positions clearly defined the moderate Portuguese Enlightenment (Catholic Enlightenment, similar to those of Italy and Spain), which defended freedom of expression, but opposed heretic and anti-absolutist ideas.[211] São Bento's plea also exposed the desire to raise Portugal to the same intellectual level of other European powers. For the friar, if Europe was more enlightened at the time, it was because there were people who had argued against established doctrines. Without this, Europeans would still be submerged in ignorance.

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[208] Clark, p. 135.

[209] RMC, cx. 7, nº 59, 1771.

[210] "Fundo-me em que esta Real Mêza excederia os Limites da sua commissão, se pertendesse tirar do mundo aquellas opiniões, que não cauzando distúrbios, nem facçoens violentas, só servem de fomentar a innocente emulação, que adianta ambos os partidos." RMC, cx. 7, nº 45, 1771. Friar de Francisco Xavier de Santa Ana had made the same observations in his report about the aforementioned controversy between Francisco Pinheiro's and Lobato's work. Friar Joaquim de Santa Ana's report went along the same lines. See: RMC, cx. 7, nº 54, 1771.

[211] Villalta, *Usos do Livro no Mundo Luso-brasileiro sob as Luzes: reformas, cesura e contestações*. pp. 127-131.

On the Portuguese language issue, the author considered it a benefit, not a problem, that living languages changed and could be amended; it was because of this that he approved Lobato's *Resumo*.

The last report on the dispute was meant to provide closure.[212] Friar Francisco de Sá authored a text recalling São Bento's arguments summarising the objectives of the Royal Board of Censorship. In his opinion, the Board existed in order to regulate printed matter in a way that guaranteed the subjection of vassals to the King. Therefore, the details that the censors were discussing were not worthy of their time. Debating the article and the number of parts the clause contained did not pose a threat to either religion or the state. Consequently, he was of the opinion that the text should not be prohibited and that the Board should not spend more time on the issue. It is interesting to note that the censors had their own ideas of what the Board's functions were. At least for a number of them, the regulation of language was a means of enlightening Portugal and consolidating the monarchy's control; for others, it was time unwisely spent. What is clear, in any case, is that the Royal Board of Censorship paid great attention to educational matters from the outset.[213]

Education encompassed language teaching and to a great extent, spelling. In 1772 Paulino Manuel Roiz Franco requested a license to print his *Método para ensinar as Primeiras Letras e para ler e escrever a Escritura Portuguesa com perfeição* (method of teaching the reading and writing of Portuguese with perfection).[214] Carmelo denied the request because he considered the book to be full of barbarisms, cacophonies, tautologies and pleonasms. Going against the established conventions of grammatical rules was barbarism. Thus, when censors write about barbarism, they reveal the power relations embedded in colonisation through language.[215] Friar Carmelo described the author as incoherent because he followed neither Verney's orthography (that advocated spelling words as they were pronounced), nor the orthography used by the King, the Board and the administration (which was calqued from the Latin etymology). In doing so, Carmelo was using the power invested in the Board to shape the canon: Verney or

[212] RMC, cx. 7, nº 68, 1771
[213] Adão. p. 51.
[214] RMC, cx. 8, nº 08, 1772.
[215] Mignolo, "Literacy and Colonization: the New World Experience," p. 78.

the King. In the friar's opinion, Franco had invented an orthography that he did not follow – and could not, even if he wanted to because it was so incoherent.

Continuing the themes of education and spelling, Carmelo was strict when confronted with a work entitled *Preceitos sobre a verdadeira Ortografa da Língua Portuguesa* (precepts of the true orthography of the Portuguese language), authored by a primary school teacher.[216] Not only did he deny it a publishing license, he also summoned the author to the Royal Board of Censorship to reprehend him for using a Jesuit book and daring to present it for publication. Once again, the friar cited incoherence and lack of knowledge as reasons for its prohibition. The determining factor for the refusal, however, was that the teacher used the prohibited *Arte Latina* (Latin art) written by the Jesuit Manuel Álvares. The censors considered the author to be questioning the Board's authority by using a forbidden Jesuit-authored book. Therefore, they were of the opinion that he deserved a harsher punishment. It is worth noting that in this case the reasons for the censorship were political rather than related to the topic of the text itself. This reveals the power relations between censors, authors, and the Jesuits. It was crucial for the Royal Board of Censorship to consolidate its power over the Jesuit influence, while certain authors insisted – consciously or not – to continue with the Society of Jesus's learning tradition.

Spelling could also pose a threat to the Catholic precepts, which was particularly serious in teaching books aimed at children. Manuel de Siqueira submitted a spelling manual to the Board in 1773. Friar Francisco de São Bento claimed he had read the book with a positive intent, as he considered it useful for primary schools. Ultimately, however, he found so many spelling and teaching mistakes in its grammar – mistakes that were offensive to the Church as they challenged Catholic dogmas – that he could not grant the license. Friar Carmelo was more lenient a few months later. In his 1774 review of a book written by Francisco José da Silveira called *Método fácil e brevíssimo de ensinar aos meninos das Escolas Menores a ler, escrever, contar e pronunciar com acerto a nossa língua vulgar* (easy and brief method for teaching pupils in primary schools to read, write, reckon and pronounce our vernacular accurately), Carmelo accused the

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[216] RMC, cx. 9, nº 23, 1776.

author of 'bad plagiarism', claiming that his book was prosaic. [217] He pointed out that Silveira was pedantic and did not teach accurate spelling. On the contrary, he frequently committed barbaric mistakes to the extent that the censor questioned how he had dared submit his work to the Board. Carmelo also found inaccuracies in the catechism peppered throughout the manual. Despite the criticism, Carmelo stated that Silveira could publish the book, provided that he corrected the mistakes.

I would now like to move on to the question of 'pure' spelling, beginning with four reports written by António Pereira de Figueiredo on texts from other genres, such as novels, plays, and translations. One deals with *Taboada da Aritmética* (arithmetic's multiplication tables), a pamphlet originally intended for the teaching of maths, not language, but which Father Figueiredo criticised harshly for its grammar and spelling mistakes. It did not follow the methodology that the *Real Aula de Comércio* (Portuguese School of Commerce) had approved.[218] As a result, it was considered unworthy of publishing.[219] In a similar vein, Figueiredo praised translation of *The Imaginary Invalid*, as the translator had grasped the original sense of the play with ease. However, the censor warned him not to spoil the comedy with his 'exotic and ridiculous orthography and punctuation'.[220] Regarding the Italian opera *Demetrio*, the Father noted the same, advising the translator to employ the Portuguese orthography used by the greatest personalities and sages of the Court.[221] Why was it that orthography was considered important for a work that was sung? Perhaps the censor understood that pronunciation followed spelling: if words were written incorrectly, the pronunciation would be inaccurate, and this could compromise the quality of the singing. As Portugal was going through a period of cultural change, opera was an important sign of enlightenment.

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[217] "Em primeiro Lugar: O Auctor, ou ineptissimo Plagiario, que escreveo estas Cartas; ou para melhor dizer, esta Prosaica Rhapsodia, *[...]*." RMC, cx. 8, nº 2, 1774.

[218] The Real Aula de Comércio (1759) in Lisbon aimed at training the Portuguese to assume trading positions that were dominated by foreign traders at the time. See: Adão. p. 43; Lúcia Lima Rodrigues and Russell Craig, 'Teachers as servants of state ideology: Sousa and Sales, Portuguese School of Commerce, 1759–1784,' *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 20, no. 3 (2009); Rodrigues Lucia Lima and Craig Russell, 'English Mercantilist Influences on the Foundation of the Portuguese School of Commerce in 1759,' *Atlantic Economic Journal* 32, no. 4 (2004).

[219] RMC, cx. 4, nº 126, 1768.

[220] "O Traductor exprimiu com felicidade o Texto original, mas exprimi-o em huma orthografia e pontuação tão exotica e ridicula, que he bem se lhe advirta que não deite a perder com ella huma comedia tão excellente." RMC, cx. 5, nº 35, 1769.

[221] RMC, cx. 6, nº 19, 1770

Figueiredo also approved translation of *The Miser* on the condition that the translator corrected its 'horrendous orthography'.[222]

Friar Luís do Monte Carmelo continued to dedicate a great deal of his time to orthographic accuracy. Nicolau António, a scholar at the *Sociedade Militar da Corte* (Royal Military Society), requested permission to print an arithmetic textbook in 1770.[223] Carmelo was the main censor responsible for the report and he considered the work to be full of spelling mistakes that a 'school boy who had never heard of Orthography before would never commit.'[224] In fact, the petition Nicolau had sent to the board was itself full of the same mistakes. Nevertheless, Carmelo approved the request for a licence as long as the author corrected the spelling mistakes. I highlight that the censors acted like editors, reviewing not only content, but also language, exposing the symbolic relationship between language control, and power. Similarly, Carmelo did not approve the translation of the *Novo Tratado da Civilidade para a educação da Mocidade Portuguesa* (new treatise on civility for the instruction of the Portuguese youth) not only due to its content, but also because the sentences were full of 'plebeian words', which made the book unworthy of publication.[225]

Carmelo was even more critical when reviewing a prayer book in 1770. In his opinion, the book should not have been reprinted due to its content and form. In Carmelo's opinion, the vocabulary used in the book was associated with the 'most ignorant female rabble' ("*plebe mulheril mais ignorante*").[226] This comment exposes the acrimonious eighteenth-century European debate over spelling where male writers established the norms and belittled women's writing.[227] By noting the misspelling of several words and comparing this to female speech, Carmelo reveals not only a learned power dispute

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[222] "A comédia intitulada *O Avarento*, traduzida do original de Moliere, he digna de se imprimir, com tanto que o Traductor emende a pèssima orthografia de que uza." RMC, cx. 6, nº 104. 1770.

[223] RMC, cx. 6, nº 103, 1770.

[224] "De sorte que hum menino das escola, que nunca ouvio fallar de Regras de Orthografia, não poderá em seus Escritos commetter erros mais crassos." RMC, cx. 6, nº 103, 1770 (report 2).

[225] "A Sintaxe Portuguesa desta Obra, que quase toda é inútil neste Reino pela diversidade dos costumes, está errada na maior parte das Orações, e cheia de Termos plebeus; e por isso é injuriosa à Nação e ao mesmo Auctor, etc." RMC, cx. 8, nº 41, 1774. Also see: Adão. p. 247.

[226] RMC, cx. 6, nº 76, 1770.

[227] Mónica Bolufer Peruga, "Section 4 Gender and the Reasoning Mind - Introduction," in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, ed. Barbara Taylor and Sarah Knott. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 190.

between writers and censors, but also a gendered issue that downgraded women's discourse. The correspondence between oral speech, pronunciation, and spelling had been an ongoing debate since the sixteenth century elsewhere, such as France. With time, spelling, like speaking, became a gendered issue and in the Enlightenment it was increasingly associated with women, in a negative way.[228] The censor also noted that he would never demand that people use the same orthography followed by the King in all his laws, orders, and decrees, let alone the Royal Cabinet or the Supreme Court. Neither did he claim that the etymology and true meaning of the 'daughter of Latin' should be promoted.

Had the author of the prayer book followed to the letter the orthography suggested in *O Verdadeiro Método de Estudar* (the true method of studying), Carmelo would have accepted it. The friar was probably referring to the aforementioned António Verney and his book published in 1746.[229] According to M. F. Gonçalves this work belonged to the philosophical tradition, meaning that it defended a connection between the oral and written worlds.[230] Verney's book was innovative for the time but scholars considered his method of spelling less radical than the simplified system, which advocated a total correspondence between spelling and phonetics.[231] One can infer that the author of the prayer book relied on pronunciation more than was acceptable. The question here had more to do with the legitimacy of power through the construction of language canons than with the 'purity' of grammar.

Another book that became the target of Carmelo's criticism was a hagiography of St Rita. It was unworthy of publication because, in addition to disastrous spelling mistakes (such as saying that Jesus Christ's crown was made of *espinhas* - blemishes as opposed to *espinhos* - thorns), it also contained doctrinal issues.[232] As one of the Board's tasks was to prevent the publishing of works against the Church, the censor considered that spelling mistakes led to heresy and prohibited texts that contained them. The outreach

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[228] Dena Goodman, "L'ortografe des dames: Gender and Language in the Old Regime," in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, ed. Barbara Taylor and Sarah Knott. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 196-197.

[229] Ferreira, p. 64; Boto, p. 165.

[230] Gonçalves. pp. 40-42; 55.

[231] Ibid.

[232] RMC, cx. 6, nº.110, 1770.

of piety books reinforced the fact that the Board sought to do away with some of the traditions that were pulling the kingdom backwards but this did not mean that it was against religion. It also meant that standardised language would reach more people if piety books followed the appropriate grammar rules. On the contrary, Catholicism remained an important part of Iberian societies as the relevance of piety books for the Royal Board of Censorship proves.

Other reports are useful in assessing the attention dedicated to spelling, as they reveal the normative perspective adopted by the board. Friar Joaquim de Santa Ana took no pity on a history book in 1773 because it lacked the appropriate grammar, orthography, and methodology.[233] The bookseller Francisco Rolland sought to print in the same year the *Companheiro fiel que ensina a orar com a voz e com o pensamento* (loyal companion for the teaching of prayer, both aloud and in thought).[234] The first observation Friar Francisco de São Bento made was that despite the anonymity of the author, it was possible to identify him by the 'ancient Portuguese language he wanted to resurrect'.[235] The censor stated that before censoring the book for its content, he would analyse its grammar. Thereafter, the friar made a number of criticisms: some tenses did not make sense, the author used 'bad Portuguese' and the grammar was wrong.[236] For those reasons, the request for a printing licence was denied.

Finally, I will consider two translations. Borel & Borel, a bookseller in Lisbon, submitted a request to print two volumes of a piety book a couple of years later. According to the censor responsible for the report (António Veríssimo), the author did not include the original French version, which made it difficult to decide whether the translation was accurate or not. There were certainly spelling mistakes but they must have been minor as the censor approved the printing licence on the condition that the author corrected them.[237] A modern European bestseller, Aesop's Fables, was denied by Friar Mathias da Conceição. The censor was not opposed to the fables; on the contrary,

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[233] RMC, cx. 8, nº 34, 1773.

[234] RMC, cx. 8, nº 32, 1773.

[235] "O Author naõ poz o seu nome, porem pelo modo de falar se conhece ser hum daquelles, q querem resuscitar a antiga Lingua Portugueza." RMC, cx. 8, nº 32, 1773.

[236] "Tambem julgo ser máo Portuguez *[...]*." RMC, cx. 8, nº 32, 1773.

[237] RMC, cx. 10, nº 51, 1777.

he considered them useful for improving the moral behaviour of their readers.[238] However, the translator Manuel Mendez had made so many mistakes when translating Aesop from Greek that the positive influence that the book might have had would have been lost.

Conceição began by pointing out that the grammar was poor and as consequence the book became monotonous. Once again, he put forward the argument that the author ignored the spelling that the King and the Royal Board of Censorship used. The censor claimed that the report would be as dull as the book if he enumerated all the spelling and grammatical mistakes, let alone its choice of old-fashioned vocabulary. After this, the blame fell on the French bookseller and printer Francisco Rolland. According to the friar, as a foreigner, Rolland did not notice or simply ignored the mistakes. In any case, the censor stated that in the enlightened times they were living in, the translation would be unacceptable unless its style, spelling, and grammar were updated. The focus on translation exposes the power relations involved in this operation: the censors had the symbolic power of deciding what was translatable or not, and whether it was a good or bad translation, based on their position in government and their education.[239]

It is interesting to note how the censors played the role of editors when analysing a book. This was not their main task but in doing so they helped to shape and standardise the Portuguese language. It is possible to infer that the censors considered that spelling and grammar mistakes compromised the meaning of texts, which was an offense both to the monarchy and to the Church. What were the educational experiences among immigrants before moving to Brazil? What was their background? What motivated them to educate their children and how did they make use of their knowledge to stand out from their peers? The following section will attempt to address these questions.

Literacy in the colony and its Atlantic connections

To begin analysing literacy in the colony, I will refer to twenty-six Order of Christ and Holy Office *habilitation* trials – seventeen of the first and nine of the latter – in which

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[238] RMC, cx. 9, nº 30, 1776.

[239] Swartz et al. p. 14; Asad. pp. 190-191.

witnesses clearly state that the candidates attended school in their childhood.[240] *Habilitation trials* refer to the deposition process that all officials and agents in the Iberian Inquisition had to go through before their investiture.[241] I extend the use of the term to the Order of Christ because the process was similar, sometimes using the word 'qualification' as a synonym.[242] It is crucial to clarify that records such as these represent a very small fraction of the population because they deal only with literate men. I present them here as a case study of individuals and local experience within the colonial context to illuminate the question of literacy in Brazil.[243]

Overall, scholars agree that literacy was the privilege of the elite: half of the European population could not read in the mid-nineteenth century.[244] In Portugal, only ten per cent of the population was literate during the Old Regime.[245] In 1878, almost eighty per cent of the Portuguese population was illiterate, as was eighty-four per cent of the Brazilian population in 1890.[246] In Spain, approximately eighty per cent of males were illiterate in 1770; in 1870, the rate had decreased to seventy per cent.[247] In England, half of the population could not write in 1750.[248] However, the dearth of data could not prevent its use, for such literate men were cultural intermediaries between the world of writing and those who only had access through oral means.[249] The identity and interests of such intermediaries are important for historians to establish correspondence between the oral and written forms of the Portuguese language.[250]

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[240] As per the English translation in: Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834*. p. 164.

[241] Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834*. p. 164.

[242] Hebe Mattos, ''Pretos' and 'Pardos' between the Cross and the Sword: Racial Categories in Seventeenth Century Brazil,' *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (ERLACS)*, no. 80 (2006): pp. 45-46.

[243] Burke, *What is Cultural History?* pp. 44-45.

[244] Burke, "Communication," p. 169.

[245] Ramos, "Culturas da alfabetização e culturas do analfabetismo em Portugal: uma introdução à História da Alfabetização no Portugal contemporâneo," p. 1075; Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal*. p. 251.

[246] Ramos, "Culturas da alfabetização e culturas do analfabetismo em Portugal: uma introdução à História da Alfabetização no Portugal contemporâneo," p. 1067; Burke, "Communication," p. 169.

[247] Antonio Viñao Frago, 'The History of Literacy in Spain: Evolution, Traits, and Questions,' *History of Education Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1990): p. 574; Jacques Soubeyroux, 'La alfabetización en la España del siglo XVIII,' *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria* 14-15, (2013): pp. 230-231.

[248] David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 1; Stone, "Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900," p. 120.

[249] Schofield, p. 311.

[250] Ibid.

I look at written forms in connection with oral practices that surrounded, influenced, and rivalled it, in order to shed light on the power relations that shaped colonial societies.[251] Different social groups had different registers of orality and literacy, meaning that each could strategically use and control literacy resources to maintain their position or to climb the social ladder.[252] By looking at individual stories, it is possible to reconstruct part of their social memories embedded in oral and literacy traditions, as they reflected one another.[253] Orality continued to play a crucial role in communication during the eighteenth century, since reading was mainly performed aloud. However, silent reading had been known since the Middle Age, therefore the written word has a longer history.[254]

In his work on Inquisition agents in Mariana, Minas Gerais, A. Rodrigues claims that all of the 111 candidates that he analysed could read and write.[255] The inclusion of illiterate people in the Inquisition would have conflicted with its interests, even in remote colonial possessions, as writing reports of visitations and noting down observations was part of their duties. The Inquisition never established a tribunal in Brazil but instead relied on commissioners and civil agents (laymen) called *familiares.*[256] The only Portuguese Inquisition Tribunal outside Portugal was in Goa, whereas in Spanish America the Inquisition was established in Mexico and in Peru (1570). They observed the colonial population and acted in the name of the Holy Office, reminding people of the presence of the Inquisition even in rural areas.[257] The *familiares* were, therefore, a representation of the monarchic power.

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[251] Innes, "Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society," pp. 4-5.

[252] Ibid., p. 10.

[253] Ibid., pp. 5; 17.

[254] Ibid., p. 9.

[255] Aldair Carlos Rodrigues, *Sociedade e Inquisição em Minas Colonial: os familiares do Santo Ofício (1711-1808).*USP, 2007, p. 120.

[256] Feitler. p. 11; Hsia. p. 170.

[257] Luiz Fernando Rodrigues Lopes, *Vigilância, Distinção e Honra: Inquisição e dinâmica dos poderes locais nos sertões das Minas Setecentistas.* Curitiba: Editora Prismas, 2014, p. 25; Bruno Feitler, "Poder Episcopal e Inquisição no Brasil: o juízo eclesiástico da Bahia nos tempos de D. Sebastião Monteiro da Vide," in *A Igreja no Brasil: normas e práticas durante a vigência das Constituições Primeiras do Arccebispado da Bahia*, ed. Bruno Feitler and Evergton Sales de Souza. São Paulo: Unifesp, 2011, p. 85; Rodrigues, p. 10; Feitler, *Nas malhas da consciência: Igreja e Inquisição no Brasil: Nordeste 1640-1750.* p. 139.

Familiar was a title that granted its bearer social prestige and future possibilities of occupying other posts in the colonial administration, as councillors for example.[258] The purpose of being a *familiar* shifted from religious control to social ascension and in Brazil the number of appointments of Holy Office agents peaked in 1780.[259] Immigrants who attended school before going to the colony stood out by achieving economic and political success in the new lands, thus proving the value of education in Lusophone society.[260] In addition, as most of the applicants had learnt the alphabet in Portugal, the analysis of teaching methods and books in the metropole can be extended to Brazil for the purposes of this dissertation and within the framework of Atlantic history.

Literacy was also one of the prerequisites for becoming a Knight of the Order of Christ. The military-religious Order of Christ was an honourable institution (initially devoted to the spread of Catholicism) that provided their Knights with prestige, status, possibilities for social ascension and a small annual pension.[261] Military orders reinforced the Crown's legitimacy, motivating and rewarding settlers for good services.[262] In Portugal (and in other Portuguese possessions such as Ceuta and Brazil) the most popular military order was the Order of Christ, while in Spain it was the Santiago. With rare exceptions, all the Knights of the Order of Christ received an annuity of 12.000 *réis*.[263] The concession of honorific titles such as these was inscribed in an Iberian tradition of granting privileges in return for services offered to the monarchy.[264] Candidates went through a long process of deposition that included the summoning of several witnesses both in Portugal and in Brazil. Questions covered information about applicants' social

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[258] As per the English translation in: Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834*. pp. 74-89; 160-162.

[259] James E. Wadsworth, "The Agony of Decay: Joaquim Marques de Araújo, a Brazilian Comissário in the Age of Inquisitorial Decline," in *Honra e sociedade no mundo ibérico e ultramarino: inquisição e ordens militares, séculos XVI-XIX*, ed. Ana Isabel López-Salazar Codes, Fernanda Olival, and João editor Figueirôa-Rêgo. Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2013, p. 208; Feitler, *Nas malhas da consciência: Igreja e Inquisição no Brasil: Nordeste 1640-1750*. p. 87.

[260] Ferreira, p. 59.

[261] Francis A. Dutra, 'Membership in the Order of Christ in the Seventeenth Century: Its Rights, Privileges, and Obligations,' *The Americas* 27, no. 1 (1970): p. 20; Fernanda Olival, *As Ordens Militares e o Estado Moderno: honra, mercê e venalidade em Portugal (1641-1789)*. Lisboa: Estar Editora, 2001, pp. 3; 52; Schwaller. p. 35.

[262] Mattos, "'Pretos' and 'Pardos' between the Cross and the Sword: Racial Categories in Seventeenth Century Brazil," p. 45.

[263] Olival. pp. 9; 45-47.

[264] Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal*. p. 174.

origins, economic resources, and Christian morals. Those who were not able to achieve the title through the standard procedures could buy it, which did not diminish the success and respect that possession of the title garnered in society.[265] Being a Knight of the Order of Christ in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais was a strategy for ennoblement and the amount of gold that applicants took to the *Casa dos Contos* (Counting House) increased the chances of achieving it.[266]

In a number of cases, having no occupation other than being a student before moving to Brazil was seen as a sign of nobility and good manners. *Viver nobremente* (to live in a noble manner) was a common characteristic of candidates to the Order of Christ and Holy Office *familiares*.[267] This included having horses, servants, and not undertaking 'mechanical' activities. As in other European countries such as England and France, appearance was very important and servants indicated wealth and authority.[268] Garments were also meaningful and the idea of public life as a stage persisted into the nineteenth century. In 1701, traveller Thomas Cox was surprised at how far vanity in appearance drove the Portuguese – his neighbour borrowed money yet dressed his daughter in silk and fine garments.[269]

In terms of geographical origin, the data analysed is in line with the main historiography of the theme, which claims that most migration to Brazil was from the north of Portugal, particularly from the Entre-Douro and Minho area.[270] It is relevant to highlight that peasants in Minho (from where most of migrants to Brazil came) were relatively well educated and as or even more literate that the urban population in Alentejo in the

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[265] Fernanda Olival, 'Mercado de hábitos e serviços em Portugal (séculos XVII-XVIII),' *Análise Social* 38, no. 168 (2003).

[266] Stumpf, pp. 172-192; 208-244.

[267] Olival, *As Ordens Militares e o Estado Moderno: honra, mercê e venalidade em Portugal (1641-1789)*. pp. 370-374.

[268] Boyd Hilton, *A mad, bad, and dangerous people? England, 1783-1846.* Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 31-38; Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: dress and fashion in the 'ancien regime'.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 50; 55; 204.

[269] "É estranho ver até que ponto esta vaidade pela aparência os leva. Um nosso vizinho que eu sei já mais de uma vez ter tido de pedir emprestado tão pouco quanto três pence, veste à filha capa de seda e roupas finas, e a filha sente-se demasiado importante para servir." In: Cox and Macro. p. 106.

[270] Scott. p. 36; Monteiro, "As reformas na monarquia pluricontinental portuguesa: de Pombal a dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho," pp. 120-121.

south.[271] In the case of the Order of Christ, eighty-two per cent of the applicants who travelled to Minas Gerais were from Entre-Douro, Minho, and Trás-os-Montes (Braga, Guimarães, and Porto) (**CHART 1**). Similarly, the Holy Office candidatures were mainly from the north (fifty-six per cent) (**CHART 2**). The heritage system in Minho may explain why emigration was such a common phenomenon. The system privileged one of the heirs who was expected to marry and manage the household as resources were scarce in the small region. Property could not be equally distributed among heirs, lest the estates became too small to support a family.[272] Additionally, Minho was the most populated area in Portugal in the first half of the eighteenth century, which made the inheritance system even more complicated: it corresponded to eight per cent of Portugal's territory, but concentrated twenty-five per cent of its population. [273]

CHART 1: Minas Gerais: Order of Christ Applicants' Geographical Origins
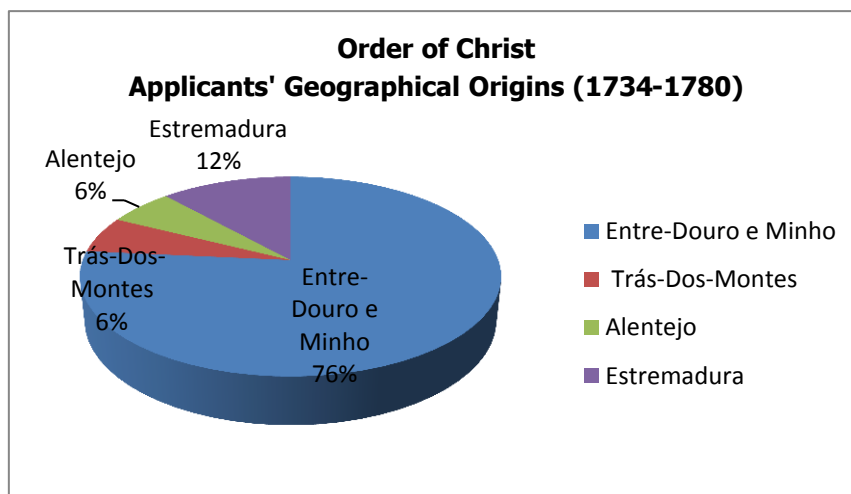
Source: Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo, ANTT. Total: 17.

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[271] Ramos, "Culturas da alfabetização e culturas do analfabetismo em Portugal: uma introdução à História da Alfabetização no Portugal contemporâneo," p. 1074.

[272] Scott. p. 41.

[273] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 256.

CHART 2: Minas Gerais: Holy Office Candidates' Geographical Origins
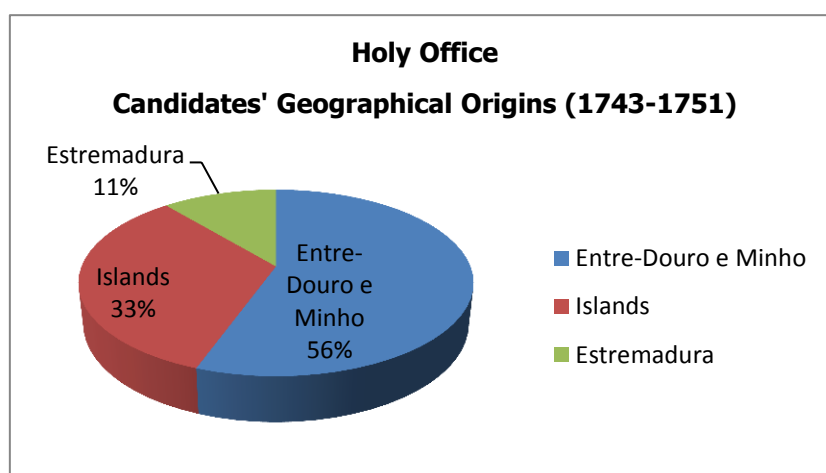
Source: Habilitações do Santo Ofício, ANTT. Total: 9.

In theory, Portuguese law favoured male heirs over female ones but according to M. Durães, parents tried to position women at the same level as men; in some cases they even preferred to name female descendants as the main heirs.[274] Women were preferred to male heirs in other parts of Europe and Asia (not Africa) but, unlike Portugal, inheritance was usually tied to marriage – although maintenance of the elderly was also taken into account.[275] Two main objectives, therefore, contributed to this attitude: to guarantee care when parents reached a declining age and to reward women for years of domestic chores.[276] For these reasons, regardless of their age, the only alternatives left for those who were not chosen as the main heir were either join the religious life or migrate.[277]

Migration was one way to avoid the fragmentation of land and lack of opportunity, since immigrants were no longer a burden to the household or dependant on the main

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[274] Margarida Durães, "Providing Well-Being to Women through Inheritance and Succession: Portugal in the 18th and 19th centuries," in *The Transmission of Well-Being: gendered strategies and inheritance systems in Europe (17th-20th centuries)*, ed. Margarida Durães et al. Bern; New York: Peter Lang, 2009, p. 224.

[275] Jack Godoy, "Inheritance, property, and women," in *Family and inheritance: rural society in Western Europe, 1200-1800*, ed. Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E. P. Thompson, Past and present publications. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp. 10; 32; 34.

[276] Margarida Durães, 'Qualidade de vida e sobrevivência econômica da família camponesa minhota: o papel das herdeiras (sécs. XVIII-XIX),' *Cadernos do Noroeste* 17, no. 1-2 (2002): pp. 136-137.

[277] Scott. p. 41.

heir.[278] The migration to Brazil after the gold rush was so concentrated between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that the Portuguese Crown enforced restrictions between 1709 and 1711.[279] A decree from 1720 established that only those who were travelling on official business would be granted a passport.[280] This law existed until the nineteenth century but did little to control immigration, which continued to take place clandestinely.[281] Spanish and Portuguese Americas attracted a greater number of migrants than any other European colonies, with the exception of the Anglo colonies after 1800. In the Words of J. Moya, "opportunities in commercial agriculture, mining, manufacturing, the urban economy, trans-Atlantic trade, and the imperial bureaucracy" were the main factors that contributed to large-scale migration.[282] The most recent works on migration from Portugal to Brazil recognise the primary origins of migrants were the islands of Madeira and the Azores, just as well as northern Portugal.[283] The Azores are a complex of nine islands (São Miguel, Pico, Terceira, São Jorge, Graciosa, Santa Maria, Corvo, Faial and Flores), three of which (Faial, São Miguel, and Terceira) had become most developed since the beginning of colonisation.[284] Considering that both Madeira and the Azores had been centres of migration since their discovery in the fifteenth century, one could claim that migration to Brazil was a continuation of that wave.[285] At the beginning, migration to the islands came mainly from the Algarve in the south of Portugal but from the sixteenth century onwards, the Entre-Douro and Minho areas in the north became the main ports of

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[278] Ibid.

[279] Brettell. p. 76; Scott. p. 35; Moya, p. 56. The discovery of gold in the late seventeenth century would have been one of the main reasons for the dissolution of the Iberian Atlantic. See: Bethencourt, "The Iberian Atlantic: ties, networks, and boundaries " p. 33.

[280] Brettell. p. 76.

[281] Ibid.

[282] Moya, p. 55.

[283] Mônica Ribeiro de Oliveira, 'Famílias dos sertões da Mantiqueira,' *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro* 48, (2012): p. 106; Mônica Ribeiro de Oliveira, 'Avô imigrante, pai lavrador, neto cafeicultor: análise de trajetórias intergeracionais na América Portuguesa (séculos XVIII e XIX),' *Varia História* 27, no. 46 (2011): p. 632; Donald Ramos, 'Do Minho a Minas,' *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro* 44, no. 1 (2008): p. 140.

[284] Paulo Lopes Matos, "Female Life Courses and Property Transmission in the Azorean Periphery (Portugal)," in *The Transmission of Well-Being: gendered marriage strategies and inheritance systems in Europe (17th-20th centuries)*, ed. Margarida Durães et al. Bern; New York: Peter Lang, 2009, p. 359.

[285] Noberta Amorim and Carlota Santos, "Marriage Strategies in Azorean Communities of Pico Island," in *The Transimission of Well-Being: gendered marriage strategies and inheritance systems in europe (17th-20th centuries)*, ed. Margarida Durães et al. Bern; New York: Peter Lang, 2009, p. 144; Matos, p. 359; Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 84.

emigration.[286] The dynamics of the Atlantic economy, in which Brazil started playing a crucial role from the sixteenth century, turned Brazil into a magnet for migration from the islands.[287]

In 1748, King João V implemented an immigration policy to incentivise Azoreans to migrate to Brazil.[288] The Portuguese often migrated internally, mainly to Lisbon and Porto, before going on to Brazil.[289] Once in the colony, immigrants usually stayed in Rio de Janeiro or Salvador where their ships docked, either continuing their studies or working with a relative (often in trade) before moving on to Minas Gerais. Thomas Cox stated that once young people started studying, they thought that trade was below them.[290] He was probably referring to those who went to Coimbra but if this was true for students in general, it appears that the perspective in the colony had changed as trade was one of the most effective ways of climbing the social ladder.

My analysis is introduced through two stories which I believe illustrate the relevance of literacy in the colony and its Atlantic connections. Bento Alves applied to be a Holy Office agent in 1750.[291] He lived in Barcelos where he learned to read and write with a yeoman called Paulo Lopez (who was also described as an orator) before moving to Lisbon. Bluteau's dictionary has two entrances for 'orator': *oradôr* and *orador*.[292] The latter means someone who prays, the first holds the same meaning in English. It is thus not clear which occupation Paulo Lopez shared with that of being a yeoman. Nevertheless, it shows that intermediary social groups had access to some sort of education. There, he lived with his uncle who sent him to Brazil where he became a tradesman in Minas Gerais. Another immigrant, Francisco José de Araújo, lived with his uncle who was described by a witness as a wealthy man in Rio de Janeiro.[293]

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[286] Joel Serrão, 'Conspecto Histórico da Emigração Portuguesa,' *Análise Social* 8, no. 32 (1970). Islands such as São Tomé, Azores, Cape Verde and Madeira were inhabited before European colonisation. See: Klein and Vinson III. p. 15.

[287] Serrão, "Conspecto Histórico da Emigração Portuguesa."

[288] Lesser. p. 8.

[289] Scott. p. 36.

[290] "E os jovens, tendo usado uma vez o hábito de Estudiosos, passam a achar que o comércio está abaixo do seu nível". Cox and Macro. p. 45.

[291] ANTT, HSO, mç. 12, doc. 169.

[292] Bluteau, *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino (O-P)*. p. 28.

[293] ANTT, HOC, mç. 3, doc. 6.

Francisco transported slaves and other goods from Rio de Janeiro to the gold mining district. When his uncle sent him to collect a debt from Minas Gerais, he settled in the district and never went back to Rio de Janeiro. Having studied Latin in his home town (Terras do Bouro, archbishopric of Braga), Francisco considered becoming a priest but changed his plans when his brother joined him in Brazil.

These are two of many cases in which immigrants counted on the support of family members. Similarly, records of the Order of Christ provide insight into the social networks that supported young men's migration to Brazil. They reveal that migrating remained an alternative for the Portuguese people and that family ties played a substantial role in this.[294] Half of the applicants that I examined had relatives in Brazil: seventy-five per cent had uncles there, while others had siblings already in Brazil. Regarding the social origins of migrants, records show that fifty-three per cent of the Order of Christ applicants and seventy-eight per cent of the Holy Office candidates came from families primarily occupied in agriculture, chiefly working on their own land (**CHART 3** and **CHART 4**). Indeed, most of the population in Minho was dedicated to agriculture, an activity that (together with trade) was no longer considered a second-class occupation in the early eighteenth century.[295]

CHART 3: Minas Gerais: Order of Christ families' occupations
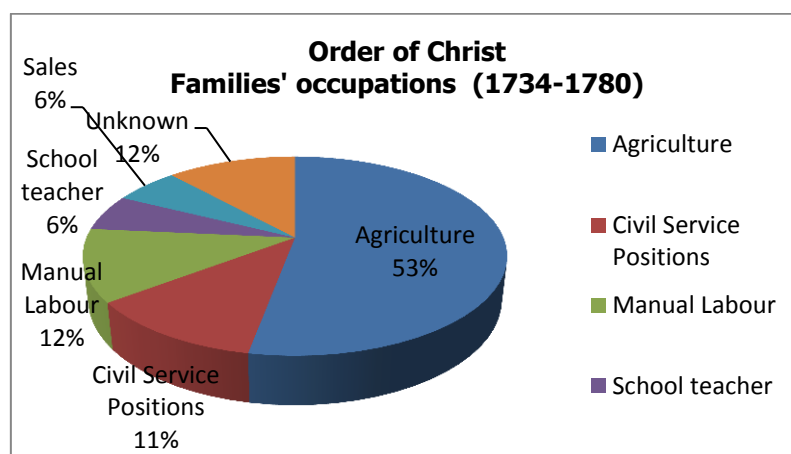
Source: Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo, ANTT. Total: 17.

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[294] Lopes. p. 67; Stumpf, p. 256.

[295] Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "O Trabalho," in *História Económica de Portugal, 1700-2000*, ed. Pedro Lains and Álvaro Ferreira da Silva. Lisboa: ICS, 2011, pp. 100; 120; Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal*. pp. 488-489.

CHART 4: Minas Gerais: Holy Office families' occupations
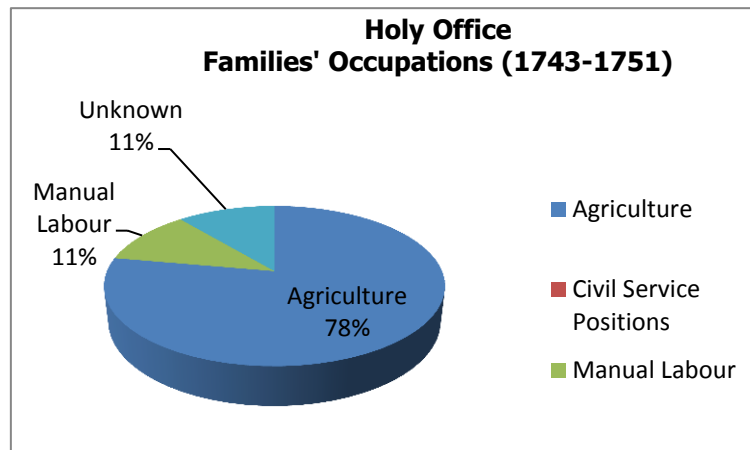
Source: Habilitações do Santo Ofício, ANTT. Total: 9.

Which occupations did candidates follow? In the Order of Christ, upon arriving in Brazil six per cent undertook activities involving manual labour (for example, as goldsmiths or coopers), agriculture (yeomen) and slave traders. Just over half (fifty-three per cent) were in trade (as tradesmen or salesmen), followed by the civil service (seventeen per cent) and military (twelve per cent) (**CHART 5**).[296] As time passed, the number of individuals occupied in trade remained stable (twenty-four per cent); civil servants and military officers increased to twenty-nine per cent and twenty-four per cent respectively. Manual labour continued at six per cent, agriculture decreased to zero, and a new occupation, mill owner, was listed (six per cent). As a third occupation, data reveals that twenty-nine per cent ended up in military service; eighteen per cent were civil servants; twelve per cent were tradesmen; twelve per cent were directly involved in mining; and six per cent were in both mining and milling.

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[296] Trade includes both tradesmen and salesmen. Civil service encompasses notaries, treasurers, and tax collectors.

CHART 5: Minas Gerais: Order of Christ applicants' occupations
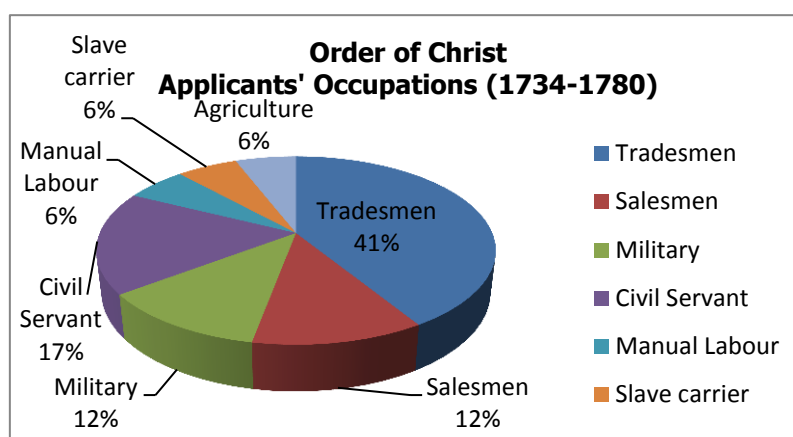
Source: Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo, ANTT. Total: 17.

Military occupations were common among colonists and this increased over time, although the most effective way of succeeding in Brazil was in trade.[297] In line with historiography, almost all Holy Office *familiars* were traders (seventy-eighty per cent), while eleven per cent were slave carriers, with the same proportion employed in agriculture (**CHART 6**).[298] Two of the candidates were miners who engaged in other occupations, probably as mine owners, since working in a mine was characterised by manual labour, which was viewed negatively in candidatures. In general, the Luso-Brazilian society saw manual labour (*ofícios mecânicos*) negatively but this does not mean that they were unsurpassable.[299] It depended on the specific occupation and on other factors such as the candidate's reputation, conduct, and wealth. [300]

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[297] Serrão, "Conspecto Histórico da Emigração Portuguesa."

[298] Feitler, *Nas malhas da consciência: Igreja e Inquisição no Brasil: Nordeste 1640-1750*. p. 95; Daniela Buono Calainho, *Agentes da fé : familiares da Inquisição portuguesa no Brasil colonial*. Bauru: EDUSC, 2006, p. 90; Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834*. pp. 169-171.

[299] Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834*. p. 169; Mattos, "'Pretos' and 'Pardos' between the Cross and the Sword: Racial Categories in Seventeenth Century Brazil," p. 44.

[300] Olival, *As Ordens Militares e o Estado Moderno: honra, mercê e venalidade em Portugal (1641-1789)*. p. 370.

CHART 6: Minas Gerais: Holy Office Candidates' Occupations
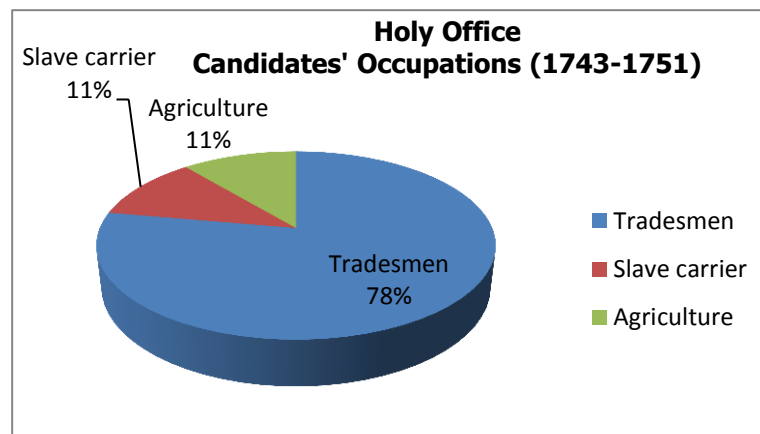
Source: Habilitações do Santo Ofício, ANTT. Total: 9.

The fact that wealth was a prerequisite for commencing the application process helps to explain the high number of traders applying to be *familiares*. The summoning of witnesses to prove that the candidate was 'pure of blood' (Old Christian and free from the 'stain' of African, indigenous, Jew or Moor descent) was very expensive.[301] As traders were moveable throughout the colony, both the Inquisition and the *familiares* benefited from their positions.[302] For traders, it was important to have their nobility recognised wherever they went, especially in an Old Regime society; for the Holy Office it was useful to have agents that 'had eyes' in as many places as possible.[303] I argue that this strategy was about reputation but also about instilling a fear of being observed, even when that was not the case.[304]

The figures analysed so far are similar to R. Stumpf's findings on the Order of Christ and nobility strategies in eighteenth century Minas Gerais.[305] Most applicants were traders when they first arrived in the mining district; the second most numerous group was civil servants.[306] Consequently, the number of candidates with military titles was

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[301] Calainho. pp. 96-97; Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834*. pp. 164; 169; Klein and Vinson III. p. 194; Mattos, "'Pretos' and 'Pardos' between the Cross and the Sword: Racial Categories in Seventeenth Century Brazil," pp. 43; 50.

[302] Calainho. pp. 98-99.

[303] Ibid.

[304] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. pp. 200-201.

[305] Stumpf, p. 259.

[306] Ibid., pp. 259, 265.

very high in the Order of Christ in Minas Gerais.[307] Regarding the *familiares*, A. Rodrigues found that almost eighty 80 per cent of Holy Office agents in the gold mining district were connected with the trade sector.[308] Compared to the Knights of the Order of Christ, there were more Holy Office agents employed in mining activities than in military service.[309] Discrepancies such as these may be connected to the fact that the Order of Christ held more affinity with the military service due to the nature of the title (applications for both titles depended on the economic status of the candidates).[310]

Migration to Brazil represented a way out from poverty, as families that required income from labour opted to send their children to Brazil in the hope that they would thrive in the colony. These parents preferred sending their sons to school rather than keeping them in agriculture until they reached the age of fourteen, when boys were expected to go to the colony in their quest for success.[311] A. Rodrigues also found that most of the applicants of the Holy Office migrated to Brazil before reaching twenty years-old.[312] The data analysed in this chapter points in the same direction, at least regarding the Order of Christ claims: it was possible to identify the age of ten out of seventeen immigrants: fifty-three percent were under twenty years old when they went to Brazil, whereas forty-one percent were between fourteen and fifteen. The Holy Office claims did not mention the exact age, simply stating that the boys were 'young', which according to A. Rodrigues was a common way of referring to the applicants' age.[313]

Sending children to learn to read and write when parents were illiterate, in a place where there was no literary tradition, could have been a spontaneous decision as well as an aspirational desire to follow the elite.[314] Particularly before the institutionalisation of the education system, literacy among intermediary groups reflected aspirations to social

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[307] Ibid., p. 267.
[308] Rodrigues, p. 165.
[309] Ibid., pp. 166-167.
[310] Stumpf, pp. 31-53.
[311] Ibid., p. 251; Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "As crianças e as idades da vida," in *História da vida privada em Portugal*, ed. Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro. Lisbon: Temas e Debates: Círculo de Leitores, 2010, p. 85.
[312] Rodrigues, pp. 157-158.
[313] Monteiro, "As reformas na monarquia pluricontinental portuguesa: de Pombal a dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho," pp. 120-121.
[314] Ramos, "Culturas da alfabetização e culturas do analfabetismo em Portugal: uma introdução à História da Alfabetização no Portugal contemporâneo," p. 1077.

prestige and the utility of the written word for owners of small or medium-sized pieces of land, carriers and craftsmen.[315] I claim that this additionally created a desire for imitation, manifested as studying in the Lusophone world. For certain groups, the ability to read and write was a means of participating more effectively in society and exercising power in the public sphere.[316] Moving to Brazil was therefore a carefully planned decision that involved access to education while still in Portugal. This persisted throughout the colonial period. In Brazil, settlers looked at Portugal as the ideal to achieve, against which cultural, educational, religious and moral standards should be compared to.[317]

Conclusion

In Portugal and Brazil, either the Church or the City Councils (*Câmara Municipal*) closely supervised the activities of private teachers, who usually received their students at home.[318] In Brazil, the first buildings built with the purpose of being schools date back to the 1820s.[319] The Pombaline reforms gradually changed the educational landscape both in the metropole and in the colony, significantly shaping the Portuguese language. I assert that the conditions for this change existed before any formal state instruction and education policy was enacted; the Church, local communities, and parents had long embraced the importance of literacy to improve their social standing or imitate the elite. Basic literacy skills such as reading, writing, and accounts contributed to success in the colony and were also useful for religious formation, particularly after the Council of Trent, although with less freedom than in Protestant countries.[320] As mentioned earlier, in Portugal and in its domains, the king was responsible to collect the

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[315] Ibid., p. 1075; Sá, "As crianças e as idades da vida," p. 82.

[316] Fernandes, "A história da educação no Brasil e em Portugal: caminhos cruzados," p. 8; Ferreira, p. 71; Souza, p. 20.

[317] Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," p. 113.

[318] Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal.* pp. 177; 195; Luiz Carlos Villalta, 'Educação Pública e Educação Privada na América Portuguesa,' *Termo de Mariana: história e documentação*, (1998): pp. 190;192; Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-grande & senzala): a study in the development of Brazilian civilization.* p. 404; Adão. pp. 11;29 16-17.

[319] Tereza Fachada Levy Cardoso, "As aulas-régias no Brasil," in *História e Memórias da Educação no Brasil*, ed. Maria Stephanou and Maria Helena Camara Bastos. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 2011, pp. 187-188.

[320] Chartier and Hébrard, p. 264; Daher, "Colonial Utopias: between Indians and Missionaries," p. 106.

tithes and assure the maintenance of the clergy and other ecclesiastical structures, particularly to secular clergymen (*padroado*).[321] However, the amount collected was usually not enough to maintain the ecclesiastical system throughout the Portuguese empire. Therefore, to cover extra literacy costs, the Crown created a new tax (*subsídio literário*).

The first tranche of reforms (1759-1772) became a foundation for the second phase (1772-1777), which was marked in Portugal by defining the school system and providing teachers with the right conditions for work.[322] The Crown opened the first public classes between 1772 and 1778 and from 1779 to 1781 the number of lessons and students increased significantly, followed by twelve years of stabilisation.[323] In Brazil, the number of classes increased following the establishment of the Literary Subsidy in 1772 but the first payrolls for Minas Gerais, for example, date back to 1786.[324] This indicates that although the Crown had established teaching, there was a delay in teachers being paid.

The Pombaline reforms also implemented a new kind of censorship centred on the state (though still related to the Church).[325] Both lines of censorship – secular and religious – permeated Luso-Brazilian culture and led to ways of thinking that tried to pull Iberia out of the its backwardness, while maintaining loyalty to the Catholic Church. The Royal Board of Censorship reports reflect this double policy and shed light on the power dispute that surrounded the standardisation of Portuguese during the eighteenth century. Three years after the creation of Board, the second tranche of education reforms tackled the question of language in primary schools more decisively. In my sample, the reports written between 1771 and 1777 deal with more reference books than those between 1768 and 1771, probably because the second tranche of reforms encouraged the publication of more grammar books and orthographies.

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[321] Sá, "Ecclesiastical Structures and Religious Action," p. 257; Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português: 1415-1825*. p. 244.

[322] Nóvoa, *Le Temps des Professeurs: analyse socio-historique de la profession enseignante au Portugal (XVIIIe-XXe siècle)*. p. 175; Morais, p. 102.

[323] Nóvoa, *Le Temps des Professeurs: analyse socio-historique de la profession enseignante au Portugal (XVIIIe-XXe siècle)*. p. 224.

[324] Carrato. p. 151. APM, CC, pl. 335; 406; 418; 445; 475; 510; 523; 524; 758; 30200.

[325] Nóvoa, *Le Temps des Professeurs: analyse socio-historique de la profession enseignante au Portugal (XVIIIe-XXe siècle)*. p. 279.

Was this a consequence of the censors' concerns about language, since they were all erudite men? Or was it a causative factor, as the members of the Board realised how the Portuguese language lacked standardisation? The effects of this debate probably reached Brazil as those colonists who sought to participate actively in colonial affairs through the written word (notary officers, judges, and teachers) had to be aware of the rules.[326] It is necessary to reinforce that until the arrival of the Portuguese Royal family in 1808 there was no printing press in Brazil. This meant that printed material arriving from Portugal often entered the colony with students, immigrants, and administrative personnel, reinforcing the connection with the Iberian Atlantic.

These practical issues, together with the teaching tradition that preceded the reforms, meant that cultural intermediaries such as families, teachers, and students sometimes resisted, whether purposefully (because they did not agree with them or because they preferred the traditional methods) or not (because they were not aware of the reforms or because the books recommended by the Crown did not arrive in the colony). The desire for modernisation conflicted with a long established system of censorship that seemed to have simply passed from one authority to another. The following chapter will look at the extent to which the reforms affected the colony (more specifically, the gold mining district of Minas Gerais) and how cultural intermediaries contributed to them.

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[326] Angel Rama, *The Lettered City.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996, p. 18.

Chapter 3: The implications of educational reforms: teachers, students, and the formation of local literate groups in the gold mining district

To what extent did both language and power relations link to social structure and literacy in the gold mining district? In this chapter I will discuss the impact of the educational reforms at a micro level and demonstrate how other cultural intermediaries (such as teachers and students) developed significant roles in the circulation and acquisition of Portuguese, also forming local literate groups.[1] These renewed roles introduced an extra layer of complexity to the tensions between prescriptivism and usage, since language was a controversial subject, especially within the centre of power. This is revealed by the continuity of conflicts surrounding language control among members of the Royal Board of Censorship.[2] Building on the ideas of discipline, control, and the symbolic power of language, this chapter will look at the 'micro politics of language' — the interpersonal relationships that influenced the extent to which local and official agents obeyed, reinvented, or reacted to official instructions on language and schooling.[3]

What is the connection between literacy and official institutions? As with elsewhere in Europe, the state legitimised the process of social mobility by offering opportunities in administrative posts and the Holy Office, as well as positions in military orders and confraternities.[4] The Catholic Church, under the *Real Padroado*, was arguably part of the state and as such, social mobility within confraternities could also mean political mobility.[5] Some confraternities, such as the *Misericórdias*, were crucial in assisting the

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[1] Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard, and Tom Conley, *The Capture of Speech and Other Political Writings*. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997, p. 96.

[2] The normalisation of language provoked heated debates among French writers, too. See: Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", pp. 527-528.

[3] Grillo. p. 8; Foucault, *The Order of Things: an archaeology of the human sciences*. p. 37; Bourdieu and Thompson. p. 37.

[4] Arno Wheling, "A incorporação do Brasil ao mundo moderno," in *História e Memórias da Educação no Brasil*, ed. Maria Stephanou and Maria Helena Camara Bastos. Petrópolis: Editora vozes, 2011, p. 49.

[5] Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português: 1415-1825*. p. 244.

state, individuals, and even support manumissions.[6] Literacy was often needed to acquire such positions and was, therefore, not an immediate result of the establishment of official institutions but did contribute to the shaping of an official language against which all linguistic practices could be measured.[7] Writing was crucial for modern forms of government and official institutions required a social group able to write the official language within the linguistic norms of the metropole, and to separate the fluidity of speech from the written word.[8]

Communication between the colonial population and the Portuguese administration was, by and large, generally in writing: written culture and literacy became effective instruments of social participation.[9] As in other Spanish American colonies such as Peru and Mexico, basic literacy skills could secure important positions in colonial society, allowing the population to practice activities that contributed to their material and personal prosperity.[10] Such activities included work in administrative, notarial or tuition services, stimulating the demand for primary education above Latin. However, focusing exclusively on literacy exaggerates the distance between oral and literate cultures and might underestimate the accomplishments of illiterate societies.[11] While most people were illiterate, intermediary groups of literates linked both worlds, and people turned to notary officers and scribes to participate in the colonial enterprise.[12] Colonists also used basic literacy skills in everyday tasks such as registering credit and payment receipts, and writing shopping lists and prescriptions.[13]

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[6] Francisco Bethencourt, "Political Configurations and Local Powers," in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto. USA: Cambidge University Press, 2007, 218; Sá, "Ecclesiastical Structures and Religious Action," pp. 267-269.

[7] Bourdieu and Thompson. 45.

[8] Rama. pp. 16; 29; 37; Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*. p. 37.

[9] Thais de Nivia Lima e Fonseca, 'Portugueses em Minas Gerais no século XVIII: cultura escrita e práticas educativas,' *Mneme – Revista de Humanidades* 9, no. 24 (2008): pp. 4-5.

[10] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa*. p. 76; Ramos, "Indigenous Intellectuals in Andean Colonial Cities," pp. 21; 30-31; Yanna Yannakakis, "Making Law Intelligible: Networks of Translation in Mid-Colonial Oaxaca," in *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*, ed. Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis. 2014, pp. 80-81; 98; Kathryn Burns, "Making Indigenous Archives: The Quilcaycamayoq in Colonial Cuzco," in *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*, ed. Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014, p. 253.

[11] Burke and Porter. p. 21.

[12] Fonseca, "Portugueses em Minas Gerais no século XVIII: cultura escrita e práticas educativas," pp. 4-5.

[13] Ibid., p. 5.

During the colonial period (from the start of the expansion until 1760), around one and a half million Portuguese emigrated to America, particularly to Brazil, while estimates that 1.2 million Spaniards went to the New World.[14] Within the context of Atlantic history concerned with the movement of peoples and ideas between Portugal, Brazil, and the other Portuguese possessions (which sometimes happened independently of the metropole, as in the case of Angola), my analysis will focus on the mining district.[15] Following the discovery of gold in the late seventeenth century, and diamonds in the early eighteenth century, the flow of Portuguese immigrants in a relatively short period of time was so intense that the Portuguese administration passed a restriction emigration law in 1720.[16]

There are several circumstances that make the impacts of the reforms in Minas Gerais especially significant when compared with the rest of Brazil. The mining district was more urbanised and dynamic than other colonial areas: the implementation of the administrative apparatus required the development of towns and villages that led to the formation of a large bureaucratic third sector, expanding opportunities in small trading and crafts.[17] The need to establish new official institutions which had previously not existed – including educational ones – and the allure of post in administration attracted immigrants to the district. As has been shown earlier, this created not only an unstable and volatile society (due to the impossibilities of complete administrative control of the area) but also a desire among immigrants to settle.

The creation of official posts allowed the formation of social groups (*letrados*) that owed their positions to their mastery of language, an effective instrument of access to power. These groups included not only teachers and their pupils, but various other social groups. Their ability to sign their own names sheds more light on their positions

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[14] Godinho, pp. 17-18; Francisco Bethencourt, *Racisms: from the Crusades to the twentieth century* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 182-183.

[15] Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *A cultura luso-brasileira: da reforma da universidade independência do Brasil.* Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1999, p. 129; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the era of the slave trade.* pp. 1-3; 7-8; 245-246; Ferreira, "Atlantic Microhistories: mobility, personal ties, and slaving in the Black Atlantic World (Angola and Brazil)," p. 100.

[16] Mello, "Modelos de formação da língua nacional sob a perspectiva do contato de populações," p. 308; Moya, p. 56.

[17] Russell-Wood, *From Colony to Nation: essays on the independence of Brazil.* p. 211; Bakewell. p. 354.

and will be discussed later in this chapter.[18] Working with a variety of sources which reveal a similar relevance to language practices and power relations, I will begin my analysis by looking at the continuities of, and reactions to, the Pombaline reforms during the reign of Maria I. Having introduced the context, I will assess how miscegenation, in combination with education, could elevate people's status in colonial society. I will then examine how students and teachers used their knowledge to climb the social ladder, moving on to analyse the ability of the respective 'linguistic community' to sign their name, taking occupational descriptors into account.[19] Next, I will assess teachers' social mobility by looking at the circulation of books and knowledge throughout the mining district. Finally, I will look at further attempts by the Royal Board of Censorship to standardise Portuguese in order to link particular ideas about language with broader patterns, times and places.[20] Through the chapter, I aim to make a contribution to our understanding of the historical process that spread Portuguese in colonial Brazil, as well as the social structure of the agents involved.

Reactions to and continuities of the Pombaline Reforms

Queen Maria I was well educated in music, painting, and languages.[21] She was also highly religious: when she took the throne, a number of her contemporaries believed that she would enforce a reversal of the secular-oriented Pombaline reforms, challenging the accomplishments of the former minister.[22] Her reign (1777-1792) represented a conflict between secularisation and religiosity, marked by a number of external events that challenged the aristocracy status quo and influenced some of her decisions on Brazil. For example, the independence of the United States (1776), a rebellion in Goa (1787), the *Inconfidência Mineira* – a conspiracy that emerged from the mining district in 1789 – followed by the French Revolution in the same year. In 1791, the Haitian Revolution put all imperial powers based on slave trade on high alert, fearing that their possessions

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[18] Bourdieu and Thompson. pp. 47; 109.

[19] "Linguistic community" is a group of individuals who share and recognise the same language or a variety of languages. See: ibid., pp. 45-46; Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. p. 5.

[20] Greenblatt, p. 17; Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 14.

[21] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 312.

[22] Ibid., p. 313.

would follow the same path.[23] However, the changes made by the first female sovereign in Portuguese history were not as significant as the continuity she sought to keep, particularly in education.[24] For example, she allowed several exiles to return to Portugal and freed a number of prisoners during Pombal's regime but she did not punish or persecute individuals associated with the former State Minister; the Jesuits, however (expelled by Pombal in 1759), were not allowed to return to Portugal.[25]

According to A. R. Disney, the Marian period saw "a proliferation of academies, libraries, societies, intellectual circles and educational enterprises of varying kinds".[26] The most famous and enduring was the *Academia Real de Ciências* (Royal Academy of Science) in Lisbon.[27] It was founded in 1779 by the Duke of Lafões, who had been living in England for twenty years as a member of the Royal Society in London.[28] In 1780, the Academy embarked on an ambitious project: writing a complete dictionary of the Portuguese language in collaboration with various scholars.[29] The volume on the letter A was published in 1793, bearing many similarities with modern lexicography by combining word definition with etymology and usage.[30] Etymology was a philosophical interest that Portugal had shared with other countries such as France since the sixteenth century, and had persisted into the eighteenth century.[31] The Academy sought to standardise Portuguese but due to time and material constraints the project did not continue.[32]

In the field of education, payrolls increased in Brazil from 1780 onwards, and most *primeiras letras* (reading, writing, and accounts) classes began in 1789 in the mining

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[23] Eric Allina, *Slavery by any Other Name: African life under company rule in colonial Mozambique.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012, p. 4; Klein and Vinson III. pp. 85-87.

[24] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807.* p. 313; Maxwell. p. 151; Monteiro, "As reformas na monarquia pluricontinental portuguesa: de Pombal a dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho," p. 140.

[25] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807.* pp. 313-314.

[26] Ibid., p. 317.

[27] Ibid., p. 318.

[28] Ibid.

[29] João Malaca Casteleiro, "Estudo Linguístico do 1º dicionário da Academia," in *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* ed. Academia das Ciências de Lisboa Tomo Primeiro A. Lisboa: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1993, p. XIV.

[30] Ibid., p. XV.

[31] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", pp. 521; 533; 536.

[32] Casteleiro, p. XV; XXII.

district. These classes operated differently to the Latin lessons that had been introduced in the previous decade.[33] At this time, despite the economic crisis in the mining sector, Minas Gerais was still a vibrant environment where colonial institutions operated fully. There was an increasing demand for basic instruction, particularly for the children of members of the elite who had been incorporated into the administrative sector during the Pombaline period. The use of Latin had declined in administrative affairs and remained almost restricted to ecclesiastical positions. As a consequence, the number of *primeiras letras* classes surpassed Latin between 1793 and 1813, and 1814 to 1834.[34] Another reason was that the requirements for being a primary teacher were less strict than those for Latin teachers, making it easier to find professionals.[35]

Maria I turned to the religious orders to improve primary school teaching and increase the number of *primeiras letras* lessons.[36] However, religion presented an obstacle to the secularisation of education, which Queen Maria's successor, Prince João VI, tried to overcome in the 1790s by centralising exams and placing the powers to award teaching licenses in the hands of local authorities (not only those of bishops and religious orders).[37] Ecclesiastical and secular politics were thus very much interwoven in the eighteenth century, their separation being a modern invention. Hence, discussing secularisation means to separate spheres of power without necessarily reducing the role of religion in the public sphere.[38]

The considerable progress achieved during Maria I's administration did not change the fact that still, only a small minority of the colonial population had access to education. For example, the possibilities for women to get education were either home schooling,

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[33] Thais de Nivia Lima e Fonseca, *O ensino régio na Capitania de Minas Gerais (1772-1814).* Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2010, pp. 48; 65.

[34] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa*. p. 76.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Morais, p. 77.

[37] Villalta, "Educação Pública e Educação Privada na América Portuguesa," p. 190.

[38] Jeffrey Freedman, *Books without Borders in Enlightenment Europe: French cosmopolitanism and German literary markets*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012, p. 140; Asad. p. 28.

or convents and female institutions.[39] In Portugal, the first female institutions date back from the council of Trent, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[40] Brazil was not excluded from this trend as the first female establishments (both lay and religious) were founded in Olinda, Salvador, and São Paulo during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[41] Due to the prohibition of the religious orders in Minas Gerais, the district contained two lay institutions: *Macaúbas* (1714-1716) and *Vale das Lágrimas* (Tears Valley – 1750-1754).[42] Maria I approved *Macaúbas* as an educational institution for women in 1789. *Vale das Lágrimas* (in Minas Novas – **MAP 5**) was also approved in the 1780s.[43] Continuing the previous government's criticism of the high number of clergymen and nuns in the Luso-Brazilian world, it was not Queen Maria who authorised its transformation into a convent, which did not occur until the nineteenth century.[44]

These institutions were essentially intended for the elites – girls, married women, and widows – but they were also correctional spaces for 'deviant' women who could be 'protected from the world'.[45] The renowned former slave Chica da Silva, for example, sent her daughters to *Macaúbas* near Santa Luzia (**MAP 5**).[46] Between 1720 and 1822, 174 women attended *Macaúbas* which corresponded to forty-eight percent of the female population in institutions for this period.[47] Most of them were religious (fifty percent),

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[39] Leila Mezan Algranti, *Honradas e devotas: mulheres da colônia: condição feminina nos conventos e recolhimentos do sudeste do Brasil, 1750-1822*. Brasília: Rio de Janeiro: Edunb; J. Olympio, 1993, pp. 247-248.

[40] Sá, "Os espaços de reclusão e a vida nas margens " pp. 287-289.

[41] Leila Mezan Algranti, *Livros de devoção, atos de censura: ensaios de história do livro e da leitura na América portuguesa (1750-1821).* São Paulo: Editora Hucitec: FAPESP, 2004, pp. 34-35.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa.* pp. 107-108; Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," p. 273.

[44] Algranti, *Honradas e devotas: mulheres da colônia: condição feminina nos conventos e recolhimentos do sudeste do Brasil, 1750-1822*. p. 253; Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal.* p. 259.

[45] Algranti, *Honradas e devotas: mulheres da colônia: condição feminina nos conventos e recolhimentos do sudeste do Brasil, 1750-1822*. pp. 143-144; Leila Mezan Algranti, "Os livros de devoção e a religiosa perfeita (normatização) e práticas religiosas nos recolhimentos femininos do Brasil colonial)," in *Cultura portuguesa na Terra de Santa Cruz*, ed. Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1995, p. 111; Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," p. 271; Russell-Wood, "Women and Society in Colonial Brazil," pp. 4; 29.

[46] Furtado, *Chica da Silva: a Brazilian slave of the eighteenth century*. p. 201. For more information check the complete work of ibid.

[47] Within a total of 361 women. See: Algranti, *Honradas e devotas: mulheres da colônia: condição feminina nos conventos e recolhimentos do sudeste do Brasil, 1750-1822*. pp. 157-158.

but a high ratio (thirty-four percent) attended the institution solely for educational purposes.

As in other women's institutions in Portugal and in the colony, reading, writing, and domestic skills such as sewing, weaving, and embroidery were taught.[48] Domestic education for women was ubiquitous and in the Iberian Peninsula public female schooling was restricted to a few convents, although there were a great many proposals for colleges to educate elite girls during the Enlightenment.[49] The Enlightenment in Britain, France, Germany, and Spain held a sceptical position with regard to women's education: while scholars recognised its value, they saw it as primarily intended to produce good Christians, virtuous mothers and loyal housewives.[50]

Even the most liberal enlightened authors doubted the stability of the female character, considered them vulnerable to 'wrong' readings, and educational opportunities were undeniably restricted.[51] A. Pagden has a more positive view on enlightened attitudes towards women (despite recognising that authors such as Rousseau were misogynists) as he notes that "women during the eighteenth century came to acquire positions of individual responsibility and to exercise personal freedom in ways they had never achieved before". Hence, there is a difference between institutional practice and women's agency.[52]

As education was not universal, even at a basic level literacy represented the possibility of social mobility and visibility. This was particularly true of teachers, who enjoyed an elevated status in society.[53] The 1772 reform elevated primary teachers to the level of administrative servants, which meant, for example, that they would go to a special jail if

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[48] Algranti, *Livros de devoção, atos de censura: ensaios de história do livro e da leitura na América portuguesa (1750-1821)*. pp. 56-57; Silva, "A educação da mulher e das crianças no Brasil colônia," p. 138.

[49] Peruga, p. 192; Margaret R. Hunt, *Women in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Longman, 2010, p. 262. Verney and Ribeiro Sanches advocated for female literacy. See: Adão. pp. 262-267.

[50] Hunt. p. 262.

[51] John Leigh, *The Search for Enlightenment: an Introduction to Eighteenth-Century French Writing*. New readings. London: Duckworth, 1999, pp. 104-107; 120.

[52] Anthony Pagden, *The Enlightenment and why it still matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 223-224.

[53] Villalta, "O que se fala e o que se lê: língua, instrução e leitura," p. 357.

arrested, a privilege of the nobility.[54] Did formal education in Minas Gerais stimulate migration? If the answer is yes, we see a twist in the colonial order: instead of going to school in Portugal, migrants knew there were opportunities for education in the colony. As opposed to occupying teaching posts in Portugal, candidates applied for positions in Brazil. But, if most of the colonial population was almost entirely excluded, who were these students and teachers who sought the possibility of social mobility in education? The next section will attempt to answer these questions, working within the context of a colonial and mixed society.

Miscegenation and education: negotiating the 'bloody stain'

The elites of the Lusophone world during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (as elsewhere in Europe, for example, in France) used education as an instrument of social control, which was granted according to social position, occupation, and gender.[55] In spite of the Enlightenment and the secularisation in progress, yeomen, manual labour workers, slaves and women received instruction according to their gender and social standing, focusing on religious and moral values.[56] Poor children would be taught the alphabet in connection with, and preparation for, an occupation that would guarantee their subsistence.[57] The traveller Thomas Cox noted this in 1701, writing that parents never sent children to learn Latin unless they were meant to be scholars: "*nunca os mandam aprender Latim, a menos que os destine à vida de Eruditos*".[58] Consequently, not all would go on to study Latin and other subjects. Teaching of the *primeiras letras* sought to facilitate the learning of the doctrine over social ascension. For example, when slaves, manumitted slaves, and their descendants had access to education (in 1704 the Portuguese Crown had ordered that mixed blood students – mulattos and *pardos* –

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[54] Diana de Cássia Silva, *O Processo de Escolarização no Termo de Mariana (1772-1835)*.UFMG, 2004, p. 77.

[55] Thais de Nivia Lima e Fonseca, 'Instrução e assistência na capitania de Minas Gerais: das ações das câmaras às escolas para meninos pobres (1750-1814),' *Revista Brasileira de Educação* 13, no. 39 (2008): p. 535; Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," p. 255; Goodman, p. 197.

[56] Fonseca, "Instrução e assistência na capitania de Minas Gerais: das ações das câmaras às escolas para meninos pobres (1750-1814)," p. 535.

[57] Silva, "O Processo de Escolarização no Termo de Mariana (1772-1835)", p. 93. This occurred in other places, for example, in eighteenth and nineteenth century England. See: Olivia Smith, *The Politics of Language, 1791-1819.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1984, p. 12.

[58] Cox and Macro. p. 45.

should be admitted to the University of Coimbra) it was uncertain and not meant to facilitate their emancipation.[59]

Nevertheless, scholars have shown that there were exceptional cases of slaves and other social groups entering the literate ranks in colonial Brazil and other Spanish American colonies.[60] The slave Cosme Teixeira Pinto, for example, was literate and paid for the fees for his manumission with his wages as a notary in Paracatu;[61] a black primary teacher taught a class in Pernambuco;[62] there is evidence of a *parda* (mixed race woman)[63] living in Mariana whose eldest son was an apothecary apprentice, while the youngest was learning to read and write;[64] José Elisbão Ferreira, *pardo*, considered subversive by the police, was a tailor who read gazettes and made speeches;[65] and in what is now Uruguay, a free man of African descent, Jacinto Molina, became a shoemaker, scribe, notary and lawyer.[66]

Cases like these demonstrate how literate non-elite members used their reading capacities to occupy better positions in society. It also demonstrates that they could use their skills to criticise authority and influence others by passing their knowledge through oral speech. This adds to the argument that it is very difficult to separate written

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[59] Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso, *To be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986, p. 98; Fonseca, "Instrução e assistência na capitania de Minas Gerais: das ações das câmaras às escolas para meninos pobres (1750-1814)," p. 535; Maestri, p. 205; Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: a succinct survey.* p. 84.

[60] Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," pp. 255-259; Ramos, "Indigenous Intellectuals in Andean Colonial Cities," pp. 30-32.

[61] Eduardo França Paiva, *Escravos e libertos nas Minas Gerais do século XVIII: estratégias de resistência através dos testamentos.* 2a. ed. São Paulo, SP: Annablume: Unicentro Newton Paiva, 2000, pp. 77-78. Paracatu was near the border with the captaincy of Goiás (**MAP 5**).

[62] Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-grande & senzala): a study in the development of Brazilian civilization.* p. 409.

[63] About ethnicity in Brazil, see: ibid., pp. 406; 421; Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825.* pp. 86-130; Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties (Sobrados e Mucambos): the making of modern Brazil.* pp. 400-431; Mattos, "'Pretos' and 'Pardos' between the Cross and the Sword: Racial Categories in Seventeenth Century Brazil," pp. 48-49; Nazzari, "Concubinage in Colonial Brazil: the inequalities of race, class, and gender," p. 109; Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," pp. 109-110.

[64] Villalta, "Educação: nascimento, "haveres" e gêneros," pp. 255-256.

[65] Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: empire, monarchy, and the Portuguese royal court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821.* New York; London: Routledge, 2001, pp. 113-115.

[66] William G. Acree Jr., 'Jacinto Ventura de Molina: A Black Letrado in a White World of Letters, 1766–1841,' *Latin American Research Review* 44, no. 2 (2009): pp. 45-51.

and oral forms, popular and high culture during the period under study. The examples mentioned raise the question of the ways in which slaves accumulated money to buy their freedom. In colonial Brazil, it was possible to hire *escravos de ganho* (slaves to hire) from one day to several years.[67] The owner was usually described as someone living *do jornal de seus escravos* ('on the wages of his slaves'). The *escravos de ganho* worked in various roles such as sedan chair carriers, food stall vendors, or (as was the case in Minas Gerais) in mines.[68] Masters arranged a fixed sum that slaves had to pay at the end of each day, meaning that any extra could be used by the slave to save money to buy his manumission.[69] It is not too far-fetched to speculate that *escravos de ganho* had a skill similar to those of Cosme Teixeira Pinto.

There was another social group that used education to find a way out from the lower social spheres: mestizos. According to C. Boxer, because most of the male immigrants in Minas Gerais were from the Minho and the Douro, anyone who was not "pure black or pure white had a dose of Minhoto and of African blood in his or her veins".[70] Most of the population of the mining district was *mulatto*, which compelled the Portuguese Crown to admit them to colonial administrative posts, provided that the candidate was wealthy enough. Such tolerance is noteworthy because from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries 'purity of blood' was a distinguishing feature in Portuguese society, although less observed in practice than in theory.[71] The linkage between blood and nation was a sixteenth century invention, mostly related to the Inquisition and the necessity to prove Catholic purity of blood.[72]

In the colony, purity of blood meant to be a way of keeping the colonial-born in their place and to segregate people of African descent from administrative positions.[73] In the colonies, however, this rule was not much observed, as mixed-race people acquired

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[67] Mattoso. pp. 122-123.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., p. 123; Paiva, *Escravos e libertos nas Minas Gerais do século XVIII: estratégias de resistência através dos testamentos*. p. 77; Maria Inês Côrtes de Oliveira, *O liberto: o seu mundo e outros, Salvador, 1790-1890.* São Paulo: Corrupio, 1988, p. 27.

[70] Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: growing pains of a colonial society*. pp. 165-166.

[71] Olival, *As Ordens Militares e o Estado Moderno: honra, mercê e venalidade em Portugal (1641-1789)*. pp. 283-286.

[72] Lesser. p. 12.

[73] Russell-Wood, "The Portuguese Atlantic, 1415-1808," p. 99.

certain social and political status.[74] At a local level New Christians became priests and African descendants served in municipal councils.[75] Minas Gerais was a typical contact zone where miscegenation challenged legal, familial, and social European structures.[76] Such tolerance increased after the Marquis of Pombal made efforts to weaken the 'colour-bar' in Portugal and in its colonies (mid-eighteenth century). Pombal also abolished slavery in Portugal (under French and British pressure) and ordered that Asian-born settlers should have the same status as European-born Portuguese: "His Majesty does not distinguish between his vassals by their colour, but by their merits."[77] The marquis also encouraged intermarriage between Amerindian and Portuguese people.[78] The Old Regime social rules still applied to Brazil, but settlers and the government relativized, 'tropicalized', and adapted these rules to colonial dynamics.[79] For example, it was common to omit or hide birth and marriage certificates to cover up the 'blood stain' of being a *mulatto*, an illegitimate child, a Muslim, a Jew, or a New Christian, as these documents were the only documents that could prove an individual's origin.[80]

This section will address the training of teachers and the intellectual environment around them, examining a number of clergymen and seminarians' personal trajectories to show how they used instruction to climb up in society and challenge the barrier of colour. Literacy was a requirement to be ordained into minor orders (e.g. acolyte, reader), which in turn was a step towards the main orders (e.g. deacon, priest).[81] This made it possible for many clergymen to become teachers, as they had to master at least basic reading and writing skills in Portuguese and Latin.

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[74] Bethencourt, *Racisms: from the Crusades to the twentieth century* pp. 191; 245; Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português: 1415-1825*. pp. 272-273; Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825*. pp. 117-118.

[75] In colonial Angola, for example, African descent persons occupied official positions, including that of governor. See: Russell-Wood, "The Portuguese Atlantic, 1415-1808," p. 99.

[76] Lisa Vollendorf and Grady C. Wray, "Gender in the Atlantic World: women's writing in Iberia and Latin America," in *Theorising the Ibero-American Atlantic*, ed. Harald Braun and Lisa Vollendorf. Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 100.

[77] Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: a succinct survey*. p. 82.

[78] Ibid., pp. 82-84.

[79] Wheling, p. 48.

[80] Villalta, "A Igreja, a Sociedade e o Clero," pp. 40-41.

[81] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

This study draws primarily on priests' applications files (*de genere et moribus)*, which were compulsory for those who wanted to be ordained.[82] The *de genere et moribus* were ecclesiastical judicial processes through which applicants had to prove purity of blood and possession of a minimum patrimony.[83] They investigated applicants' origins and conduct, looking for any trace of Judaism or 'colour', illegal birth, physical defect, or inappropriate behaviour.[84] Having a minimal source of income was also a prerequisite.[85] If the applicant wanted to be ordained in his birthplace, a judge secretly interrogated the local priest – who on the first Sunday or the following holyday would announce the applicant's name after the mass and wait for witnesses.[86] For those applying for a position outside their hometown, enquiries were made into the applicant's birthplace, even if it was overseas.[87] A small sample – thirty candidates who later became teachers – from the Seminary of Mariana, dating from between 1764 and 1799 (fourteen years after the foundation of the seminary), is analysed to establish a profile of applicants and teachers, cross-referencing information with probate inventories where possible.

Most of the applicants were from Minas Gerais (eighty-seven percent), compared with three percent from Rio de Janeiro and seven percent from Portugal **(CHART 7),** plus three percent unknown. These figures prove that the number of 'foreigners' who attended the seminary was not representative – seven per cent – and that the seminary was an alternative option for parents who could not (or did not want to) send their children elsewhere in the colony or overseas. The number of unknown origin may be related to the need to cover up applicants' birthplaces, as they could imply a 'blood stain' that would prevent them from being ordained. Another possible explanation is that, due to the distance and lack of resources, it was impossible to track their origins.

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[82] Ibid., p. 25.

[83] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[84] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Pollyanna Gouveia de Mendonça, "Os defeitos e os maus costumes: perfil(s) do clero no bispado do Maranhão setecentista," in *XXVI Simpósio Nacional de História ANPUH: 50 anos* ed. Marieta de Moraes Ferreira (São Paulo: ANPUH-SP, 2011), p. 1; Villalta, "A Igreja, a Sociedade e o Clero," p. 27.

[87] Mendonça, p. 1.

CHART 7: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* **applicants' geographical origins**

Priest application files
Applicants' Geographical Origins (1764-1799)

- Minas Gerais
- Rio de Janeiro
- Portugal
- Unknown

3% 7% 3% 87%
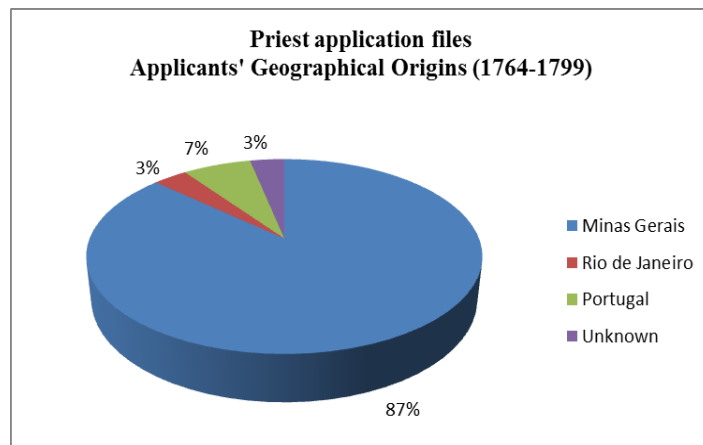
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 30.

With regard to parents' origins**,** there was a significant difference between fathers and mothers. Most of the fathers were Portuguese (sixty-four percent), particularly from Entre-Douro and the Minho (thirty-four percent), the Islands (seventeen percent) and Beira (thirteenth percent) **(CHART 8)**.[88]

CHART 8: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* **fathers' geographical origins**

Priest application files
Father's Geographical Origins (1764-1799)

- Islands
- Entre-Douro e Minho
- Beira
- Minas Gerais
- France
- Unknown

13% 34% 17% 10% 3% 23%
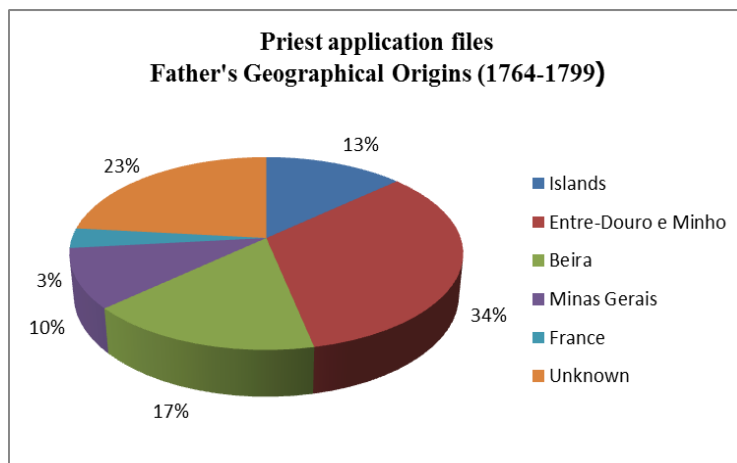
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 30.

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[88] Kenneth Maxwell had highlighted Minho, Trás-os-Montes, Porto, Douro and Beira, but not the Islands. See: Kenneth Maxwell, *A devassa da devassa: Inconfidência Mineira, Brasil e Portugal, 1750-1808.* Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1977, p. 114. Apud Fonseca, "Portugueses em Minas Gerais no século XVIII: cultura escrita e práticas educativas," p. 3. See: **MAP 2** and **MAP 3**.

The mothers (**CHART 9**) were mainly from Minas Gerais (fifty-four percent) or other areas in Brazil such as Pernambuco (ten percent) and Rio de Janeiro (three percent).[89] There is not much information about the mothers' ethnicity or occupation, except from José Crisóstomo de Mendonça, whose mother was a freed slave, and Joaquim José Pereira, whose mother descended from Palmares' slaves.[90] The few mothers who were Portuguese came from the Islands (thirteen percent). Such figures are in line with historiography which claims that there were very few European women in the colony.[91] It also reflects the desire to settle in Brazil, despite the unstable nature of the society of the mining district, whether for personal or practical reasons, such as acquiring and protecting property.[92]

CHART 9: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* mothers' geographical origins
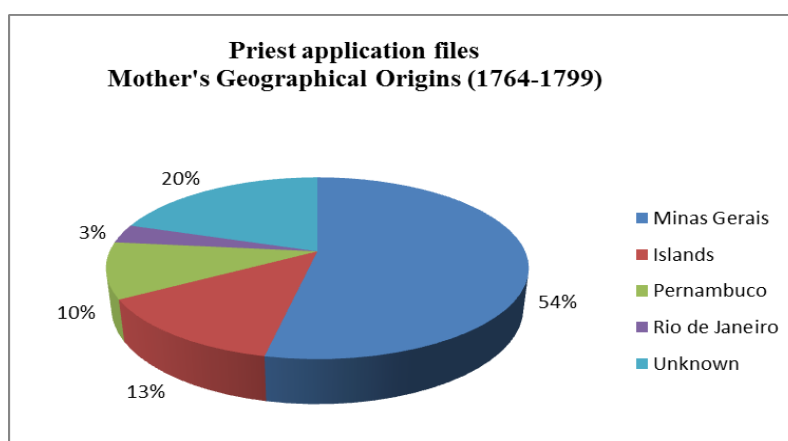
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 30.

It is not possible to identify the occupation (**CHART 10**) of all applicants before the *de genere* process – about a quarter (twenty-three percent) remains unknown. However, most were either already clergymen (forty-four percent) or students in the seminary (thirty percent). Two of the thirty candidates were teachers at the time of applying and the remainder (twenty-eight) became teachers afterwards.

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[89] See **MAP 4**.

[90] AEAM, arm. 7, n° 113, 1799; AEAM, arm. 6, n° 97, 1783.

[91] Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *O nome e o sangue: uma parábola familiar no Pernambuco colonial.* 2a. rev. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2000, p. 104; Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: growing pains of a colonial society*. p. 164. In 1732 the Portuguese Crown tried to prohibit women from leaving Brazil. See: ibid., p. 165; Fonseca, "Instrução e assistência na capitania de Minas Gerais: das ações das câmaras às escolas para meninos pobres (1750-1814)," p. 538.

[92] Benjamin. p. 202.

CHART 10: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* **applicants' occupations**
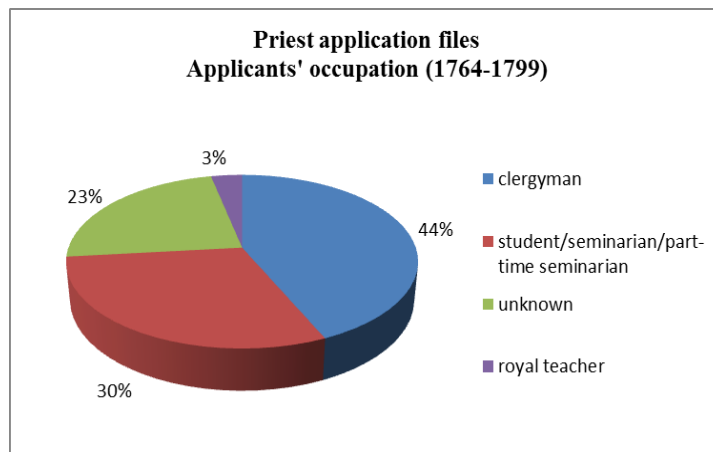
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 30.

Similarly, the occupations of the majority of parents were unidentifiable (**CHART 11**). This could be related to the purity of blood rule and prejudice against manual labour. Most were in the military (forty percent). This is different from the Holy Office agents' parental backgrounds in agriculture, manual labour, trading, or mining (only two were described as yeomen, one as a miner, and another as carpenter) analysed in chapter two. One possible explanation for this difference is that priest candidates belonged to the elite and were not involved with manual activities (only one parent was described as a blacksmith). Another possibility is that being in the military service was a prestigious position and thus mentioned in applications in lieu of any parallel or previous occupation.[93] The remaining forty-four percent preferred not to give their parents' occupations, perhaps because they were from a humble origin and occupied manual labour positions.

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[93] Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties (Sobrados e Mucambos): the making of modern Brazil*. p. 244.

CHART 11: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* fathers' occupation

Priest application files
Father's Occupation (1764-1799)

- agriculture 3%
- military officer 40%
- military officer/graduate 4%
- manual labour/mining/agriculture 3%
- Holy Office agent
- manual labour 3%
- unknown 44%
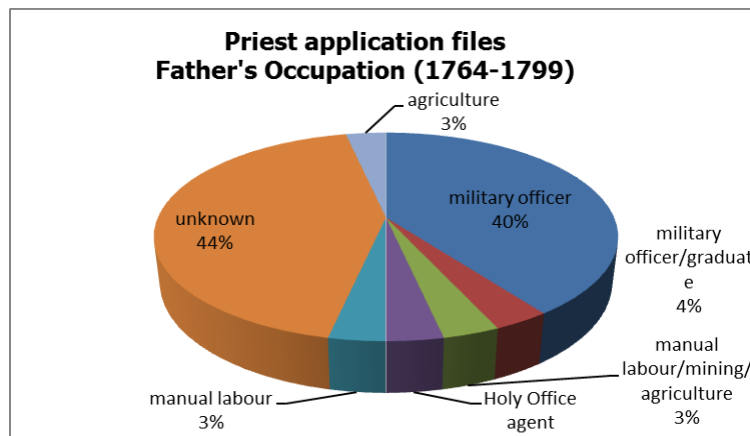
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 30.

The sample I have analysed so far suggests that the Seminary of Mariana presented an educational opportunity for the inhabitants of Minas Gerais, as most of the applicants lived in the district. Their fathers were mainly Portuguese immigrants who had settled in Minas Gerais and many managed to achieve prominent positions in the military. Not only were most fathers Portuguese, most mothers were Brazilian and, therefore, probably with mixed children. Hence, clergymen and those who studied in the seminary belonged to an intermediary social group and did not necessarily comply with the 'purity of blood' rule, but sought either to surpass or maintain the social position held by their parents. Anderson de Oliveira carries out a research about black clergymen in Rio de Janeiro also using *de genere* files; he has found similar results about the flexibility of the 'purity of blood' rule in Brazil and the meaning of ecclesiastical careers for the social mobility of mestizos.[94] We are, thus, brought back to the questions of who these clergymen/teachers were, and what their stories tell us about the advantages brought about literacy in colonial Brazil.

A case in point is the primary teacher José Crisóstomo de Mendonça, a *filho natural* (illegitimate child) in Pernambuco who died in 1807.[95] His mother was a former slave in

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[94] Anderson José Machado de Oliveira, "Os processos de habilitação sacerdotal dos homens de cor: perspectivas metodológicas para uma História Social do catolicismo na América portuguesa," in *Arquivos Paroquiais e história Social na América Lusa*, ed. João Fragoso, Roberto Guedes, and Antônio Carlos Jucá Sampaio. Rio de Janeiro: Mauad X, 2014; Anderson José Machado de Oliveira, 'Trajetórias de clérigos de cor na América portuguesa: catolicismo, hierarquias e mobilidade social,' *Andes: Antropologia e História* 25, no. 1 (2014).
[95] AEAM, arm. 7, nº 113, 1799.

Pernambuco; his grandmother was also a former slave from Congo and a street vendor, while his grandfather requested alms for Our Lady of the Rosary. His father's name did not appear in his application file but José Crisóstomo knew it was José Gomes Ferreira, as stated in the teacher's will (1803).[96] It is possible that Ferreira helped his son, as according to his priest file, Mendonça owned a house in Queluz.[97] How else could the son of a manumitted slave buy a house in the mining district without someone else's help?

Mendonça's trajectory is an example of how Luso-Brazilian society could be tolerant towards illegitimate children and allow their ascent through social ranks, particularly if they were educated and had a good reputation – i.e. despite Mendonça being the son of a freed slave.[98] There was a certain level of flexibility in the colonial system that balanced the relations of power between the law and everyday life.[99] I propose that the success of colonisation rested precisely on this flexibility since a power that relied solely on repression and exclusion would have been too fragile.[100] In his application file, Mendonça claimed that he had begun studying to become a priest, which also made it possible for him to be a teacher. The first time he appeared on the payroll was in 1796, oscillating from substitute to tenured teacher – positions with unclear boundaries.[101] In the eighteenth century, the councilmen of Queluz wrote a positive letter about his conduct, stating that Mendonça was a caring and industrious teacher.[102] This was reflected in the progress of his pupils and the contentment of their parents who had never complained about him.[103]

Mendonça's probate inventory reveals that the Royal Treasury owed him a significant sum in wages as a primary teacher in Queluz at the time of his death.[104] Despite his

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[96] AHSJDR, Prov., Cx. 59, 1807.

[97] See **MAP 5**.

[98] Contrary to French and English colonies, an African slave had more chances to be freed in colonial Brazil, either by buying or receiving it. See: Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: growing pains of a colonial society*. p. 177.

[99] Foucault and Gordon. p. 142.

[100] Swartz et al. pp. 14-15.

[101] APM, CC, mf. 86, pl. 510, 1796.

[102] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa*. pp. 94-95.

[103] Ibid.

[104] "Declarou o mesmo inventariante ser devedora a Real Fazenda desta Capitania de Minas Gerais a herança do Reverendo testador na qualidade de Mestre Regio de primeiras Letras posto por sua alteza

financial difficulties and humble origins, José Crisóstomo de Mendonça managed to achieve a prestigious position in colonial society: he was a priest, a teacher, and a member of the brotherhood of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Mariana, one of the most influential confraternities of the time that attracted mainly tradesmen and miners.[105] Confraternities offered marginalised groups the opportunity to have interlocutors better placed in the society who could plead for them.[106] For example, Mendonça could have had a godparent in the aforementioned brotherhood. Although Mendonça's application file does not date from a strict period in the history of the Diocese of Mariana (Friar Manuel da Cruz, 1748-1765 and Friar Domingos da Encarnação Pontevel, 1779-1793), that does not lessen the importance of his achievements in the mining district[107]. The number of illegitimate children accepted in the priest application files varied from nine percent to sixteen percent between 1748 and 1801.[108]

The other two applicants were *expostos* (foundlings). What is the difference between *filhos naturais* and *expostos,* and why were the latter also accepted as priests and teachers? Unlike *filhos naturais,* the uncertain origins of foundlings did not instantly confer illegitimacy, although it was probable that most of the abandoned babies had resulted from illicit relationships.[109] Parental status and their social ranking also influenced the acceptation of illegitimate children in society.[110] The law discriminated against illegitimate children but in daily life society tolerated them fairly well.[111] Physical appearance may also have been a criteria to decide what to do with *expostos*. In Portugal and colonial Brazil, these children were usually brought up by tutors who received financial assistance from the local assemblies.[112] They focused on teaching manual activities that could earn their pupils a living, only occasionally teaching the

Real na Real Villa de Quelluz em cujo exercicio faleceo de resto de seus ordenados a quantia de novecentos mil reis." In: AHSJDR, Prov., Cx. 59, 1807.

[105] Furtado, *Chica da Silva: a Brazilian slave of the eighteenth century*. p. 187; Adalgisa Arantes Campos, "Mecenato leigo e diocesano nas Minas Setecentistas," in *História de Minas Gerais: as Minas setecentistas*, ed. Maria Efigênia Lage de Resende and Luiz Carlos Villalta. Belo Horizonte: Companhia do Tempo; Autêntica, 2007, p. 100; Caio César Boschi, *Os leigos e o poder: irmandades leigas e política colonizadora em Minas Gerais.* São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1986, p. 164.

[106] Bennassar, "The Minas Gerais: a high point of miscegenation," p. 41.

[107] Villalta, "A Igreja, a Sociedade e o Clero," pp. 38-39.

[108] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[109] Ibid., pp. 41-42; Sá, "As crianças e as idades da vida."

[110] Schwartz, "Colonial Identities and the 'sociedad de castas'," p. 188.

[111] Sá, "As crianças e as idades da vida," pp. 88-89.

[112] Ibid., p. 74.

alphabet.[113] Such was the case of Francisco Xavier França, who was abandoned in Rio de Janeiro where he was later ordained.[114] This is of interest because he was a legitimate child and knew his parents' names. So was he truly legitimate and, if so, why was he raised as a foundling? He could have belonged to a poor family that put him in the wheel of foundlings (*roda*). Once adopted, foundlings (boys or girls) were brought up by a family that was either well-off or received a subsidy from the government to pay for education, food, and clothing.[115]

In his application file, França asked to be ordained in Minas Gerais where he had been living for nine years. It is notable that one of the witnesses in França's application was a farmer, born in Minas Gerais, who had attended the same college as França in Rio de Janeiro – probably one of the Jesuit Colleges. This reinforced the fact that families used to send their children to study outside the mining district and that education was not restricted to urban social groups. It is also important to highlight that in spite of França being an *exposto*, witnesses knew his mother and attested that she was from Rio de Janeiro. According to the payroll, França worked as a Latin teacher in Mariana from 1812 but only began receiving a salary in 1819.[116] His probate inventory (1828) contains 125 book titles. In his collection we find books used and recommended by the Pombaline reforms: Manuel de Andrade Figueiredo, *Nova Escola para aprender a ler, escrever, e contar* (New School to learn reading, writing, and reckoning). *Nova Escola* was inscribed in a European tradition that valued both calligraphy and copying.[117] Research shows that lay brotherhoods in Sabará in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries owned their own copies of this book.[118] It could also be Manoel Dias de Souza's *Nova Escola de Meninos* (New School for Boys). Moreover, he owned the Montpellier catechism, Luiz António Verney's *Orthografia* and *O Verdadeio Método de Estudar* and António Pereira de Figueiredo's *Novo Método de Gramática Latina*.[119]

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[113] Fonseca, "Instrução e assistência na capitania de Minas Gerais: das ações das câmaras às escolas para meninos pobres (1750-1814)," p. 536-538.

[114] AEAM, arm. 3, nº 648, 1778.

[115] Silva, "O Processo de Escolarização no Termo de Mariana (1772-1835)", p. 99.

[116] APM, CC, mf. 122, pl. 758, 1819.

[117] João Luís Lisboa and Tiago C. P. dos Reis Miranda, "A cultura escrita nos espaços privados," in *História da vida privada em Portugal*, ed. Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro. Lisbon: Temas e Debates: Círculo de Leitores, 2010, p. 351.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Check **Table 2** .

According to his will, he had conceived an illegitimate daughter with a manumitted slave. França did not state that the girl was his but left her some money to 'relieve his conscience' (*para desencargo de consciência*). It is worth noting that he allowed the literary subsidy to retain the wages owed to him in recompense for possible faults he had committed in the exercise of his profession. This demonstrates the fluidity of colonial society: he was a foundling, priest, and teacher, who had had a child with a former slave. Nevertheless, none of these presented an obstacle to his social advancement.[120] There is no information in the application file which could shed light on this though one could speculate that his skin colour favoured him, assuming his parents were Portuguese.

Leonardo Antônio da Fonseca was an orphan and, contrary to França, did not know his parents' names or origin.[121] He was brought up by the military officer Pedro da Fonseca Neves, who had him baptised in 1742 in Guarapiranga.[122] Ordained in 1778, Leonardo da Fonseca appeared for the first time in the payrolls in 1789 as a *primeiras letras* teacher in Vila Rica where he stayed until 1819, when he was seemingly obliged to focus on priestly activities and sought a replacement.[123] Due to health issues, however, Fonseca did not return to his position and died in 1821.[124] According to a letter written by Vila Rica's councilmen, Fonseca honoured his duties and kept his primary school open, with only a few absences due to illness.[125] Fonseca's case demonstrate that foundlings were not necessarily considered illegitimate by colonial society or, if they were, this did not pose an obstacle to their upward social mobility – as long as they demonstrated appropriate behaviour in exercising their duties. These stories reinforce my argument that literacy promoted social mobility in the colony.

There are also cases of applicants who fulfilled all the requirements for the *de genere,* which is important to show that settlers also followed colonial rules in Brazil. This was the case of Marçal da Cunha Matos and Manuel da Paixão e Paiva.[126] Both clergymen

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[120] AHCS, Inv., 1° of., cód. 103, n° 2149, 1828.

[121] AEAM, arm. 2, n° 224, 1778.

[122] See **MAP 5**.

[123] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa*. p. 81.

[124] Ibid., p. 82.

[125] Ibid., p. 81.

[126] AEAM, arm. 10, n° 1683, 1767; AEAM, arm. 10, 1616, 1796.

were Latin teachers who, despite being born in different villages (the former in Vila Rica and the latter in São João Del Rei), saw their paths cross when Matos fell ill and required a replacement (**MAP 5**).[127] Paixão e Paiva had been working as an assistant to Cunha Matos, and stepped in for him for a number of years until Matos resigned.[128]

Both were legitimate children who built lives as clergymen and teachers. In 1803, Paixão e Paiva sent a petition to Portugal applying for the vacant Latin Grammar Teacher position in São João Del Rei.[129] To assist, the assembly of São João Del Rei issued a certificate proposing that Paixão e Paiva be appointed for his services and because he needed the additional income to provide for his family.[130] His priest's wages were not sufficient to support his dependents, which included his widowed mother, sister, blind brother and paralysed, widowed sister-in-law, as well as his young nephews and nieces.[131] Replacements routinely appear in teachers' payrolls and other documents, probably because wages were very low. Teachers frequently had additional occupations and could easily move from one place to another.

One of the witnesses in Paixão's application was a military officer who endorsed his request, claiming that Paixão had followed the methodology of his predecessor, teaching first Portuguese, then Latin.[132] This statement shows that the Pombaline educational reforms and the recommended method of teaching (Portuguese first, Latin second) were acknowledged not only by the teachers, but also by some parents. The same witness stated that Marçal da Cunha Matos used to schedule extra sessions with students who were weak at reading and writing in Portuguese to teach the *primeiras letras* before introducing Latin.[133] Apart from showing his engagement as a teacher, this leads to further questions: in what kind of linguistic community/environment did these

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[127] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa.* p. 66.

[128] Ibid; Thais de Nivia Lima e Fonseca, 'Um mestre na capitania,' *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro* 43, no. 1 (2007): p. 172.

[129] Fonseca, "Um mestre na capitania," p. 172.

[130] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa.* p. 67; Fonseca, "Um mestre na capitania."

[131] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa.* p. 67.

[132] Fonseca, "Um mestre na capitania," p. 175.

[133] Ibid., pp. 178-179.

applicants live? Can it tell us anything about literacy in a broader sense? An analysis of the ability to provide a signature may help to answer these questions.

Signature, literacy, and occupations

This section looks at literacy levels in the mining district based on signatures collected from witnesses in the *de genere* records between 1764 and 1799. The Holy Office and the *de genere* had a similar summon procedure: without knowing exactly why Inquisition agents were summoning them, witnesses went to commissioners' homes or churches in secret; it was also possible to testify in city councils and at the homes of *familiars* – in the case of illness, the agents would go to the witnesses' homes.[134] In normal cases, the Holy Office would hear twelve witnesses (who were not allowed to be relatives of the applicant).[135]

Looking at the ability to sign one's name is one way to evaluate literacy in the Old Regime, particularly in notary documents such as wills, parochial papers, and ecclesiastical depositions.[136] Historians have concluded that a minority of ordinary people in early modern Europe could read, based on their ability to sign.[137] The use of signatures as evidence is, however, controversial. How historians interpret the use of signatures depends on their understanding of the extent to which signatures can measure what proportion of the population could sign their names, or their ability to read – a separate skill altogether.[138] According to R. Schofield, the ability to sign overestimates the capacity to write and underestimates the ability to read because people learnt to read before writing and pupils usually left school with better reading ability than writing.[139]

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[134] Fernanda Olival et al., "Testemunhar e ser testemunha em processos de habilitação (Portugal, século XVIII)," in *Honra e Sociedade no Mundo Ibérico e Ultramarino: inquisição e Ordens Militares séculos XVI-XIX*, ed. Ana Isabel López-Salazar Codes, Fernanda Olival, and João Figueirôa-Rêgo. Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2013, pp. 320-321.

[135] Ibid., pp. 322-323.

[136] Schofield, pp. 319-320.

[137] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* Aldershot: Scolar, 1994, p. 251.

[138] Schofield, pp. 320;324; Burke and Porter. p. 23; Ramos, "Indigenous Intellectuals in Andean Colonial Cities," p. 31; Roger Chartier and Lydia G. Cochrane, *The Order of Books: readers, authors, and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994, p. 19.

[139] Schofield, p. 324.

Thomas Cox's travelling reports on Lisbon refute this, as he wrote that children learned to write and read at the same time.[140] Nevertheless, in colonial Brazil and Minas Gerais in particular, where sources to measure literacy are scarce, the ability to sign one's name in *de genere* files provides historians with evidence of people's occupations, as witnesses informed of their occupations when summoned. This is testimony to how the population related to literacy.[141] In his reference work on literacy in Portugal during the Old Regime, Justino de Magalhães establishes five levels of name-signing ability, as shown below.[142]

1) **Level one:** people who could not write their names, drawing abbreviations and signs such as a cross instead. This category is important because of the symbolic gesture of being able to hold a pen, since some people could not give any signature at all. Individuals who performed this kind of signature could not write and did not learn the alphabet.[143]
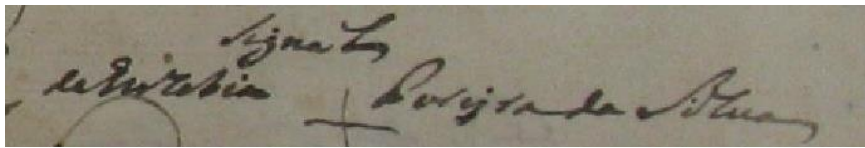
Source: Arquivo Histórico de São João Del Rei. Inventários, caixa 527. Paiva, Manuel Francisco de, 1740

2) **Level two:** an imperfect, rough signature. The letters are separated from each other and badly formed. There is no difference between upper and lower case letters, which are usually difficult to decode without resorting to other sources. Individuals with this signature began learning the alphabet from their names, but their writing ability was limited to that.

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[140] "Aprendem a escrever e ler ao mesmo tempo". In: Cox and Macro. p. 45.

[141] Schofield, p. 320. The following examples were taken from probate inventories from other archives in Minas Gerais (São João Del Rei and Mariana).

[142] Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal*. pp. 317-319.

[143] Religious people could also use the cross even if they could sign their name.

3) Level three: capitals are differentiated from lower case letters, and letters are better linked, although there is some space between them. They are legible, i.e., it is possible to identify the individual's name without resorting to other means.
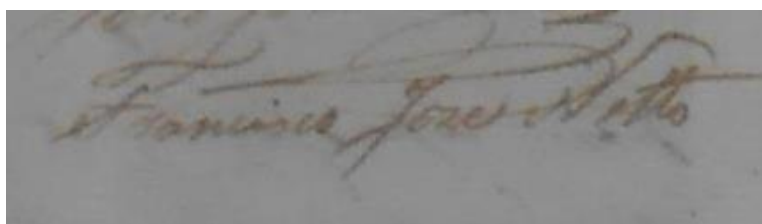
4) Level four: a calligraphic signature. All the letters are well formed and connected. It carries personal marks and indicates that the individual was educated since it follows the advice of calligraphy manuals.

5) Level five: personalised, intricate, well-balanced and unique. Individuals who performed this kind of signature were usually highly educated.
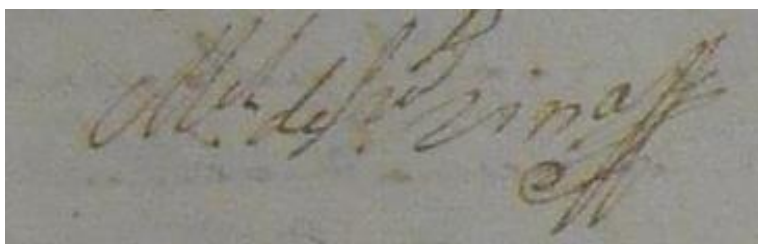
Magalhães claims that researchers tend to use signatures in three ways: to infer literacy levels; to compare and contrast them with illiterate groups; and as a sign of social affirmation.[144] Priests' application files, as serial ecclesiastical sources containing accounts from several witnesses, are useful for signature-based analyses of literacy because witnesses were compelled to sign their testimonies if they were able to.[145] The following paragraphs examine 311 male witnesses from the *de genere* files in Minas Gerais (1764-1799) who could sign. My objective is to establish literacy levels using signatures, according to geographical origin and occupation, within the group that could sign (as opposed to contrasting literate and illiterate groups). The witnesses that could not sign were not within the scope of this dissertation as I am interested in the background of literate people only.

As investigations of wills and inventories in the mining district – such as those carried out by C. Morais and L. Villalta – have shown, the proportion of men (forty-six percent) and women (sixteen percent) that could sign was over sixty percent of those sampled.[146] These figures may be linked to the fact that the mining district was an urbanised area where written culture was widespread.[147] The connection between written culture and literacy appears to have grown in urban areas, as according to Morais the number of people able to sign in farms was similar to those in small towns.[148] Working with literacy in the mining district implies dealing with a very specific and privileged section of the population that generally excluded women, indigenous people, and Africans. But within social groups which are more visible in the documents, the data used is similar to the proportion of the privileged group (sixty percent).[149]

The structure of *de genere* applications was comparable to the Holy Office and the Order of Christ candidatures, as the confirmation of information about the candidate

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[144] Magalhães, *Ler e escrever no mundo rural do antigo regime: um contributo para a história da alfabetização e da escolarização em Portugal*. p. 312.

[145] Villalta, "A Igreja, a Sociedade e o Clero," p. 28.

[146] Figures varied from 62.5% (Villalta) to 66.5% and 65.9% (Morais). See: Morais, p. 210; Villalta, "Ler, escrever, bibliotecas e estratificação social," pp. 292-295.

[147] Villalta, "O que se fala e o que se lê: língua, instrução e leitura," pp. 361-362.

[148] Morais work is in the area of São João Del Rei. See: Morais, p. 239.

[149] Villalta, "O que se fala e o que se lê: língua, instrução e leitura," p. 356.

greatly depended on oral testimony.[150] Hence, it is important to establish who the witnesses were and why they were chosen. In general, priority was given to the elderly and Old Christian males, but in settlements like Brazil it was common to resort to witnesses below sixty years old.[151] In Mariana and its surroundings, forty-eight percent of the witnesses analysed were between forty and fifty-nine years old, while thirty-nine percent were between sixty and seventy-nine (**CHART 12**). Such figures indicate that by the second half of the eighteenth century, the mining district's population was younger than and not as settled as certain areas in Portugal. At the same time, the population showed less seasonal fluctuation than one might expect for an area of recent occupation, which reveals that immigrants desired to settle in the colony.

CHART 12: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* **witnesses' age**
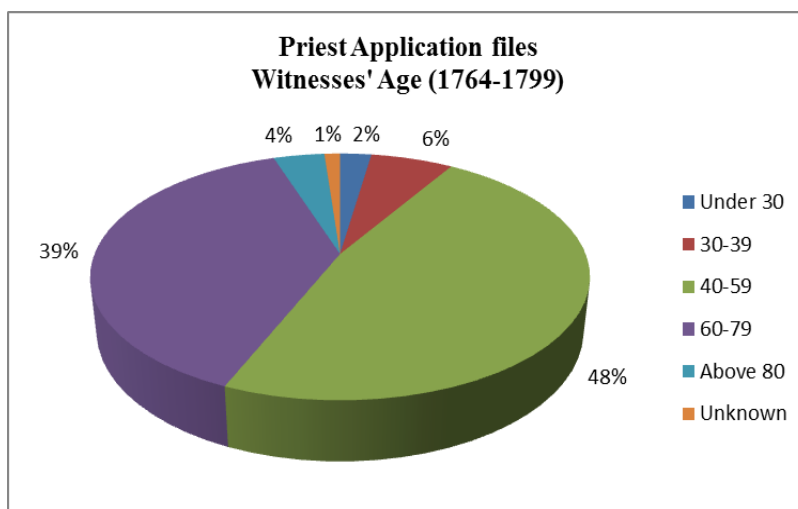
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 311.

In Brazil, as in Portugal, agents (usually representatives from the Holy Office such as commissioners and *familiares*) were careful to choose white witnesses.[152] Although the elites were fewer than in other places, they were more powerful and the same people could be summoned several times. They were the only ones who fulfilled the requirements and who the agents could trust, particularly in areas with seasonal

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[150] Olival et al., p. 315, 316.
[151] Ibid., pp. 317; 338; 339.
[152] Ibid., p. 318.

fluctuations in population such as the student city of Coimbra and the gold mining district. [153] In Mariana, fourteen witnesses (five percent) were summoned at least twice. The proportion is small but echoes the figures found in Portugal. One reason could be the age distribution among the population, as it was an area of recent settlement for younger people. Along the same lines, as the district's population was very mobile, it made it more difficult to identify older people that had been living in the same area for long periods of time.

With regard to geographical origin, only one witness was from Minas Gerais (**CHART 13**); the others were from Portugal, particularly from Entre-Douro and Minho (sixty-eight percent) and the Islands (seventeen percent). These figures are aligned to those found in chapter two for the Order of Christ and Holy Office applications. They indicate that commissioners preferred Portuguese witnesses because they fulfilled the requirements better than the majority of the colonial population, which was mixed race. They were thus part of a minority that achieved status in Brazil firstly because of their origins, secondly because of their professions and wealth, and thirdly because of their ability to read and write. This demonstrates that the power dynamics in the colonial regime offered formerly marginalised Portuguese settlers an opportunity to achieve a better social standing in Brazil. It is also revealing of the Portuguese language dominance in written culture.

CHART 13: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* witnesses' geographical origin
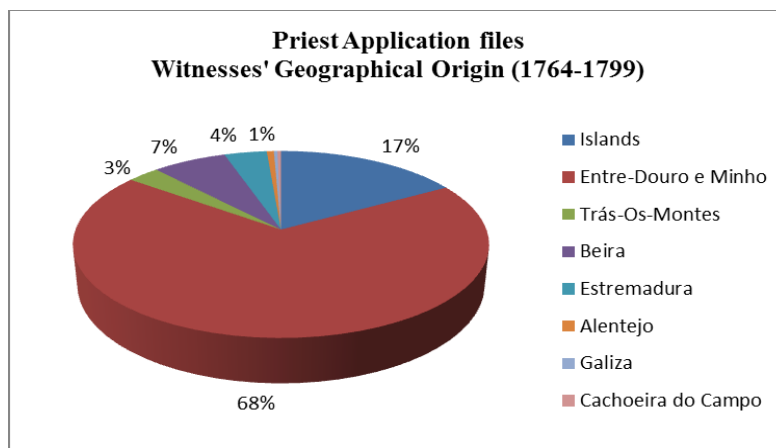
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 311.

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[153] Ibid., pp. 327-328.

Testimonies tended to be positive and favourable towards the candidate.[154] The literature provides a number of reasons for this, including the fear of being summoned by the Holy Office and of betraying a secret.[155] Moral Theology was also behind this, as one of the most popular books of the eighteenth century (the aforementioned Larraga) claimed that honour could only be profaned in the presence of the person whose honour was at stake, and that revealing secret flaws was a mortal sin.[156] None of the witnesses analysed had anything negative to say about the candidates. They also seemed to have been from the same background: sixty-four percent of the priest applicants were from Portugal and sixty-eight percent of the witnesses were Portuguese. This clarifies my argument that the Portuguese were more organised as a cultural group, as they shared similar group behaviour, geographical origins, and language.

With regard to occupations (**CHART 14**), the witnesses summoned for the *de genere* in Mariana did not necessarily belong to a wealthy group, but they did command some respect in society. More than one fifth were involved in agriculture (twenty-three percent), although it is not clear whether all of them owned land or not; twenty-one percent were in trade, mining (nine percent), the military (nine percent) and the clergy (nine percent). It is important to note that fourteen percent of the witnesses had more than one occupation such as military/agriculture or mining/agriculture, while one percent had three occupations such as mining/agriculture/sugar milling. For the purposes of **CHART 14**, only one of these occupations was considered. Similarly, various occupations have been grouped under the same category **(Table 1)**.

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[154] Ibid., p. 324.
[155] Ibid., p. 326.
[156] Ibid., p. 236.

**Priest Application files
Witnesses' Occupations (1764-1799)**
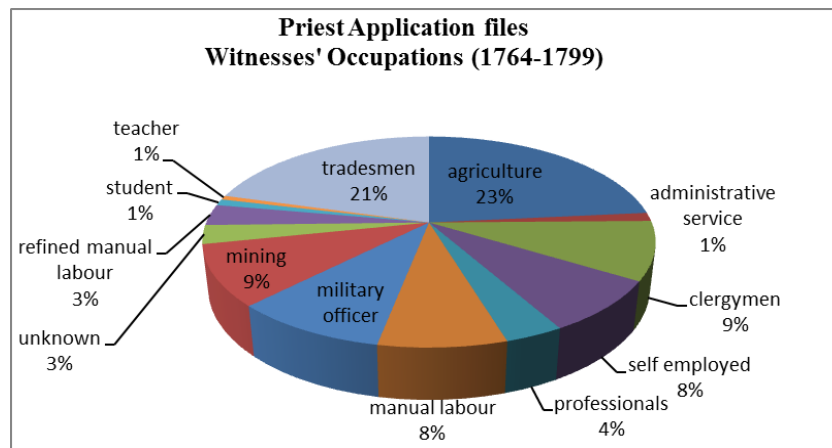
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 311.

'Agricultural workers' include farmers, yeomen, herders, and sugar mill owners. In administrative services there are bailiffs and notaries. The 'self-employed' category encompasses those who live off their skills (*vive de sua agência*), their craft (*vive de seu ofício*), and on credit (*vive de crédito*), foreseers, and debt collectors. The 'professionals' group includes apothecaries, lawyers, solicitors and surgeons. This group was not homogenous, as surgeons for example held a lower position than lawyers. However, they tended to be more literate than sailors, and produced a number of written records.[157] The most varied category is 'manual labourers': it contains blacksmiths, carpenters, cobblers, farriers, gunsmiths, lumberjacks, masons, potters, saddlers and smelters. In the group 'refined manual labour', we find hairdressers (wigmakers), watchmakers and tailors. Tailoring was one of the most popular occupations in Minas Gerais among boys who were educated by the local assemblies (charity).[158] It was manual labour, but of a more sophisticated type: the urban characteristic of the mining district created a demand for professionals specialised not only in military garments but also in civilian ones.[159]

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[157] Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "African Barbeiros in Brazilian Slave Ports," in *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and James Sidbury, The Early Modern Americas. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, p. 215.

[158] Fonseca, "Instrução e assistência na capitania de Minas Gerais: das ações das câmaras às escolas para meninos pobres (1750-1814)," p. 539.

[159] Ibid., p. 340.

The 'tradesmen' category includes those involved in trade (*vive de seu negócio*), financial accountants (*caixeiro*), men who transported animals to other captaincies (transportation workers), grocers (*vive de venda*), *fazenda seca* ('dry' products such as salt, flour, sugar) and *fazenda molhada* ('wet' products like meat). The range of activities is evidence of the economic/occupational complexity that the mining society had attained by the end of the eighteenth century.

Table 1: *De genere* **witnesses' occupations**

Category	Occupation	Nº	%
Agriculture	• Farmer • Sugar milling • Herder/Muleteer/Cattleman • Yeomen • Total	6 4 1 62 73	2% 1,2% 0,3% 19.5% 23%
Administrative service	• Bailiff • Notary • Total	2 2 4	0.5% 0.5% 1%
Professionals	• Apothecary • Surgeon • Lawyer • Solicitor/Attorney • Licentiate • Total	3 4 1 2 1 11	1% 1.4% 0.4% 0.8% 0.4% 4%
Clergymen	• Priest • Reverend • Lay Presbyter • Lives off his orders (*vive de suas ordens*) • *In minoribus* priest • Total	4 10 9 4 1 28	1.2% 3.3% 3 1.2% 0.3 9%
Tradesmen	• Solo trader • Grocer • *Fazenda seca* (dry goods) *Fazenda molhada* (wet goods) • Transportation workers • Financial accountants • Lives off their slave-journeymen • Total	38 3 14 2 4 3 64	12.3% 1% 4.6% 0.8% 1.2% 1% 21%
Manual Labour	• Blacksmith • Carpenters • Cobbler • Farrier • Gunsmith	3 6 3 2 1	1% 2,3% 1% 0.5% 0.4%

	• Lumberjack	1	0.4%
	• Mason	3	1%
	• Potter		
	• Saddler	2	0.5%
	• Smelter	2	0.5%
	• Total	1	0.4%
		24	8%
Mining	• Mining lands/goldfields/encampments	7	2.5%
	• Miners	22	6,5%
	• Total	29	
Refined manual labour	• Hairdresser/wigmaker	4	1.2%
	• Watchmaker	1	0.3%
	• Tailor	5	1.5%
	• Total	10	3%
Military	• Captain	9	3%
	• Lieutenant	8	2.4%
	• Quartermaster	2	0.5%
	• Ensign	7	2.3%
	• Esquire	1	0.3%
	• Main Sergeant	2	0.5%
	• Total	29	9%
Self-employed	• Lives off their skills (*vive de sua agência/ofício*)	14	4.6%
	• Foreseer	2	0.5%
	• Collector	8	2.6%
	• Lives on credit	1	0.3
	• Total	25	8%
Education	• Latin teacher	1	0.4%
	• Primary teacher	1	0.4%
	• Student in the seminary	1	0.4%
	• Students	2	0.8%
	• Total	5	2%
Total		311	

Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total: 311.

Upon examining the correlation between occupation and ability to sign, the data reveals that among those with higher levels of signature proficiency (five and four) – which made up to fifty-five percent of the total (**CHART 15**) – twenty-nine percent were tradesmen, and thirteen percent were clergymen. In levels five and four, twelve percent were in agricultural activities; and ten percent were occupied in mining activities.

These figures support the idea that literacy was relevant not only for tradesmen and clergymen, but also for farmers. Literacy was of paramount importance for these occupations, as knowing how to read, write and count was essential for their activities

(for example, to keep records and writing promissory notes).[160] Literacy was a powerful tool in a society prejudiced against manual labour and part of a cultural change that began in the sixteenth-century when a new demand emerged for occupations related directly or indirectly to trade.[161]

CHART 15: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* **witnesses' signature level**
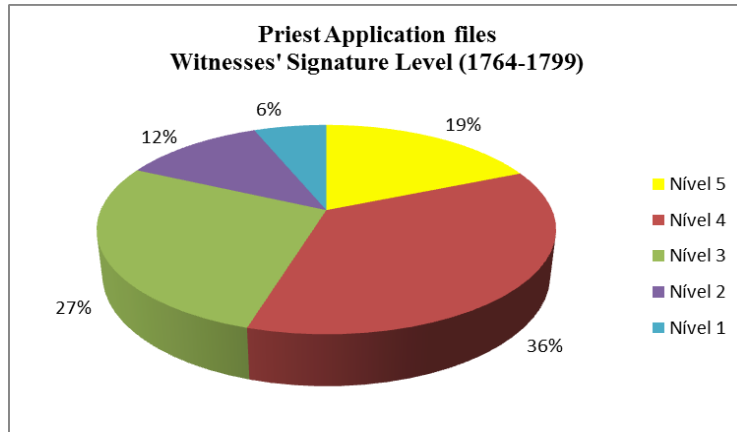
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 311.

CHART 16: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* **witnesses' signature level 5**
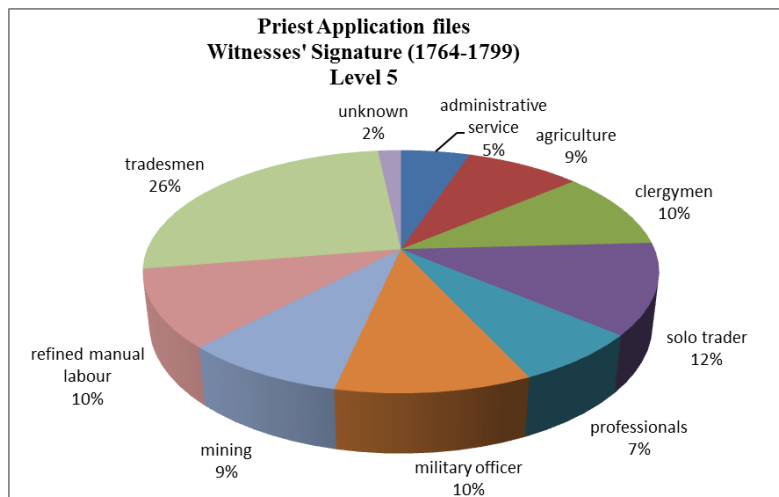
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 58.

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[160] Fonseca, "Portugueses em Minas Gerais no século XVIII: cultura escrita e práticas educativas," p. 6.

[161] José Maria e Paiva, "Igreja e educação no Brasil colonial," in *Histórias e Memórias da educação no Brasil*, ed. Maria Stephanou and Maria Helena Camara Bastos. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 2011, p. 79.

CHART 17: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* **witnesses' signature level 4**

Priest Application files
Witnesses' Signature (1764-1799)
Level 4

agriculture 13%
clergymen 14%
tradesmen 30%
solo trader 6%
teacher 1%
professionals 4%
refined manual labour 2%
student 2%
military officer 8%
manual labour 7%
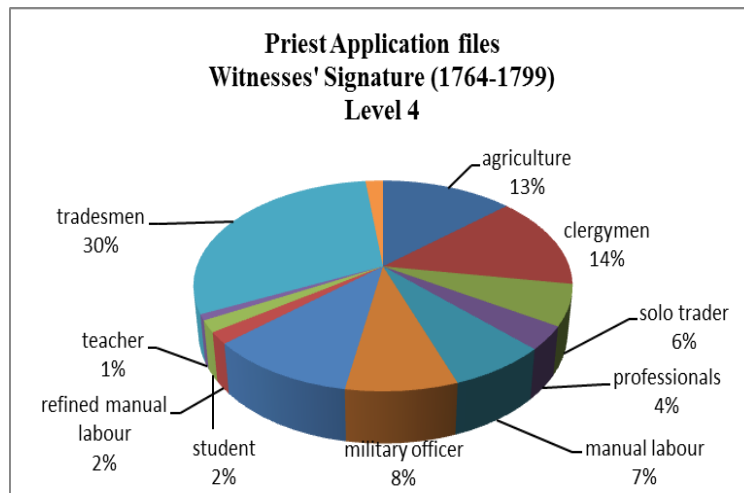
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 112.

In spite of the significant presence of agricultural and mining occupations in the highest levels, the percentage of people engaged in agriculture grew in the intermediary level (level three) and lower levels (one and two): forty-one percent and sixty-eight percent respectively **(CHART 18, CHART 19, and CHART 20)**. This reinforces the impression of a very hierarchical education system in Lusophone society: it was enough for farmers and yeomen to be taught basic literacy skills, while tradesmen and clergymen received a more thorough education.

CHART 18: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* **witnesses' signature level 3**

Priest Application files
Witnesses' Signature (1764-1799)
Level 3

refined manual labour 1%
unknown 4%
student 1%
mining 12%
agriculture 31%
manual labour 15%
clergymen 7%
self-employed 3%
professionals 2%
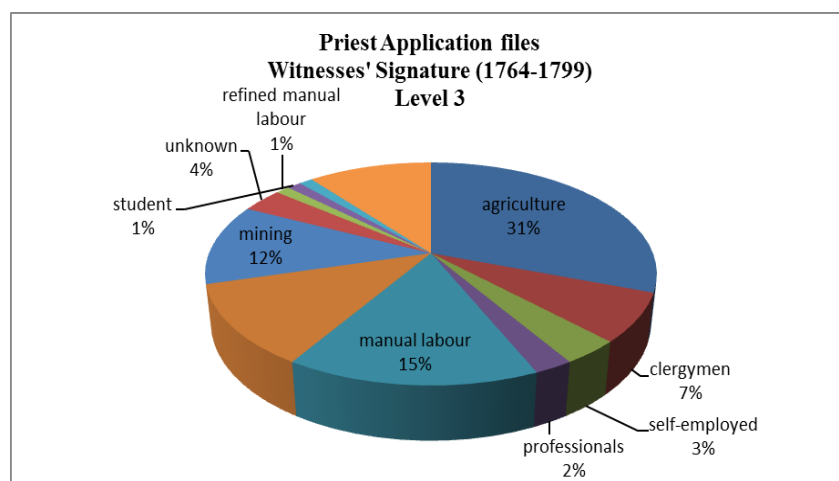
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 85.

CHART 19: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* witnesses' signature level 2

**Priest Application files
Witnesses' Signature (1764-1799)
Level 2**

administrative service 3%

agriculture 41%

collector 5%

solo trader 13%

lives on his enslaved day-labourers 3%

manual labour 8%

military officer 11%

mining 5%

refined manual labour 3%

tradesman 5%
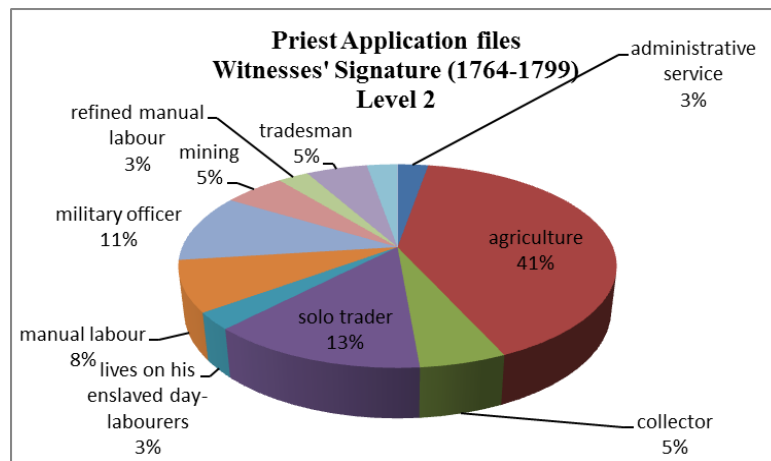
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 37.

CHART 20: Seminário de Mariana: *de genere* witnesses' signature level 1

**Priest Application files
Witnesses' Signature (1764-1799)
Level 1**

tradesmen 11%

unknown 11%

mining 5%

manual labour 5%

agriculture 68%
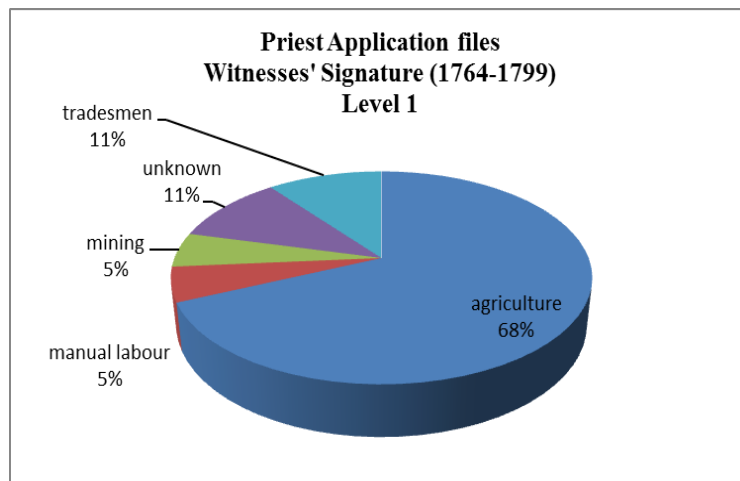
Source: AEAM, *de genere et moribus*. Total : 19.

The sources examined so far are not necessarily representative of the whole of Brazilian colonial society as they refer to a minority (literate males) of the population. I speak from a perspective in which micro-analysis, in connection with a broader context, is one legitimate way to reconstruct the past and contribute to our present understanding of it. This data, therefore, supports the theory that tradesmen had a significant level of literacy. However, it also challenges the idea that literacy was restricted to urban environments, as relatively high numbers of farmers and miners had some familiarity with the written word.

This adds new insight to studies on literacy in colonial Brazil, as not only tradesmen and intellectuals, but also farmers, yeomen, and miners were cultural intermediaries that spread the Portuguese language in the written form. Since these intermediaries came mostly from Portugal (sixty-four percent) and were in direct contact with Amerindians, Africans, and their descents, they used the Portuguese language either to improve or maintain their social standing. As a more cohesive group whose members were more likely to be literate, the Portuguese were more affected by printing.[162] In the countryside, printing could affect entire communities provided that anyone was literate.[163] In the villages, merchants and craftsmen, as well as skilled workers, along with their families and domestic servants, could have some contact with printing.[164]

In pursuing this thought, examining the possession of books and the social mobility of teachers and students may cast light on the broader question of the power dynamics of literacy in colonial Brazil. How did Portuguese settlers learn to read and write Portuguese? Which books guided their learning? Did teachers follow the educational reforms? Did they own books to teach their pupils? If yes, were these recommended or banned by the reforms? To what extent were new pedagogical methods accepted, rejected, or practiced in colonial Brazil?

Moving teachers, circulating books, spreading Portuguese

Very few recommended books on the reforms arrived in Brazil, with copies nearly selling out in Lisbon.[165] Consequently, teachers kept on using books already in their possession because they had no alternative.[166] In this section, I will analyse a number of teachers from whom I have found inventories and lists of books. In doing this, my aim is to verify the extent to which teachers in the mining district followed the educational reforms, which books they used in their lessons and the scholarly networks they created.

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[162] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: eight essays.* London: Duckworth, 1975, p. 193.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid., pp. 193-194.
[165] António Alberto Banha de Andrade, *A reforma pombalina dos estudos secundários no Brasil.* São Paulo: Edição Saraiva, 1978, p. 115.
[166] Ibid.

This can illuminate our understanding of the role of the Portuguese language in written and scholarly cultures.

I start with Felizberto José Machado who appeared in the teachers' payroll in 1787 for the first time (nine years after his *de genere)* as a *primeiras letras* teacher.[167]   At the time of his death in 1810, he possessed a library with sixty-seven volumes that reflected his activities both as a clergyman and teacher. As the last time that Felizberto appeared in the payroll was 1797, and he appeared in the probate inventory only as a priest, it is possible to infer that at the end of his life, he was no longer a royal teacher. Felizberto had lent books to another priest, as he claimed in his will (prayer books, various moral and Latin titles), which sheds some light on the reading matter that such teachers circulated in the captaincy.[168] The fact that he taught in two different places over the years (Itaverava and Congonhas do Campo) necessitated his mobility and increased his opportunities of becoming a cultural intermediary in larger groups.[169] The collection of books consisted of thirteen religious titles, ten educational books in Portuguese and Latin, and three canonical law works. Felizberto owned seven manuals of Portuguese orthography and one volume of *Gramática Portuguesa* (Portuguese Grammar).

It is not possible to claim that none of the educational books recommended by the Pombaline reforms (**Table 2**) were listed in his library, as most of the titles are incomplete, missing the authors, or illegible. For example, the *Selecta* could be the recommended Chompré's *Selecta Latini*, but this is uncertain. Similarly, the Portuguese orthography could be from the banned Madureira Feijó**.** It is possible, thus, to assume that ten years after the reforms, Felizberto both adopted the new books recommended by the reforms and kept banned works.

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[167] APM, CC, mf. 71, pl. 445, 1787; AEAM, arm. 3, nº 490, 1768.
[168] AHSJDR, cx. R055, 1810.
[169] See **MAP 5**.

Table 2: List of recommended and banned books by the Pombaline educational reforms

Subject	Banned book title	Recommended book title
Latin	- Manuel Álvares, *Arte*. - Bento Pereira, *Prosódia*. - Antônio Franco, *Prontuários* - João Nunes Freire, *de Genêros* - João Nunes Freire, *Rudimenta* - João Nunes Freire, *Cartapacio de Sintaxe* - José Soares, *Arte* - João Madureira Feijó, *Arte Explicada*. - Bartolomeu Rodrigues Chorro, *Curiosas advertências.*	- António Pereira, *Novo Método de Gramática Latina*. - António Felix Mendes, *Arte de Gramática Latina*. - Francisco Sanches, *Minerva*. - Chompré, *Selecta Latini*. - Luiz António Verney, *Ortografia*. - Luiz Vives, *Coleção dos Diálogos*. - António Pereira, *Coleção das palavras familiars Portuguesas e Latin*as. - Congregação do Oratório, *Exercícios da Língua Latina e Portuguesa acerca de diversas coisas.*
Primary School		- Manuel de Andrade de Figueiredo, *Nova Escola para aprender a ler, escrever e contar.* - Martinho de Mendonça Pina e Proença, *Educação de um Menino Nobre*. - Cícero, *Obrigações Civis.* *Montpellier* (catechism)

Source: *Alvará régio em que se extinguem todas as Escolas reguladas pelo método dos Jesuítas e se estabelece novo regime e instituem Diretor dos Estudos, Professores de Gramática Latina, de Grego, e Retórica* (1759), pp. 79-89; Carta do Governador e Capitão ao Conde de Oeyras, com cópia dos Estatutos que redigiu, para as escolas da Capitania (1768), pp. 566-568, Lista dos livros clássicos proibidos pelo Alvará e Instruções de estudos que se acham em poder de particulares nesta Corte (…), pp. 193-194; *Livros apreendidos* (1759), pp. 194-195. In: Andrade (1981), vol. 2; Morais (2011), Adão (1997).

Primary teacher Bento Antônio Maciel, for example, followed the reforms to a certain extent, as he used the recommended *Catechism of Montpellier* but also continued to use the forbidden Latin manual of Bento Pereira.[170] Born in Braga, Maciel became a teacher in 1789, ten years after being ordained in Mariana.[171] He was formerly a pupil of Antônio da Costa de Oliveira, also a priest and appointed to a royal teacher of Latin from 1787 onwards.[172] Oliveira alleged that he had always worked as a grammar teacher

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[170] CPOP), Inv., cód. 9, au. 89, 2º of., 1791; ANTT, AGAL, doc. 174-1.13A. Telmo Verdelho, 'A propósito de três centenários: Manuel Álvares, Bento Pereira e Marquês de Pombal,' *Brigantia* 2, no. 4 (1982).

[171] APM, CC, mf.77, pl. 475, 1789. AEAM, arm. 2, nº 338, 1779.

[172] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa*. p. 83.

in the mining district; he was also originally from Braga, where he had attended public school before migrating to Minas Gerais.[173] This means that prior to the Pombaline educational reforms, Costa de Oliveira worked as a private tutor. Both Fathers had certain books in common, such as the aforementioned *Catechism of Montpellier*, prayer books, and Francisco Larraga's popular Moral Theology manual.[174] Maciel and Oliveira had the same origin and a teacher-student relationship that corroborates my idea of the existence of a literate circle in Minas Gerais that shared similar cultural and language practices.

These sources suggest that teachers continued to use the books directly available to them, or already in their possession. It could also mean that the state did not always make the recommended books available.[175] In this case, it would be a question of distribution of the titles and availability: there were no new book purchases. Whether this continuity was a conscious decision or not, it is revealing of the role that illegality played in the Ancien Régime's societies: each social group was involved with different illegalities tolerated by local and central powers, who considered them part of the functioning of political and economic life.[176] That is to say, the fact that teachers used banned books was illegal, but accepted: firstly, teachers occupied prominent positions in society; secondly, there were no other material options available.[177] The power to implement or resist the educational reforms lay ultimately in the hands of the teachers, some of whom, whether due to their own strength of will or necessitated by material constraints, refused to obey the rules. This is a classic theme in history: theory and practice, the question of implementation of new norms. There is often a delay and certain discrepancy between theory and practice. In other words, social practices belong to the *longue-durée* and resist change, while new norms are short-time events that need more time to be absorbed.[178]

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[173] Ibid.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Christianni Cardoso Morais, "Livros de uso escolar nas aulas públicas de Portugal e Ultramar durante o período de atuação da Diretoria-Geral dos Estudos (1759-1771)," in *As reformas pombalinas no Brasil*, ed. Thais de Nivia Lima e Fonseca. Belo Horizonte: Mazza Edições, 2011, pp. 151-154.

[176] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. pp. 83-84.

[177] Villalta, "Educação Pública e Educação Privada na América Portuguesa," p. 189.

[178] E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common.* Pontypool, Wales: Merlin Press, 2010, p. 08; Guldi and Armitage; F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean & the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.* vol. 1. London: Collins, 1972, 20-21.

The other seven applicants studied in Minas Gerais with royal teachers or private tutors before entering the seminary or being ordained, most of them in Guarapiranga. As an example, *primeiras letras* teacher Manuel Francisco da Silva was also from Braga, and used to live in Sabará before he moved to Guarapiranga to study Latin.[179] Together with his brother (Francisco Manuel, ordained in 1796), he studied Latin with Luiz de Souza, another priest and former student in the Seminary of Mariana who was also a *primeiras letras* teacher.[180] The educational network in Guarapiranga included another teacher who did not appear on the royal teachers' payroll: Manuel Caetano de Souza. Scholar T. Fonseca states that Manuel Caetano de Souza helped found the Sumidouro College.[181]

Souza died in 1787 with several unpaid dues from their partnership in the college, in addition to private credits related to his occupation as a teacher.[182] This is relevant because it shows his parallel activities as a private teacher that could be related to his teaching occupation before the college. Manuel Caetano possessed twenty-six titles including the banned *Ortografia* and *Arte Explicada* from Madureira, but also the recommended *Selecta*. Who studied with these books? Souza's students, such as Luciano Barbosa de Queirós, a 'reading, counting and writing' teacher who was ordained in 1778 and lived in Manuel Caetano's home in order to study.[183] Rogério José da Silva Rego did not become a teacher, but his *de genere* suggests that he studied in the public class of Father Manuel Caetano de Souza.[184] One can infer that the Portuguese Crown did not pay Souza's wages; instead, families invested in their children's education by keeping his classes running.

Similar to going to a seminary or private school, going to university usually opened up opportunities in the church or administration.[185] Francisco de Paula Meireles, for example, studied in Tejuco and in 1789 appeared on the payroll as a teacher of Philosophy at Vila do Príncipe (**MAP 5**).[186] His application file contains an inventory of his belongings from 1790 that offers a glimpse into the classroom environment: twelve

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[179] AEAM, arm. 9, nº 1522, 1787. See **MAP 5**.

[180] AEAM, arm. 4, nº 581, 1787.

[181] Fonseca, "Portugueses em Minas Gerais no século XVIII: cultura escrita e práticas educativas," p. 11.

[182] AHCS, Inv., 1º of., cód. 115, nº 2386, 1787.

[183] AEAM, arm. 8, nº 1362, 1778.

[184] AEAM, arm. 10, nº 1768, 1776.

[185] Anastácio, pp. 168-169.

[186] APM, CC, mf. 77, pl. 475, 1789.

books and one notebook, 419 'book volumes', twenty-two chairs (two broken), several sheets of paper, four benches and the chair 'where he taught his studies'.[187] His probate inventory (1794) listed ninety-four titles, some consisting of several volumes, showing the extent to which his library was related to his education, the majority being ecclesiastical and philosophical works.[188]

Meireles certainly moved upwards when he was ordained, but why did he remain a teacher and not proceed to higher posts? In 1786, Father José da Purificação Ferreira, Meireles's acquaintance, denounced him to the Inquisition with the accusation of having 'dangerous ideas' about sin and illicit relationships.[189] Meireles claimed that children from these relationships were usually more educated than legitimate ones, and that living together without being married was not wrong.[190] Meireles's heterodox ideas appear to be a combination of his studies in Coimbra, where Purificação met Meireles while they were studying, with the social environment of Minas Gerais described before (high rates of illegitimate children and informal family arrangements).[191]

This episode demonstrates that the centralisation of the higher education system in Coimbra – and to a lesser degree in Évora – was a twofold decision.[192] It served the purposes of the Portuguese Crown, reinforcing the intellectual dependence of Brazil on Portugal, but it was in Coimbra that many Brazilian students started to form a 'colonial consciousness' and made their first contacts with enlightened ideas. These students were known as *estrangeirados* (foreigners) and they performed 'return and circular migration' across the Atlantic, forging social networks among themselves and their Portuguese friends.[193] They gradually became the colonial elites.[194]

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[187] AEAM, arm. 4, nº 604, 1779. An average class in nineteenth-century Brazil had 36 students. See: Silva, "O Processo de Escolarização no Termo de Mariana (1772-1835)", p. 97.

[188] AHCS, inv., 1º of., cód. 151, nº 3159, 1792.

[189] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa*. p. 95.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Ibid., pp. 95-96. See **MAP 2**.

[192] Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português: 1415-1825*. p. 358. The Jesuits also controlled Évora until 1759.

[193] Stuart Schwartz, "The Formation of a Colonial Identity in Brazil," in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* ed. Nicholas P. Canny and A. R. Pagden. Princeton; Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1987, pp. 36-39; Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 278; Moya, p. 60. About the controversy of the term *estrangeirados*, see: Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal*. p. 60.

According to Fonseca, the dispute between the two priests was influenced by the rivalry between them, as Meireles was born in Minas Gerais, while Purificação was born in Porto, and therefore the former had more influence among the local elite than the latter.[195] Meireles met certain participants of *Inconfidência Mineira* as witnesses claimed.[196] His controversial career was cut short, however, when he died aged 35.[197] Meireles's tribulations with the Inquisition and his 'dangerous ideas' bring us back to the question of censorship in the Lusophone world.

Censorship, spelling, and translation: standardising Portuguese

The geographical origins and literacy levels revealed in *de genere* files suggest that Portuguese immigrants had access to books and linguistic ideas that circulated in Portugal. Portuguese settlers, therefore, acted as cultural intermediaries who spread these ideas in colonial Brazil. Which linguistic ideas? Who controlled and established the Portuguese language to be published and taught in schools?

As seen in chapter two, the Royal Board of Censorship had carried out censorship of books and education inspections since 1771. In 1787 Queen Maria I reformed the institution and separated the Board into the *Real Comissão Geral sobre o Exame e Censura de Livros* (Royal General Committee for the Review and Censorship of Books) and *Real Mesa da Comissão Geral dos Estudos* (Royal Board of the General Committee of Study).[198] Under a different institutional name, censors continued evaluating books for publication. Although one of the committee members (Father António Pereira de Figueiredo, also a writer) was an Oratorian more inclined towards enlightened ideas, the extinction of the Royal Board of Censorship presented a theoretical drawback to the

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[194] Luiz Carlos Villalta, *O Brasil e a crise do Antigo Regime português (1788-1822).* Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2016, pp. 209-210; 242; Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties (Sobrados e Mucambos): the making of modern Brazil.* pp. 357-358.

[195] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa.* p. 96.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Morais, "Posse e usos da cultura escrita e difusão da escola de Portugal ao Ultramar, Vila e Termo de São João Del-Rei, Minas Gerais (1750-1850)", p. 77.

preceding period's tendency towards secularisation.[199] The *Real Mesa da Comissão Geral sobre os Estudos* implicitly subordinated the Portuguese Crown to the papacy and the queen determined that a clergyman had to be the president of the new committee.[200]

Following the same classification used in the previous chapter, the reports examined in this section are focused on reference books and translations. I argue that censors' reports mirror the power relations between the Royal Board of Censorship and the authors. Despite being associated with the monarchy (as they required official permission to publish their books and often depended on patronage), authors worked rather autonomously.[201] Therefore, even when the prefaces were dedicated to the king or other members of the royalty, the authors ultimately made their own linguistic and pedagogical choices.

A remarkable example of this delicate power balance is the ABC manual *Escola Fundamental ou Método fácil para aprender a ler, escrever e contar, com os primeiros elementos da doutrina cristã* (primary schooling, or an easy method to learn to read, write, and count, with the first elements of Christian doctrine), written by an anonymous teacher. The fact that this book was reprinted numerous times suggests that it was an editorial success in the educational field. Its unknown author, or potential publisher (Francisco Rolland), had sent it to the Royal Board of Censorship as a manuscript in 1779. The book returned to censorship in 1807 in its third edition, published by Rolland, and the fourth edition was published in 1816. What is exceptional about this work is the concern that the author demonstrated towards other aspects of writing — for example, the students' posture and the type of ink they used. The anonymous teacher instructed on how to hold the pen (thumb, index and middle fingers rested on the other two), where to place the inkstand (on the right), and the type of paper (smooth, clear, saliva-proof). The author even gave an ink recipe that included wine, sugar, pomegranate and gum Arabic, in a process that took at least ten days. The level of detail provided by the teacher reveals his experience and a growing concern about how to educate the body,

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[199] Villalta, *Usos do Livro no Mundo Luso-brasileiro sob as Luzes: reformas, cesura e contestações*. pp. 183-184.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", pp. 556-559.

and an overall preoccupation with correctness through material means.[202] To educate was also to discipline and correct the position of the body. In the case of handwriting, it was almost physical exercise, "a whole routine whose rigorous code invests the body in its entirety, from the points of the feet to the tip of the index fingers".[203] The idea here was to learn efficiently.[204]

The teacher clarified that his purpose was not to undermine the importance of other masters and scholars, but to provide young, or less educated people with the means to improve their reading, writing, and counting skills. In doing so, his aim was to condense several volumes into one book. Indeed, he states in the prologue that the book was a result of the method he had successfully used with his own students.[205] It is notable that the author restricted the learning of Latin to help in mass, but not to learn how to read, in which case Portuguese was deemed appropriate.[206] The author claimed that his method was not only useful for self-learning, but also for teaching others such as family members, enabling them to progress in art or science.[207] In doing so, *Escola Fundamental* spread the Portuguese language between the "young and less educated".

Friar Monte Carmelo was the main censor responsible for the report on *Escola Fundamental*, in which he praised the book highly.[208] In his opinion, the title was faithful to what it promised. In addition, it taught students how to help priests with the service at Church. The spelling rules – extremely important in primary school for both

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[202] See also Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. pp. 135-138.

[203] Ibid., p. 152.

[204] Ibid.

[205] "O emprego, que tenho de ensinar a ler, escrever, e contar, e o fructo que deste methodo tem tirado os meus Discipulos, me obrigão a fazello público para benefício de todos". Por Hum Professor, *Escola Fundamental ou Método fácil para aprender a ler, escrever e contar, com os primeiros elementos da doutrina cristã.* Lisboa: Impressão de Alcobia, 1816, p. 2.

[206] "Nella acharáõ a Doutrina Christã, primeira indispensavel obrigação Catholica; as syllabas da Lingua Portugueza para saberem ler; as Regras principaes para formar as Letras: alguns preceitos da Orthografia para escrever com fundamento, *[...]*. Aprenderáõ a soletrar claramente as palavras Latinas dos modos de ajudar á Missa, *[...]* advertindo-lhes quando hão de virar o Missal , dar a galhetas, &c. " In: ibid., p. 2; 4-5.

[207] "Deste methodo he facil conhecer-se a utilidade: e não só fica sabendo o que se applica a aprender cuidadosamente os seus preceitos; mas ainda aquelles, que pretendem ensinar fundamentalmente (não fallo daquelles, que por sua profissão, e ministerio são capazes de me ensinar a mim) os seus filhos, e discipulos; dispondo-os assim a aprender outra Arte, ou Sciencia." In: ibid., p. 6.

[208] RMC, cx. 11, nº 18, 1779.

pupils and teachers – were satisfactory. Carmelo was of the opinion that certain schoolteachers should be dismissed because they ignored basic rules of orthography.[209] Orthography was important in primary instruction because with the advent of public lessons, the classroom became a space to spread knowledge. Teachers were the main cultural intermediaries responsible for this process. As for the Portuguese language, it was crucial that primary teachers knew the basic rules in order to teach students the 'correct' form of the language. The book was also accurate in mathematics, and thus Carmelo was granted a printing license.

In 1780, Father Bernardo de Lima e Mello Bacellar requested permission to print the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* (dictionary of the Portuguese language). Friar Francisco de São Bento granted the license following a positive review: according to the Friar, the dictionary was new, fresh, and industrious.[210] More importantly, in São Bento's opinion, Bacellar had an excellent command of Greek, allowing him to identify with precision the words in Portuguese that derived from the language. It is worth noting that scholars often sought to make a connection with Greek, not with Latin. This idea was recurrent among French scholars, who believed that it was important to "free it [*French*] from its historical dependence on classical Rome".[211] Indeed, São Bento classified the dictionary as an etymological one, a word that did not appear until the book's release in 1783.[212]

Following the standard of the time, the dictionary's title was long and as revealing of the author's intentions as of the book's content. [213] It claimed that the reader would find in Bacellar's work more words than in Bluteau and all other dictionaries, accompanied by their meaning and origins; the title also promised a selection of the most common

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[209] "Em segundo lugar expõe com sufficiencia as Regras geraes da Orthografia, tão necessarias aos Meninos das primeiras Escolas, e tambem a muitos dos seus Mestres, que talvez por ignorancia delles mereceriam ser privados do seu importante Ministerio." In: RMC, cx. 11, nº 18, 1779.

[210] RMC, cx. 11, nº 26, 1779.

[211] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", p. 535.

[212] Bernardo de Lima e Melo Bacellar, *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Oficina de Joze de Aquino Bulhoens, 1783.

[213] *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa, em que se acharão dobradas palavras do que traz Bluteau, e todos os mais Diccionarista juntos: a sua propria significação: as raízes de todas ellas: a accentuação: e a selecção das mais usadas, e polidas: a Grammatica Philosohica, e a Othographia Racional no principio, e as explicaçoens das abreviaturas no fim desta Obra.*

and polished vocabulary, with the correct graphic signs. The dictionary's secondary title was equally ambitious: it advertised the dictionary as a fundamental reference book for anyone who desired to speak and write the Portuguese language accurately; such a task was impossible when looking only at the books published before that time, which barely covered a third of the Portuguese language.[214]

The first part of the dictionary comprises a philological grammar that explains pronunciation with phonetic symbols, graphic signs, conjugation, and verb tense. The section is highly detailed and it is unlikely that non-experts would have been able to follow it. The second part is the dictionary itself, with simple definitions. As to the title's promise of being more complete than other dictionaries, three words (*agência*, *negócio* and *fazenda*) have been chosen to compare with Bluteau (1712-1728), António de Moraes Silva (1789), and the *Novo Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* (1806), both published before or around the same time of Bacellar.[215] These words are directly related to the witnesses' occupations from the priest files analysed so far, and exemplify the question without any ambition of closing the subject. Bluteau and the *Novo Dicionário* have complete definitions of all three words while Bacellar does not, except for the verb correspondent to the noun *negócio* (*negociar*). This attention to explanation can account for the size (or length) of the dictionaries: while Bluteau was formed of ten volumes and Moraes Silva of two revised volumes of Bluteau, Bacellar was a one-volume work.[216] However, the *Novo Dicionário* was also formed of one volume, and a comparison of a greater number of words would be necessary before making a claim that it was more complete than Bacellar.

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[214] *Obra da primeira necessidade para todo aquele que quizer falar e escrever com acerto a lingua Portugueza,; por ser impossivel, que pelo Livros atégóra impressos posa agum saber a terça parte do idioma Portuguez.*

[215] *Novo Diccionario da Lingua Portugueza composto ssbre os que até o presente sem tem dado ao prelo, e Accrescentado de varios Vocabulos extrahidos dos Classicos Antigos , e dos Modernos de melhor Nota, que se achão universalmente recebidos.* Lisboa: Typografia Rollandiana, 1806; Raphael Bluteau, *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino (A).* Coimbra: Colégio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1712; Bluteau, *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino (K-N)*; Antônio de Moraes Silva, *Diccionario da Lingua Portugueza.* vol. 1. Lisboa: Offcina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1789; Antônio de Moraes Silva, *Diccionario da Lingua Portugueza.* vol. 2. Lisboa: Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1789.

[216] Bluteau's diciotnary was bilingual (Portuguese-Latin) and Moraes Silva's (born in Rio de Janeiro) was monolingual (Portuguese only). See: Nunes. p. 183.

The case of another dictionary was dealt with by António Pereira de Figueiredo who approved the *Dicionário Pueril* (puerile dictionary) in 1784, on the condition that the author – Luiz Álvares Pinto, born in Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil – remove its dedication, preface and one of the chapters.[217] Indeed, the book was published in the same year, without these elements. However, it contained one small introduction entitled 'A Necessary Warning' (*Advertência Necessária* or, in other worlds, a preface to the reader), followed by another short text entitled 'To the Reader'.[218] It was not possible to find the original draft to compare the contents, but it is unlikely that the book would have been published without the removal of the censored sections.

This work is worthy of a more detailed analysis as it was authored by a colonist who had written it to help teach his children. Luiz Pinto was not a teacher; he claimed that since he had no means to pay for a teacher, he had written the book so that other parents could instruct their children. One of the main factors that motivated him was that it was too troublesome to write new spelling books every time his children lost theirs. This statement refers back to the fact that teachers used to produce their own handwritten material. The printed version of Pinto's work retained this manuscript quality, with Pinto claiming on the first page that "it is important to know well the letters which I write here in manuscript, not in print format".[219] This speaks directly to the micro-power dynamics that teachers exercised in daily life and outside the influence of the Portuguese Crown. It illustrates Foucault's point that power is not only concentrated in the state apparatus, but functions "outside, below, and alongside" it.[220] It might also point to the fact that books were hard to get, as highlighted earlier. When directly producing their own material, teachers had a degree of control over their pedagogical tools, working independently from the official administration.

Álvares Pinto proposed a methodology where children could balance learning with their play time. He complained about his former teachers who did little, if nothing, to

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[217] RMC, cx. 13, nº 3, 1784 (report 1).

[218] Luiz Alvares Pinto, *Diccionario Pueril para o uzo dos meninos, ou dos que principião o A B C, e a soletrar dicções.* Lisboa: Oficina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1784.

[219] "Amados Filhinhos, he mui necessario que tomeis bem conhecimento das letras, que aqui vos escrevo feitas á mão, e não á impressa; *[...]*." Ibid., p. 1. See: Adão. p. 223.

[220] Foucault and Gordon. p. 60.

facilitate his learning as a child, hence his quest to make learning both easy and enjoyable. Pinto also put forward strong ideas about language. For example, he criticised Portuguese speakers' low linguistic ability and lack of interest in their mother tongue.[221] The publication of more dictionaries could provide one solution, as pronunciation was naturally different from orthography – something with which he did not find fault – although he claimed that spelling should be standardised so that everyone could write accurately.[222] The author uses examples to back up his argument, for example, in Latin it was *Oratio* and *Ratio* but in Portuguese it was *Oracio* and *Racio*. Portuguese people wrote *levar* (to take) and *perguntar* (to ask) but pronounced *luvar* and *próguntar*. This was part of a broader debate taking place among eighteenth century scholars, about the dichotomy between pronunciation and etymology or, in other words, if spelling should follow pronunciation or the linguistic origin of words; some took a more radical position (based entirely on pronunciation) than others when it came to standardisation.[223]

Further in his dictionary, Álvares Pinto approaches the introduction of Portuguese in Brazil. According to the author, the Portuguese took their language to Brazil because the *Brasílica* (general language) was too diversified. On the following, he recognises the pronunciation differences between Brazilian and European Portuguese, but he does not attribute them to any flaw of the *Brasílica*. On the contrary, if the Brazilian people 'whistled' the letter *S*, it was not because the indigenous did, but because they had heard and learned it from the Portuguese.[224] In addition to this, Álvares Pinto states that he had heard Amerindians pronouncing Portuguese with perfection. Observations such as these strengthen the argument that Portuguese immigrants and indigenous peoples played a central role as cultural intermediaries in the spread of the Portuguese language. He could also have had the intention of showing the success of Portuguese. It is equally important to highlight that Álvares Pinto made a distinction between Brazilian and

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[221] "Todos nos vangloriamos de saber já a Lingua Latina, já a Franceza, já a Italiana, &c. e nada interessamos para sabermos a nossa." See: Pinto. p. 14.

[222] Ibid., p. 20.

[223] Gonçalves. pp. 40-42.

[224] "O certo he, que elles levaraõ a língua Portugueza ao Brasil (porque a Brasilica he diversissima): e se os Brasileiros assobiaõ o *S*, he porque ouviraõ, e aprenderaõ dos Portuguezes. Nem me digaõ, que será vicio da mesma Brasílica; porque tenho ouvido a Indios pronunciar a lingua Lisbonense com a mesma perfeiçaõ, que elles, por serem os seus primeiros cultores, os Lisbonenses." Pinto. pp. 15-16.

Portuguese identities that were starting to take shape at the end of the eighteenth century but were not yet distinguished.[225] For example, the concepts of nation, *pátria* (home) and *país* (country) overlapped and were not mutually exclusive.[226] Colonists could consider Minas Gerais a country, with a sense of being *mineiro* (inhabitants of Minas Gerais) and yet still belonging to the Portuguese nation. It is interesting that Pinto made such a distinction when talking about language as, immediately afterwards, he describes both nationalities using Portuguese.[227]

Álvares Pinto's work was similar to other spelling books of the time, full of written explanations about language, pronunciation, and etymology that sound complicated to contemporary readers, but which were common at the time. The singular feature of his book is the fact that he was Brazilian and initially wrote the manual for his children, trying to simplify it as much as possible. Surprisingly, the Royal Board of Censorship authorised its publication, despite the fact that it encouraged private teaching that the state could not control. On the other hand, the book was actually helping the nation as long as it did not threaten religion or the monarchy and also spread the Portuguese language. Pinto mentioned a number of times that his aim was to mould good citizens and faithful vassals. It also shows that the Board was conscious of the fact that there were not enough teachers, and that private teachers were a rule, not an exception. Despite the fact that teachers in Brazil earned more than in Portugal – where the cost of living was lower – wages were usually delayed and it was common for parents to pay for their children's education even though the classes were public, thus transferring education into private hands.[228]

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[225] Luiz Carlos Villalta, *1789-1808: o império luso-brasileiro e os Brasis.* ed. Laura de Mello e Souza and Lilia Moritz Schwarcz. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000, pp. 57; 72; Gabriel Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 151; Kenneth Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal, 1750-1808.* Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1973, pp. 134-135.

[226] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850.* p. 151; Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," p. 121.

[227] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850.* p. 21.

[228] Villalta, "Educação Pública e Educação Privada na América Portuguesa," p. 189; Silva, "O Processo de Escolarização no Termo de Mariana (1772-1835)", p. 69.

If the censor António Pereira de Figueiredo was lenient to Pinto, he was not to Friar Veríssimo da Purificação Veloso, a public teacher in a monastery in Torres Vedras, Portugal. Veloso submitted a request to publish his *Alfabeto Ortográfico* (orthographic alphabet) in 1784.[229] The censor refused, arguing that it was, from beginning to end, a collection of 'childish statements and fumbles, unworthy of a clergyman and of the board's approval'.[230] It seems that the censors (Figueiredo and the other two assessors: Santa Clara and Mathias da Conceição) were stricter with the friar because he was expected to have a higher educational standard than the colonist Pinto, who was a well-intentioned lay citizen. A comparison of both reports also suggests an underlying competition between Figueiredo and Veloso regarding knowledge of language, and who had more authority within learned debates.[231]

Friar Luís de Santa Clara Póvoa, the aforementioned assessor, approved three books by Francisco Nunes Cardoso in 1789, this time as the main censor: *Arte de Ortografia Portuguesa* (art of Portuguese orthography), *Exame Crítico das Regras da Ortografia Portuguesa* (critical examination of Portuguese language rules), and *Arte ou Novo Método de Ensinar a Ler a Língua Portuguesa* (art or new method of teaching the reading of the Portuguese language).[232] In the friar's opinion, Cardoso followed the publication intentions' of Luís António Verney, António José dos Reis Lobato, and the censor António Pereira de Figueiredo, all approved and recommended by the Board. Additionally, the censor decreed that since none of these books contained anything critical of the State or the Church, they could be published. *Arte ou Novo Método* had already been published in 1789 and was very similar to the *Exame Crítico*, which reached a public audience in 1790.[233] Despite the similarities, there are subtle differences in the second edition's prologue (*Exame Crítico*) and the first part of each

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[229] RMC, cx. 13, nº 3, 1784 (report 3).

[230] "Desde o principio até o fim não hé este Alphabeto Orthografico outra cousa, que huma collecção de puerilidades e inepcias, indignas de sahirem em nome d-hum Religioso, e mais indignas de serem approvadas por hum tribunal como este." RMC, cx. 13, nº 3, 1784 (report 3).

[231] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", p. 654.

[232] RMC, cx. 14, nº 17, 1789.

[233] Francisco Nunes Cardozo, *Novo Methodo de ensinar a ler a Lingua Portugueza por meyo da estampa, a que se propoim hum novo systema da sua orthografia...* Lisboa: Oficina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1788; Francisco Nunes Cardozo, *Exame Critico das Regras da Orthografia Portugueza.* Lisboa: Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1790.

edition. *Exame Crítico* contains a history of the influence of Hebrew on Portuguese, while the *Arte ou Novo Método* explains the advantages of teaching children the alphabet using printed letters rather than handwritten ones.[234] Similar to the idea that Greek preceded Latin, some scholars tried to prove Hebrew as the origins of French. The Portuguese thus mirrored this idea.[235] Therefore, *Exame Crítico* offers an etymological perspective, while *Arte ou Novo Método* focuses on the teaching method. It was not possible to find a copy, nor indeed any mention of the third book listed by Friar Santa Clara (*Arte de Ortografia Portuguesa*).

Arte and *Exame Crítico* both contain general rules of orthography. The author Cardoso was another scholar who criticised the lack of standardisation in Portuguese spelling: according to him, orthography "should mirror the beauty of pronunciation".[236] Considered a scholar who followed the mixed orthographic system[237], Cardoso gives a glimpse into the aforementioned controversy over pronunciation and etymology in spelling, claiming that "the most enlightened men preferred pronunciation but were criticised for this".[238] According to him, abbreviations were created because of manuscripts and the necessity to fit the text onto a parchment. With the advent of the press, these abbreviations were preserved alongside rules, most different to pronunciation.[239]

One example of Cardoso's criticism can be found in his explanation about *Z* and *S*. Scholars who followed the etymologic model, such as Madureira Feijó, stated that, similarly to Latin, when *s* was pronounced like *z* in the middle of a word it should be written as *s* since in Latin it was written with *s*, not *z*. [240] Cardozo argued that it was

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[234] Adão. p. 222.

[235] Cohen, "Courtly French, Learned Latin, and Peasant Patois: the making of a national language in early modern France", p. 541.

[236] "[...] o Uniforme tam necessario á pureza de huma Lingua, que dee reprezentar na escripta , a beleza da pronuncia." See: Cardozo, *Novo Methodo de ensinar a ler a Lingua Portugueza por meyo da estampa, a que se propoim hum novo systema da sua orthografia...* p. 12.

[237] The mixed system sought to combine etymology with pronunciation. See Gonçalves. pp 40-42.

[238] "Se os Homens já hoje mais iluminados, querem largarestas durezas, preferindo a pronuncia, nem falta quem logo os ataque com as Regras da Arte; [...]" Cardozo, *Novo Methodo de ensinar a ler a Lingua Portugueza por meyo da estampa, a que se propoim hum novo systema da sua orthografia...* p. 17.

[239] Ibid.

[240] Gonçalves. pp. 40-42.

"violent" to oblige a living language to follow a dead one.[241] If in Portuguese the pronunciation is *caza* (house) and *coiza* (thing), why should people write *casa* and *coisa*? In Cardozo's opinion, one of the biggest advantages of the Portuguese language was that pronunciation followed spelling; consequently, spelling that went against pronunciation was a mistake.

The members of the Royal Board of Censorship did not confine their attention to language within reference books and teaching methods; they also assessed translations. Translations reveal what one culture finds interesting in another, and perhaps for this reason censors were concerned about what was being translated and which language was being used.[242] Such was the case of *Instrução de um pai ao seu filho* (instruction from a father to his son), translated from French into Portuguese by Manuel José da Silveira.[243] The censor Friar Francisco de São Bento considered the *Instrução* an excellent book for educating the youth. However, Silveira produced a literal translation of the original which, according to the censor, made it unworthy of publishing. Furthermore, in the Friar's opinion, the translator needed to learn Portuguese first, a clear criticism of his spelling and grammar.

The Board evaluated and approved another translation from French into Portuguese in 1788, despite pointing out a number of mistakes. The book was *Medicina Doméstica* (Domestic Medicine), originally written in English in 1769 by the Scottish physician William Bucham, whose name was translated in Portuguese to Guilherme Bucham.[244] The censor of *Domestic Medicine* praised the translation, claiming that when compared to the French edition, it was accurate, with only a few exceptions that he listed at the end of the report. Most related to its literal style of translation, others to his use of Spanish words such as *olvidar* instead of *esquecer* (to forget). It is highly unlikely that Portuguese readers would be unable to understand the word in Spanish, but at a time

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[241] "De sórte que acharam conveniente obrigar a huma Lingua viva pela vaidade de se parecer com huma Lingua morta, porlhe hum violento preceito contra a pronuncia." Cardozo, *Novo Methodo de ensinar a ler a Lingua Portugueza por meyo da estampa, a que se propoim hum novo systema da sua orthografia...* p. 21.

[242] Burke, *Lost (and found) in Translation: a cultural history of translators and translating in early modern Europe.* p. 6.

[243] RMC, cx. 11, nº 26, 1779.

[244] RMC, cx. 14, nº 44, 1784.

when the Portuguese language was distancing itself from Castilian, the Board could not tolerate such a slip. It is important to remember that Portugal was under Spanish rule from 1580 to 1640. At the same time, the Treaty of Madrid (1750) sought to put an end to territorial disputes between both Iberian nations, and one of the criteria used to establish which territory belonged to whom was the language spoken: Portuguese or Spanish. The intolerance towards Spanish words is a sign of the shaping of the Portuguese language.

The final report relevant to this discussion deals with the book *Perfeito Pedagogo na Arte de Educar a Mocidade* (the perfect professor on the art of teaching the youth), written by João Rozado de Villa Lobos e Vasconcelos in 1780.[245] Friar Francisco Xavier de Santa Ana granted the book a printing license despite its 'horrible' spelling: "*a Orthographia he pessima*".[246] The main argument for its approval was that its orthography could be corrected and that the book inflicted no offense upon the Church or the state. Its publisher was once again Francisco Rolland, who invested significant resources into reference books and education manuals. *O Perfeito Pedagogo* came out in 1782, and it continued to appear in Rolland's catalogues until 1802.[247] This endurance was linked to a change in values that emulated interest in other cultures and social skills.[248] If under Jesuit education, for example, the focus was on forming good Christians, other social skills such as good manners became equally important for education.[249] For example, *O Perfeito Pedagogo* offered the reader good manners instruction across various subjects, from how to behave in the theatre or public house and the importance of dancing in boys' education; to dress code and how to treat a lady. It was designed as a manual for parents and teachers to educate the youth.[250] This is

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[245] RMC, cx. 12, nº 44, 1780.

[246] RMC, cx. 12, nº 44, 1780.

[247] RMC, cx. 494, docs. 11-12 (1783, 1802); cx. 495, doc. 81-82 (1799, 1801). In 1819, *O Perfeito Pedagogo* was listed on the catalogue of Francisco Xavier de Carvalho in Chiado, Lisbon: RMC, cx. 494, doc. 25 (1819); cx. 495, doc. 89 (1819). In 1796 Francisco Rolland sent this book to be sold in Brazil: RMC, cx. 153.

[248] Lisboa and Miranda, p. 373.

[249] Paiva, p. 86; Adão. pp. 245-257.

[250] Fonseca, *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidades, ordem e sociabilidades na América Portuguesa*. pp. 90-91.

directly related to the expected role of teachers in society, who were to be models of virtue and behaviour.[251]

The most relevant aspects of *O Perfeito Pedagogo* for this dissertation are related to epistolary knowledge. Vasconcellos explained the importance of writing letters and the most appropriate styles to use. According to the book, tradesmen, and not scholars, wrote the best letters, because they were clear and concise, whereas scholars were too subjective. This not only reinforced the importance and prevalence of literacy among tradesmen, but also elevated them above scholars in terms of pragmatism. *O Perfeito Pedagogo* also highlights the importance of studying Portuguese grammar, as it was the language of speech, writing, trade, law and politics. Vasconcellos claims Portuguese people have ignored the formal study of their language: they know it from speaking and using it, not from studying it (in contrast with other more developed nations). The author points out the importance of teaching grammar to young pupils, who would be able to express themselves better, being more objective and concise. In doing so, Vasconcellos recommends a number of books for those studying the language, including Portuguese Grammar written by António José dos Reis Lobato.

All of the books analysed in this section were published in Portugal, not in Brazil. Nevertheless, they relate to Brazil because they reached the colony through booksellers distributing them in the colony – as was the case of *O Perfeito Pedagogo* and *Escola Fundamental*; and Portuguese immigrants having contact with them during primary school in Portugal, either directly, or through intermediaries (teachers and family).[252] After the first stage of the reforms, the Board found it necessary to observe if the changes promoted by the Marquis of Pombal were implemented and maintained. As the demand for primary instruction increased, so did the number of grammar and spelling manuals published. This increase reflected not merely in grammar books and dictionaries, but also in translations. Although it was not the main purpose of the Royal Board of Censorship, censors inevitably supervised language during the reign of José I and continued doing so in the Marian period.

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[251] Ibid., p. 88.

[252] RMC, cx. 151 (1820); cx. 153 (1786; 1799); cx. 155 (1819); cx. 156 (1820); cx. 157 (1796); cx. 163 (1819).

Conclusion

The analysis of payrolls, priest files, and probate inventories shed light on the effects of the reforms, as well as on the social structure of the teachers and the population (witnesses). Colonists felt more effects from the Pombaline reforms in Brazil during the reign of Maria I, when the number of royal teachers increased in the mining district. These teachers tended either to have already been in the profession before the reforms, or to have been clergymen and seminarians who saw in teaching an opportunity to supplement their income and achieve social recognition. Students, tutors, and teachers formed educational networks in the captaincy, from Vila do Príncipe in the north and Guarapiranga in the centre; to São João Del Rei further south. Most of the seminarians and clergymen who became teachers were from Minas Gerais (as were their mothers) while their fathers were Portuguese, particularly from the north and the islands. These cultural intermediaries played a substantial role in the spread of the Portuguese language and its leading role in the written culture.

Education also served as a way of minimising the negative effects of miscegenation, illicit relationships, and 'impure blood'. It was a way of negotiating 'whiteness' as a highly prized, yet flexible characteristic.[253] This is demonstrated by the stories of successful foundlings, *filhos naturais*, manumitted slaves and mestizos who became respected in society due to their linguistic knowledge in spite of the 'colour-bar'. From the signature-signing ability of the witnesses summoned, to the *de genere et moribus*, it is clear that levels of literacy ranged from medium to high. As expected, most of the more advanced signatures belonged to tradesmen and clergymen but those working in agriculture (farmers) and mining were also surprisingly adept at signing. However, the majority of witnesses with average and lower signing ability were among yeomen. Open questions remain with regards to the education of girls, literacy of women and the lower strata due to the nature of the sources chosen, which were produced mainly by the most privileged, male-oriented social groups.

During the Marian period, the Royal Board of Censorship continued with its efforts to standardise the Portuguese language. The censors' reports give a glimpse into the sense

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[253] Lesser. p. 10.

of identity and belonging to a nation with a common language that was beginning to form at the end of the eighteenth century. The persistence of censors in language matters – which were not meant to be their primary objective – reveals the importance of language control as a mechanism of power. Those who controlled and were able to reproduce the standard form could enter higher political and social strata, while those excluded from it found themselves forced to seek other modes of participation.

Education served as a way of integrating Brazil into the Portuguese empire, creating the idea of being Luso-Brazilian since the beginning of the colonisation. This connection grew after the Pombaline reforms, reinforcing the relationship between higher education (in Coimbra and Évora, Portugal, since they were the only universities of the Portuguese empire and contrary to Spanish America, there were no universities in Brazil) and administrative service.[254] The Portuguese language contributed to this integration and helped to shape identity in colonial Brazil – understood here as a collective construction that recognised Brazilian colonists as being different from European Portuguese, but not necessarily opposed to them.[255] The next chapter will extend my analysis to the theme of control through education and discipline, looking at a variety of sources brought together by their deep connection with language use, standardisation, and control. It will focus on the reign of João VI from regency (1793-1807) to the relocation of the Portuguese Royal Family to Brazil and independence (1808-1822), culminating in the idea of cultural change and the construction of a Brazilian identity.

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[254] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850*. p. 22; Anastácio, p. 160.

[255] Burke, *The Art of Conversation*. p. 68; Schwartz, "The Formation of a Colonial Identity in Brazil," p. 20.

Chapter 4: The court in Brazil, education, and the construction of a Brazilian identity

To perceive schools as historical constructs formed out of interactions between pedagogical devices and the cultural intermediaries that make use of them, enriches our understanding of education in colonial Brazil.[1] In this sense, teachers, students, and administrative officials appropriated pedagogical methods and increasingly sought to standardise schools and to control cultural transmission, school time, and school space.[2] Since the seventeenth century, new pedagogical methods, institutions (such as boarding schools), and classes (dance lessons, for example) appeared in Europe.[3] It was the nineteenth century, however, that witnessed a shift in the purpose of education from forming nobles and good Christians to civilising the people, their customs, and their minds.[4] In this context, teachers and schools promoted the 'civilisation of manners' and created new educational needs to fulfil the formation of national states and national identities.[5] Teachers and students, as cultural intermediaries, became crucial in the process of creating nation states as education followed the decline of the nobility.

The historical analysis of schools, teachers, and students contribute to our understanding of language, identity, and power in Brazil. In this chapter, I will look at the production, dissemination, and reception of educational discourses and methods in Brazil, maintaining an Atlantic perspective and a framework based on cultural history and cultural mobility.[6] By cultural mobility I mean both the geographical and intellectual

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[1] Mirian Jorge Warde and Marta Maria Chagas Carvalho, "Politcs and Culture in the making of History of Education in Brazil," in *Cultural History and Education: critical essays on knowledge and schooling*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin, and Miguel A. Pereyra. New York; London: Routledge Falmer, 2001, pp. 86-87.

[2] Ibid., p. 87.

[3] Georges Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, ed. Michel Feher, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi. New York: Urzone, 1989, pp. 176-184.

[4] Chartier and Hébrard, p. 268.

[5] Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: the birth of consumption in France, 1600-1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 50.

[6] António Nóvoa, "Texts, Images, and Memories: writing "new" histories of education," in *Cultural History and Education: critical essays on knowledge and schooling*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin, and Miguel A. Pereyra. New York, London: Routledge Falmer, 2001, p. 51; Greenblatt, pp. 1-23; Greenblatt, "A Mobility Studies Manifesto," pp. 250-253.

movements of people, goods, and ideas, as well its unintended consequences. This process of movement and displacement entailed cultural connections between different actors, times, and places.[7] Therefore, I will look at the materiality of culture – books, newspapers, dictionaries – as well as teachers, students, and journalists as actors responsible for cultural connections across the Atlantic. I will argue that the literate population shaped Portuguese according to official standards, but were not able to overcome certain Brazilian colonial particularities, as the process of education occurs in both oral and written cultures.[8] I will also note that the debate on language standardisation and education extended throughout various social groups in nineteenth-century Luso-Brazilian society, and was not restricted to the state.

Father António Vieira had devised the plan to relocate the Portuguese royal family to Brazil in the seventeenth century, but the project gained force in the late eighteenth century with the Minister Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho.[9] The project was finally put into action in November 1807, hastened by the first French Invasion (the others took place around 1809 and 1810-1811).[10] The French Invasions of Portugal are located within the context of the 'Age of Revolution' in Europe, which includes the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.[11] Against this background, Napoleon imposed the 'Continental System' in 1806, which determined all ports closed to British ships.[12] Portugal resisted the blockage, but under a real threat of invasion and unable to keep their 'neutrality' for much longer, the relocation plan was put into action.[13]

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[7] Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: an introduction," p. 17.

[8] Inés Dussel, "School Uniforms and the Discipline of Appearances: towards a history of the regulation of bodies in modern educational systems," in *Cultural History and Education: critical essays on knowledge and schooling*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin, and Miguel A. Pereyra. New York, London: Routledge Falmer, 2001, p. 208; Chartier and Hébrard, pp. 263-264.

[9] Villalta, *1789-1808: o império luso-brasileiro e os Brasis*. p. 118; Villalta, *O Brasil e a crise do Antigo Regime português (1788-1822)*. p. 102; Schultz. pp. 15-37; Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," p. 106.

[10] Schultz. p. 1; Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *A longa viagem da biblioteca dos reis: do terremoto de Lisboa à Independência do Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2002, p. 217.

[11] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850*; H. M. Scott, *The Birth of a Great Power System, 1740-1815*. 1st ed. ed. Harlow; New York Pearson Longman, 2006.

[12] Scott. p. 334.

[13] Ibid., p. 335.

The relocation of the Portuguese royal family initiated a period of rapid change and introduced new pedagogical ideas to the colony that created an unseen demand for foreign teachers and private schools.[14] Brazil became the centre of the Portuguese empire and as such it had to modernise and keep up with European developments.[15] The balance of power between Brazil, Portugal, and other colonies changed.[16] Historiography considers the end of the seventeenth century to be the beginning of a new phase in Portuguese America, marked by the ascension of the local elites, but the period 1808-1821 was the most intense.[17] For G. Paquette, imperial integration in the early nineteenth century was enabled by education (individuals from different parts of the Luso-Brazilian empire brought together for common training, for example, in the University of Coimbra) and by rotating government officials ("Portuguese-born and Brazilian-born graduates continued to cross the globe in the service of the state").[18]

The presence of the sovereign changed the status of the colony irreversibly; it redefined the bases of political legitimacy, as moving the royal family brought not only royalty, but also an entire administrative apparatus to Rio de Janeiro.[19] I do not underestimate the importance of 'bureaucratic elitism' in colonial Brazil because it provides an

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[14] Silva, "A educação da mulher e das crianças no Brasil colônia," p. 142; Karasch. p. xxi.

[15] Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties (Sobrados e Mucambos): the making of modern Brazil*. p. 203; Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808."

[16] Lesser. p. 8; Jurandir Malerba, *A corte no exílio: civilização e poder no Brasil às vésperas da Independência, 1808 a 1821*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000, p. 225.

[17] Maria Fernanda Vieira Martins, "Conduzindo a barca do Estado em mares revoltos: 1808 e a transmigração da família real portuguesa," in *O Brasil Colonial 1720-1821*, ed. João Fragoso and Maria de Fátima Gouvêa. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2014, p. 718; Caio Prado Júnior, *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo*. 9. ed. São Paulo: Editôra Brasiliense, 1969, pp. 9-10; E. Bradford Burns, "The Intellectuals as Agents of Change and the Independence of Brazil, 1724-1822," in *From Colony to Nation: essays on the indenependece of Brazil*, ed. A. J. R. Russell-Wood. Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975, p. 211.

[18] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850*. pp. 22-23.

[19] Malerba. p. 45; Maria Odila da Silva Dias, "The Establishment of the Royal Court in Brazil," in *From Colony to Nation: essays on the independence of Brazil*, ed. A. J. R. Russell-Wood. London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975, p. 92; Schultz. p. 4; Nancy Priscilla Naro, "Colonial aspirations: connecting three points of the Portuguese Black Atlantic," in *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic*, ed. Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca, and Dave Treece. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 130; Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, "Vida privada e ordem privada no Império," in *História da Vida Privada no Brasil*, ed. Luiz Felipe de Alencastro. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997, p. 12; Russell-Wood, "The Portuguese Atlantic, 1415-1808," p. 102; Patrick Wilcken, '"A Colony of a Colony": the Portuguese Royal Court in Brazil,' *Common Knowledge* 11, no. 2 (2005): pp. 250; 255; Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807*. p. 298.

explanation for the collaboration between native ruling classes and Portuguese administrative officials.[20] The arrival of the court meant that local Brazilian leaders had to work in conjunction with Portuguese public administrators to establish a new empire in the tropics.[21] The presence of the court in Brazil fostered the construction of a new Portuguese capital and the development of new commercial interests.[22] A tension exists between individual agency and structural restraints and, as Greenblatt puts it, "in given historical circumstances, structures of power seek to mobilise some individuals and immobilise others."[23] Therefore, setting up the court in Brazil unravelled tensions and competition, not only between the bureaucracy in Portugal and in Brazil, but also between different parts of the Portuguese empire and amongst diverse social groups in the colony.

Bureaucrats from other parts of the Portuguese empire, such as Angola and Mozambique, also migrated to Rio de Janeiro, and historians estimate that the population increased from 43,000 to 79,000 between 1799 and 1821.[24] After the Napoleonic Wars , a significant number of Portuguese troops also relocated to Brazil.[25] In addition to administrative personnel, people from other areas of the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais moved to the city where more goods and services were required.[26] The new government implemented a number of economic measures to ensure the formation of an appropriate internal market: it withdrew the ban on establishing manufactures (1808) and created a national bank (*Banco do Brasil*) in 1809.[27] The bank gradually replaced interpersonal loans with the mediation of a financial institution. It is important at this stage to highlight that the opening of the Brazilian ports, which increased trade, benefitted England in particular.[28] It also

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[20] The author uses the expression 'metropolization' of the colony. See: Dias, pp. 97; 106.

[21] Ibid., p. 106; Debret et al. pp. 60-61; ibid.

[22] Dias, p. 104.

[23] Greenblatt, "A Mobility Studies Manifesto," p. 251.

[24] Alencastro, "Vida privada e ordem privada no Império," p. 13.

[25] Ibid., p. 12.

[26] Ibid., p. 13; Raymundo Faoro, *Os Donos do Poder: formação do patronato político brasileiro.* 3º ed. São Paulo: Editora Globo, 2001, p. 286.

[27] Cavalcanti. pp. 97-98; Faoro. p. 292.

[28] Schultz. p. 83; Alan K. Manchester, *British Preeminence in Brazil: its rise and decline: a study in European expansion.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933, p. 71; Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, 'Mouzinho da Silveira and the Political Culture of Portuguese Liberalism, 1820–1832,' *History of European Ideas* 41, no. 2 (2015): p. 186.

increased contact with foreign peoples and cultures, taking us back to the question of physical and intellectual mobility and the ways in which these movements affected the people who encountered and appropriated them.[29] As J. Lesser observes, "with the move *[of the royal court]* to Rio de Janeiro, non-Portuguese subjects were welcomed as residents and potential Brazilians."[30]

The economic and political landscapes certainly underwent change, but what were the impacts of the events of 1808 on the cultural stage, particularly on education and educational institutions? With regard to cultural development, the number of educational institutes multiplied, especially in Salvador and Rio: the period saw the opening of the naval and military academies (1810), medical schools (1809, 1813), and courses in economics, agriculture, and chemistry.[31] The Royal Library in Rio de Janeiro was established in 1810 and the Public Library in Salvador was founded in 1811.[32] The Royal Library made two trips (1810 and 1811) and opened to the public in 1814. After Brazil's independence, the new government refused to ship the library back to Portugal for which they paid a fine.[33] Printing presses followed in Rio de Janeiro (1808), Bahia (1811), Pernambuco (1815), Pará (1820), Maranhão (1821) and Minas Gerais (1821).[34]

Studying the modernisation process brought about by the court enriches our understanding of the already-complex colonial cultural landscape, as it contributed to the construction of a Brazilian identity that culminated with independence in 1822 and continued into the twentieth century. The relocation of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil is often considered the impetus for the second Lusophone wave of migration to the colony (the first was the finding of gold in the mining district in the end of the seventeenth century).[35] Portuguese immigration to Brazil was crucial to this process, but the Afro descendants who spoke different varieties of Portuguese also played a significant role, as they made up almost half the population and helped to spread

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[29] Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: an introduction," pp. 19-20.

[30] Lesser. p. 9.

[31] Schwarcz, *A longa viagem da biblioteca dos reis: do terremoto de Lisboa à Independência do Brasil.* pp. 233; 258; Cavalcanti. p. 99; Burns, p. 223.

[32] Burns, p. 221.

[33] Schwarcz, *A longa viagem da biblioteca dos reis: do terremoto de Lisboa à Independência do Brasil.* pp. 35; 247.

[34] Moraes. pp. 144; 162; 166; 168; 170; Schwarcz, *A longa viagem da biblioteca dos reis: do terremoto de Lisboa à Independência do Brasil.* p. 249.

[35] Lucchesi, "Africanos, crioulos e a língua portuguesa," pp. 154; 156.

'popular Portuguese'.[36] Against this background, I will look at instruction and educational policies during the reign of João VI at the intersection of two periods. Firstly, the period prior to the moving of the royal family to Brazil (1793-1807); secondly, between the establishment of the court in Rio de Janeiro (1808) and the creation of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves (1815), up until the days preceding Brazil's independence (1822).

The chapter is organised by educational and cultural developments. I will attempt to expand our understanding of how the debate over instruction and the standardisation of Portuguese as a national language spread throughout different social strata. I will start with the material culture of *primeiras letras* teachers, moving on to second language teachers and requests to open private schools, in order to reconstruct teaching practices in conjunction with discipline and education. I will also examine foreign travellers' perspectives on colonial education, as they were actors who moved both geographically and intellectually, bringing outsider views that encountered, changed and were changed by different cultural practices. Their European-centred perspectives entail biased opinions of the colony, but also a different approach to matters such as education. Taking artists to Brazil was part of a tactic to attract European immigrants, as they would go back to Europe with positive impressions of Brazil.[37] However, they were not always convinced and pointed out indigenous and African slavery as well as the indolence of the colonial elites.

I lead on to an analysis of the opening of the royal library in Rio de Janeiro and its links to the French learning tradition. The last sections will explore Portuguese periodicals published in London, studying the impact of the mutual teaching (Lancaster) method in Brazil to assess the degree of British influence in the colonial cultural landscape. My goal is to make a contribution to cultural and educational studies of late eighteenth/early nineteenth-century Brazil.

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[36] Ibid., p. 156.
[37] Lesser. p. 9.

The materiality of teaching activities

Despite only a few teachers leaving behind traces of their occupations, thinking about the material life in daily experiences can help us reconstruct our knowledge of the subject.[38] Therefore, looking at the materials, books, and furniture that teachers used in their lessons illuminates our understanding of the ways in which they dealt with the challenges of their occupation. This section continues to look at the gold mining district to shed light on the effects of the education reforms in Brazil, and the daily experiences of teachers and students.[39] As significant numbers of teachers in independent Brazil had started their careers during the reigns of Maria I and João VI, this section will make use of sources from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to reconstruct their stories.

In 1792 doctors declared Queen Maria I mentally ill and unable to rule the country. As a result, her son Prince João governed in his mother's name until 1799 when he formally became Prince Regent and, in 1818, he was proclaimed king.[40] The first decades after Brazilian independence retained the educational structure implemented in the 1790s, hence the importance of studying the Joanine administration. Prince Regent João VI aimed to regulate teachers' activities by ordering colonial authorities to pay wages regularly and to create a retirement fund for teachers in 1799.[41] In order to ensure that schools were effectively administrated, the sovereign commanded the captaincies' governors and bishops to inspect lessons and gauge whether they were running accordingly.[42] In spite of such developments, some educational practices persisted, such as domestic education for women.

In one of his paintings, the French artist Jean-Baptiste Debret notes that one girl fell short of the literary skill expected for her age and struggled with the alphabet (**Figure**

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[38] Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: the birth of consumption in France, 1600-1800.* p. 1.

[39] This period saw a significant drop in mining activity, which was soon replaced by agriculture, trade, and the expansion of the services sector. See: Carrara. pp. 212-213; Valadares. pp. 75-78.

[40] Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: from beginnings to 1807.* p. 322; Schwarcz, *A longa viagem da biblioteca dos reis: do terremoto de Lisboa à Independência do Brasil.* p. 249.

[41] Fonseca, *O ensino régio na Capitania de Minas Gerais (1772-1814).* p. 23.

[42] Ibid., p. 24.

2).[43] However, this might not have been the case as children were usually dressed as adults in modern European culture – a practice that colonists may have appropriated. What is of greater interest in the scene depicted by Debret is the fact that the slaves, particularly the children, were exposed to the Portuguese alphabet – as, most likely, the girl was – through reading it out loud. This supports the theory that Africans and their descendants were able to learn Portuguese without formal education, particularly the domestic servants who lived close to their masters.

Figure 2: Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Uma senhora brasileira em seu lar*

Uma senhora brasileira em seu lar. Source: Debret et al. pp. 60-61

In spite of the continuation of traditional domestic practices, teaching was the main activity of colonists such as Jerônimo de Souza Queirós, the royal teacher of drawing and history in Vila Rica from 1818.[44] Queirós was married and had four children. His probate inventory clearly described that he had six small benches, six bookshelves, and

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[43] *Uma senhora brasileira em seu lar*. In: Debret et al. pp. 60-61.
[44] APM, CC, not. 1786, p. 37, 1821; APM, CC, mf. 122, pl. 758, 1819.

six desks. [45] This gives an idea of the size of his class, which was smaller than the average (twelve students). He also had two houses in Vila Rica that could have served as 'schools'. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, being a foundling did not diminish Jerônimo's status in colonial society, as he also belonged to the *Santíssimo Sacramento* brotherhood and could afford to get married in the Church. [46]

It was also common for teachers to have additional occupations that required basic literacy skills (and sometimes knowledge of Latin). This ensured that private tutors had the minimum knowledge required to sit and pass the teaching exams. [47] Such practice had crossed the Atlantic, as Carl Ruders – a Swedish Protestant pastor who lived in Lisbon (1798-1802) – noted that the Portuguese population would employ anyone who could teach basic reading, writing, and accounting skills as a teacher; private masters who managed to gather eight to ten pupils deserved applause. [48] Antônio Ismêno Herculano, for example, was a primary teacher in Sumidouro, near Mariana. [49] Herculano, who started working as a royal teacher in 1819, was married with six children, all over thirty years old when he died in 1872 without a will. [50] It seems that Herculano's income did not come exclusively from teaching as his probate inventory stated that he was a partner in mining activities and shared a significant number of slaves with another settler. [51] These multiple activities suggest that literate men in the mining district, like those in Portugal, used their skills to start a life in the district as teachers while engaging in more lucrative occupations.

José Pedro da Costa Batista was a *primeiras letras* teacher in São João Del Rei between 1793 and 1818. [52] Born in Porto, Portugal, he went to Minas Gerais in 1789 to fill a teaching position. [53] Batista never married but brought up a number of *expostos* to whom

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[45] CPOP, Inv., cód. 29, au. 322, 2º of., 1828.

[46] Luciano Raposo de Almeida Figueiredo, *Barrocas famílias: vida familiar em Minas Gerais no século XVIII*. São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1997, p. 36.

[47] Fonseca, *O ensino régio na Capitania de Minas Gerais (1772-1814)*. pp. 78-79.

[48] Carl Israel Ruders, *Viagem em Portugal 1708-1802*. vol. 1. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2002, p. 93.

[49] AHCS, cód. 53, au. 1192, 1874.

[50] APM, CC, mf. 122, pl. 758.

[51] His inventory was made in conjunction with his business partner's.

[52] APM, mf. 86, 88, 122, pl. 510, 523, 524, 758, 1796, 1797, 1819. T. Fonseca sets the period between 1790-1814. See: Fonseca, *O ensino régio na Capitania de Minas Gerais (1772-1814)*. p. 68.

[53] Ibid., p. 92.

he left a certain amount of money in his will. [54] Considering that Batista only received his last payment in 1827, almost ten years after his death, and that local assemblies gave financial support to settlers who brought up foundlings in order to fund their education and subsistence, it is possible to suggest that raising *expostos* was a complimentary source of income for the teacher.[55] The only captive slave that José Pedro Batista had was a cobbler; he may have been a slave for hire with whom Batista supplemented the household income. Indeed, the main occupation that the notary wrote in Batista's inventory was military officer, not teacher. Among his belongings, he mentions five volumes of the Montpellier catechism (notoriously used as an ABC manual from the eighteenth century), clear evidence of his teaching activities. João Pedro Batista was a member of the Our Lady of Mount Carmel brotherhood, both in Vila Rica and São João Del Rei – a symbol of his social status.

Priesthood and teaching continued to be linked into the nineteenth century. Such was the case for Cândido Joaquim da Rocha and José Antônio Freire. Father Cândido had been a foundling in Vila Rica and had had three children due to "misery and human fragility".[56] None of these prevented Cândido from becoming both a priest and a primary teacher. The list of his assets describes one bookshelf, twelve chairs, twelve beds and eleven small benches which could have been used in his lessons. His books, however, are the most evident materiality of his teaching activities: he possessed titles such as the Montpellier catechism, one copy of Madureira's orthography (a bestseller amongst spelling books banned during the Pombaline reforms) and multiplication tables. He also had books on manners such as *Cartas de uma mãe a seu filho* (a mother's letters to her son) and *Cartas de um pai a sua filha* (a father's letters to his daughter).

Father José Antônio Freire had also been a foundling in Vila Rica and left six heirs in his will without admitting that they were his children.[57] Similar to the case of Father

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[54] AHSJDR, Prov., cx. 32, 1819.

[55] Fonseca, "Instrução e assistência na capitania de Minas Gerais: das ações das câmaras às escolas para meninos pobres (1750-1814)," pp. 536-538.

[56] "Declaro que por mizeria, e fragilidade humanna tenho tres filhos *[...]*." AHCS, cód. 52, au. 1161, 1837.

[57] CPOP, Inv., cód. 20, au. 209, 2º of., 1841.

Cândido, neither the unknown identities of his parents, nor the breaking of his celibacy posed an obstacle to his social standing. A law from 1775 that established that all foundlings were considered to be free, even if their mother was a slave, might explain this situation.[58] Despite the fact that Luso-Brazilian society was characterised by the importance of appearances and behaving according to one's position, priests who had children were common and socially accepted.[59] Freire's library did not contain any catechisms or spelling books, but the Father did possess some Italian and French dictionaries, in addition to "a number of books of various authors, in different languages" that were very old and well-used.[60] He was also in possession of one desk, two bookshelves, and eleven chairs that may have been used for teaching.

José Gomes de Oliveira was a clergyman who started off as a primary teacher in Rio Vermelho (**MAP 5**).[61] He owned an inkwell, scissors, and one *Prosódia* — probably Bento Pereira's *Prosodia in Vocabularium*, banned by the Pombaline reforms, but still in use.[62] This reminds us of the power relations in education and the way in which teachers insisted on using banned material, either due to a lack of resources or their own defiance. The possession – or lack of – of certain books is revealing of the tension between the state's authority and local needs. The relationship between the norm and usage was a fragile one; it was impossible for the state to monitor adherence to every single rule, and the population was torn between the necessities imposed by the materiality of daily activities and state prescriptivism. At the time of his death, Oliveira lived in Guarapiranga, a village near the city of Mariana where networks of literate people were dense, as the probate inventories and priest application files of the previous chapter have demonstrated.

Manuel Ferreira Velho's *post mortem* inventory contains no material evidence of his profession either, apart from the fact that the mining district Treasury owed him money

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[58] Karasch. p. 350.

[59] Figueiredo. pp. 35; 106.

[60] "Uma porçaõ de livros de diversos Authores, em diversas Linguas, todos ja destruncados, arruinados, *[...]*." CPOP, Inv., cód. 20, au. 209, 2º of., 1841.

[61] APM, CC, mf. 77, pl. 475.

[62] AHCS, cód. 130, au. 2730, 1810. José Gomes Ferreira was a substitute teacher between 1788-1800. See: Fonseca, *O ensino régio na Capitania de Minas Gerais (1772-1814)*. p. 68.

in relation to his activities as royal teacher.[63] José Antônio Teixeira Romão was also from Mariana and a primary teacher in Infincionado (**MAP 5**) since 1789, a position that he occupied until 1822, two years prior to his death.[64] Romão had studied music and grammar in the Mariana seminary and the witnesses in his priest file state that he had never been occupied in another activity.[65] No material evidence suggests activities as a musician or teacher, although he had three prayer books and one inkwell (which could be related to his priesthood).[66]

Certain colonists did not appear on payrolls, but their material culture indicates their involvement in teaching activities. For example, João Batista Ferreira de Carvalho, a resident of Tejuco in the Diamond District, had five volumes of the Montpellier catechism and one *livro de meninos* (children's book) which was probably a spelling book.[67] An unmarried man from Porto with no heirs, Carvalho was also a member of the brotherhood of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. In his will, the colonist did not specify his occupation, only claiming that he was a sole trader. Other parts of Carvalho's will provide evidence that he was an apothecary in the Diamond Contract where it was likely that he had apprentices who learnt basic literacy skills.[68] The *Real Extração* (Royal Diamond Extraction) employed a number of people from high and lower classes in several occupations such as notary, lawyer, porter and blacksmith. Among other benefits, *Real Extração*'s employees could rent slaves to work in the mines, an important source of income to a significant part of the population.

These stories highlight the fact that in spite of teaching being a respected profession that provided certain prestige and social status, it did not usually provide enough economic means to support a family. Specialised teachers were therefore uncommon, whether

[63] Silva, "O Processo de Escolarização no Termo de Mariana (1772-1835)", p. 72. He was a 'tenured' teacher between 1789-1814 in São José da Barra Longa. See: Fonseca, *O ensino régio na Capitania de Minas Gerais (1772-1814).* p. 68.

[64] APM, CC, mf. 77, pl. 475; mf. 86, pl. 510; mf. 88, pl. 523-524; mf. 122, pl.758. APM, CC, *Livro de Liquidação de Contas*, notação 1786, pp. 82; 94; 112.

[65] AEAM, arm. 8, nº. 1333, 1788.

[66] AHCS, cód. 58, au. 1137, 1827.

[67] BAT, 1º of., mç. 28, nº 329, 1803.

[68] For more information about Serro do Frio (1731) see: Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *O livro da capa verde: o regimento diamantino de 1771 e a vida no Distrito Diamantino no período da Real Extração.* São Paulo: Annablume, 1996, pp. 25-27; 117-121; Klein and Vinson III. p. 112.

they were royal masters or private tutors. Until the early nineteenth-century in colonial Brazil, teachers essentially taught reading and writing, arithmetic, Latin, Greek, and rhetoric.[69] The arrival of the royal family and the opening of the country to other nations broadened the educational offering in Brazil, as other subjects such as foreign languages entered the educational system.

Discipline to educate: second language teachers, schools, and 'maisons d'éducation'

Between 1809 and 1822 the number of requests and advertisements placed for the teaching of foreign languages in Rio de Janeiro, particularly of English and French, was significant.[70] Requests to open private schools and *maisons d'éducation* also became common. This section will analyse the opening of three educational institutes (two in Rio de Janeiro, one in Salvador) that were clearly inspired by the pedagogical ideas of the aforementioned Jean Baptiste De La Salle. De La Salle wrote the first model of elementary schooling in the modern world (1651-1719) known as the simultaneous method.[71] It is an example of disciplinary power in education with a methodology that regulated with precision the daily life of schools, including spatial arrangements, posture, signs and gestures.[72] De La Salle's pedagogy is closely associated with civility and uprightness, as dictated by the ideal of nobility.[73] It is therefore of paramount importance to look at the functioning of these schools – their lesson plans, the everyday activities that took place within them and the experiences of teachers and pupils – if we are to better understand the production, diffusion, and reception of educational theories in Brazil in a cross-cultural context.[74]

In 1809, French clergymen Renato Pedro Boiret and Luiz Carlos Franche (both of whom had lived in Portugal for seventeen years and were naturalised Portuguese

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[69] Silva, *A cultura luso-brasileira: da reforma da universidade independência do Brasil*. p. 93; Francisco José Calazans Falcon, *A época pombalina: política econômica e monarquia ilustrada.* São Paulo: Ática, 1982, p. 432; Rui Grácio, *História da História da Educação em Portugal: 1945-1978.* Lisboa: Centro de História da Cultura da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1983, p. 17.

[70] Gilberto Freyre, *Ingleses no Brasil: aspectos da influencia britânica sobre a vida, a paisagem e a cultura do Brasil.* Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1948, p. 260-261; Malerba. p. 65.

[71] Dussel, pp. 217-218.

[72] Ibid.p. 21; Battersby. p. 15.

[73] Vigarello, p. 176.

[74] Nóvoa, "Texts, Images, and Memories: writing "new" histories of education," pp. 50-51.

citizens) requested permission to open an institute in Rio de Janeiro.[75] Boiret and Franche had taught at *Colégio dos Nobres* (Nobles' College) in Lisbon, where they enjoyed the same privileges as the lecturers at the University of Coimbra.[76] In their request letter, they reassured the Prince of their commitment to the Church, the nation and the prosperity of the Portuguese empire. It is clear from this statement that the sovereign's image and the vassals' loyalty remained connected to religious obedience. The Portuguese Crown trusted their loyalty and granted the request to open a school, as neither Boiret nor Franche posed any threat to monarchical power.

In the same year, Joaquim Manuel de Faria, a royal teacher of Latin and Portuguese, requested not only permission, but also a governmental subsidy to open his school in Rio de Janeiro.[77] Religion was among the taught subjects and part of the daily school routine. Documents from 1811 attest that the school was approved to increase the number of establishments devoted to public instruction.[78] The Director of Studies at the time, Luiz José de Carvalho e Mello, noted that the institution was proving itself useful for noble and wealthy boys in the court. Faria's request for subsidy was, however, denied, as the government already maintained public lessons.[79] He also stated that this was the first school of its type in Brazil. It is crucial to note that the boys who had access to this type of education belonged to a privileged social sphere in Brazil, perpetuating the colonial exclusion of lower social groups from higher education.

In 1810, Luiz dos Santos de Vilhena – a royal teacher of Greek and Chair of Latin at *Colégio dos Nobres* – and Father Thomé Joaquim Torrão, requested permission to open

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[75] ANRJ, DP, cx. 147, pct. 2, 1809.

[76] The Colégio Real dos Nobres was a boarding school created during the Pombaline Reforms in 1761 to educate young members of the elites. See: Falcon. p. 440; Joel Serrão, António Barreto, and Maria Filomena Mónica, *Dicionário de História de Portugal.* vol. IV. Porto: Livraria Figueirinhas, 1985, pp. 384-385; José Silvestre Ribeiro, Eduardo Augusto da Rocha Dias, and Lisboa Academia das Ciências de, *Historia dos estabelecimentos scientificos, litterarios e artisticos de Portugal, nos successivos reinado da monarchia.* vol. 1. Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1871, pp. 282-295; João Manuel Esteves Pereira and Guilherme Rodrigues, *Portugal: diccionario historico, chorographico, heraldico, biographico, bibliographico, numismatico e artistico: obra illustrada com centenares de photogravuras e regida segundo os trabalhos dos mais notaveis escriptores.* vol. VI. Lisboa: J. Romano Torres, 1904, pp. 108-11; Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal*. p. 239.

[77] ANRJ, DP, cx. 148, pct. 1, 1809.

[78] ANRJ, DP, cx. 148, pct. 1, 1809.

[79] "Parece-me porem, q elle pertende algum auxílio, e cuido, q pecuniário: isto he porem indeferivel. V.A.R. tem creado nesta Corte Professors Publicos, q bastão pᵃ a educação nacional, e não ha pʳ ora mister pagar outros, [...]."ANRJ, DP, cx. 148, pct. 1, 1809.

an institution in Salvador.[80] The applicants also asked to be given priority when renting houses for their school. Such a request implies that both teachers held a prominent position in society, and also that the demand for housing was high in Salvador. Such qualifications and requests are in tune with Bahia's cultural tradition, as Iris Kantor demonstrates in her work about academies founded in Salvador (1724-1759).[81]

The *Maison d'Education* in Rio de Janeiro planned to host three types of students. It would serve as a boarding school, but it would also accept students who would arrive in the morning and leave after five o'clock. It is interesting to observe that boarders in Salvador would pay less than students from outside; in order to balance the costs of the school, Vilhena and Torrão would need at least twenty enrolled pupils. Once accepted, students should act as siblings, but they should still respect each other according to their social standing. This reflects the extent to which education in Brazil remained divided according to students' social origins, but also opened up the possibility of mixing between social classes.

All three schools' plans of study were clear, modern, and detailed, as befitted a country in which the court had taken up residence. They also shared certain features that reveal similar values and pedagogical ideas on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, there was an age limit for pupils, as the minimum age to attend varied from seven to eleven years of age, until fourteen, and adults were not accepted. One possible explanation for this is that in Portugal the 'age of reason' started at seven, and from ten onwards boys became young men.[82] All schools offered second language lessons, particularly in French and English.

The request to open the *Maison d'Education Réné-Pierre Boiret* was made in French and proposed that pupils would learn to write Latin, but to speak and write both French and English. The plan complied with the educational reforms implemented by the Marquis of Pombal, as it stated that to avoid confusion, students would not start learning a second language until they knew their mother tongue well. The plan explained that there would be mathematics and history classes and the school would

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[80] ANRJ, DP, cx. 144, pct. 1, 1810.

[81] Iris Kantor, *Esquecidos e renascidos: historiografia acadêmica luso-americana, 1724-1759*. São Paulo; Salvador: Hucitec: Centro de Estudos Baianos/UFBA, 2004.

[82] Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-grande & senzala): a study in the development of Brazilian civilization*. p. 404; Ferreira, p. 70.

follow the emulation method. Once a year, pupils' parents and friends would be invited to watch a public exercise and witness their progress.[83]

Joaquim Manuel de Faria planned French and English lessons as well. The French teacher would teach grammar, but also conversation. The method for developing oral skills was designed to encourage students to speak French with the teacher on certain days. English lessons would follow the same steps. Latin was also included in the plan but only for those parents who wanted their children to learn it. However, the emphasis on Portuguese teaching was stronger in Faria's plan than in the French institution. As determined in the *Maison's* plan of study, Portuguese grammar, as well as arithmetic, should be taught 'with perfection'.[84] There would be a strong *primeiras letras* teacher to teach students the 'national language'.[85]

It is noteworthy that Faria referred to Portuguese as the national language and not the mother tongue. Following a global trend, the ideas of a Brazilian ethnicity/identity connected to a national language became more intertwined in the nineteenth century and grew more complex than the notion of simply having the same descent, although the perception of a common European origin still played an important part.[86] The move towards nationalism in Brazil did not take place until the mid-nineteenth century, and the nation's independence symbolised more a continuation than a rupture.[87] This corroborates the idea that the presence of the royal family in Brazil increased the connection between both countries, including through language. This link, however, was not strong enough to unite Brazil and Portugal for much longer, as the combination of enlightened ideas and conflicts in Portugal led to a political separation that culminated in independence in 1822.[88] The Portuguese language, however, was so

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[83] ANRJ, DP, cx. 147, pct. 2, 1809.

[84] "*[...]* ensinará tambem com a perfeiçaõ possível a Grammatica da mesma Lingua." In: ANRJ, DP, cx. 148, Pac. 1, 1809.

[85] "Haverá um bom Mestre das primeiras Letras, em cuja aula se ensinará a lêr, e depois a escrevêr bem, e com acêrto a Lingua Nacional". ANRJ, DP, cx. 148, pct. 1, 1809.

[86] Edwards. p. 27; Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. p. 218; Buettner, pp. 248; 253; Schwartz, "The Formation of a Colonial Identity in Brazil," pp. 22-23; 38; Burns, p. 234.

[87] Dias, p. 89.

[88] Burns, p. 234; Dias, p. 93; Monteiro, "Mouzinho da Silveira and the Political Culture of Portuguese Liberalism, 1820–1832," p. 187.

embedded within the identification process of being Brazilian that it continued as one of the most pervasive colonial legacies.

In Salvador, Vilhena and Torrão's plans of study included *ler, escrever e contar* lessons – reading, writing and counting – in addition to catechism, Portuguese, Latin, French and English grammar, geography, politics, and civility. These subjects were considered the foundations of good manners and of society. Other subjects such as dance, music, and drawing belonged to the same category as manners. In Salvador, dance classes were part of the curriculum to reassure parents that students left school not only educated, but also 'polished' and civilised; that they had not wasted their money or, worse still, their time.[89] Boiret and Franche's plans did not include music, dancing, or drawing, but the school was able to arrange such classes if parents wanted, provided they paid for them separately. As previously mentioned, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a change in behaviour that reflected the acquisition of new skills, related to new forms of sociability.

The three schools analysed in this section shared a common concern with organised and detailed timetables. This enabled students to have a disciplined routine that entailed education through the control of the body. Discipline transformed the body into a mechanism to be shaped, controlled, and trained.[90] The discourse of civility, self-control and self-discipline defined the shaping of the burgeois in the colony.[91] Schools were a combination of techniques – special dispositions, drills, timetables, attendance lists – organised to shape the conduct if students in a precise way.[92] Regulations such as these aimed to create docile bodies and obedient characters that would not confront religion and authority.[93] In other words, once at school, children entered a new world of controlled time and discipline, which should be internalised.[94] At the *Maison d'Éducation*, students were expected to wake up around six o'clock and go to bed at

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[89] "*[…]* a fim de que os Porcionistas sahiaõ instruidos e polidos, e seus Pays, e Parentes naõ reputem por mal empregado, naõ só o dinheiro que com elles gastarem, mas athé o tempo, ainda mais preciozo." ANRJ, DP, cx. 144, pct. 1, 1810.
[90] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. pp. 135-138.
[91] Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's history of sexuality and the colonial order of things* p. 8.
[92] Dussel, p. 212.
[93] Swartz et al. p. 1; Asad. p. 125; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. p. 138; Dussel, pp. 209; 223.
[94] Thompson. pp. 388; 395.

nine o'clock in the evening. During the day they would balance study with recreational activities, remaining under permanent supervision. Recreational activities meant a break from the disciplined, controlled practices in the classroom, but also a chance of exercising social manners acquired in the lessons, since it was a supervised time. Once a week, usually on Tuesdays, pupils would have a day off, and if the weather was pleasant, the master would take them for a walk in the city – another opportunity to test their good manners.

Faria's plan was similar to that of the *Maison d'Education*. It did not mention when pupils had to wake up, but stated that there should be enough time for them to study before lessons started. The school's routine in Salvador followed the *Maison d'Education*: between September and March (spring and summer) students had to wake up at six o'clock. This changed slightly between April and August (autumn and winter), when students were to wake up at seven o'clock. Half an hour after waking up, the pupils had to pray. The first lesson in the morning, starting either at eight or eleven o'clock (depending on the term), was Geography, followed by *ler, escrever e contar*, Portuguese, and Latin Grammar. In the afternoon (two o'clock) students would attend French on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. At the same time on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, they would learn English. There was a break between five and six o'clock, and students were obliged to study in silence until nine. On Sundays, pupils attended mass and afterwards learned about religious, universal and national history. The fact that there was a separate part of history dedicated to Brazil is worthy of note, as it is evidence that the country was gradually becoming separate from Portugal. This throws weight behind the idea that a Brazilian identity was gaining force. [95]

The nineteenth century witnessed the rise of history as essential to the education of statesmen and civil servants.[96] Against this background, the formation of new citizens in Brazil proved crucial after the arrival of the court in 1808. The inclusion of national history in the study plan pays testimony to the undergoing transformations in Brazilian culture and education. However, if national history was so meaningful, why was it relegated to Sundays? It is important to note that national history was embryonic in Brazil – as was the idea of nation not only in Brazil, but elsewhere in Europe.

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[95] Schwartz, "The Formation of a Colonial Identity in Brazil," p. 20.
[96] Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: an introduction," p. 20.

Historicism legitimated the idea of European civilisation in the colonies during the nineteenth century; at the same time it recommended colonies wait and to acquire historical consciousness.[97] Therefore, the tension between cultural and educational transformations in Brazil (with national history on Sundays) mirrors the tension within the colonial system.

Schools regulated students' time, not only during the academic year but also in the remainder of their spare time, controlling their holidays, who they could see and when. Boarders in the *Maison* were not allowed to leave school to visit their families unsupervised and never during school days. Parents were encouraged to visit their children only during celebrations or the weekly day off to avoid distracting them. The school was against long holidays, since it was believed that spending too much time away from study made students forget what they had learned. The plan therefore suggested holidays of two weeks during Christmas, eight days for Easter and fifteen days during the festival of St John (June/July). The holidays respected the most important dates in the Christian calendar, reinforcing the idea that religion remained important in spite of laicisation. This goes back to my argument about the materiality of teaching and familial culture, as remaining in school space surrounded by the necessary material means of learning was preferred to the domestic environment, where education was less controlled.

Hygiene is another prominent subject in the plans.[98] At the *Maison d'Éducation* students were supposed to take care of their personal hygiene and change their bed linen three times a week. In Salvador, pupils were expected to bring their own bed and clothes. This rule was intended to bring about cleanliness, another way of thinking about body control and discipline.[99] Bodily health was the responsibility of schools, and for this reason diet was a focus. In Salvador and the French institution in Rio de Janeiro, diet was similar: tea, coffee, milk, toast, and butter for breakfast; soup, meat, rice, stew

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[97] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: postcolonial thought and historical difference*. rinceton studies in culture/power/history. Princeton, N.J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000, pp. 7-8.

[98] Adão. pp. 253-254.

[99] Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: changing attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*. Cambridge; Paris: Cambridge University Press; Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1988; Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," pp. 152; 176-177.

and dessert for lunch at midday; a light snack for tea; fish or meat, and cheese for supper around nine o'clock.

Mealtimes such as breakfast and lunch provided an ideal opportunity to work on pupils' social skills and establish patterns of civility, as mealtimes were not supposed to be silent occasions.[100] Teachers at the *Maison* would read a short text at the beginning of every meal to provide pupils with a topic for controlled conversation. Masters would also observe students' manners and cordiality. During the Old Regime, speech, manner, or appearance considerably influenced the status and importance attributed to a person.[101] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, schools became a stage for the students' performances, where every attitude and glance was evaluated in terms of good speech and proper manners.[102] It was the court's 'good society' – to use Nobert Elias's term – applied to schools.[103]

I would like to highlight one final point in the plans, as it is also related to discipline and control over students' bodies for educational and civilising purposes: the school uniform. Vilhena and Torrão wanted to distinguish their students from others by way of a light blue necklace with a silver medal of Our Lady of *Conceição*.[104] A similar request had been made by Joaquim Manuel de Faria in Rio with the Royal Arms in the place of the saint − declined for being presumptuous. To distinguish from the other schools, students could use another symbol with a different colour (yellow instead of red).[105] The choices of a religious marker and of a symbol of the state reveal two different intertwined conceptions of society and culture in nineteenth-century Brazil. On one hand, the maintenance of the religious culture and on the other, the shaping of a strong

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[100] Dussel, p. 218; Adão. pp. 254-255. E. P Thompson refers to this as "the socialising influence of the schooling process." See: Thompson. p. 387.

[101] Norbert Elias, *The Court Society.* Rev. ed., vol. 2. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006, p. 60.

[102] Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," p. 187.

[103] Elias. p. 69.

[104] "Se elle for digno da approvaçaõ de V. A.R. esperaõ os sup.^es que com ella lhes faça tambem a Graça de lhes conceder o Privi'legio de trazerem os alumnos pendente ao peito uma Medalha de prata com a Senhora da conceiçaõ, por hum cordaõ azul claro, [...]." ANRJ, DP, cx. 144, pct. 1, 1810. Our Lady of Conceição was the patron of Portugal since the Restoration (1640).

[105] "O terceiro hé o trazerem do peito pendentes as Reaes Armas por fita encarnada em signal de Protecção da V.A.R., o q^e taõbem me parece sobejo, podendo quando muito trazer húa medalha de prata com qualquer emblem, q^e quizerem para distincção do seo Collegio pendent de fita amarelle para se não confundirem com as das Ordens Militares." ANRJ, DP, cx. 148, pct. 1, 1811.

state symbolised by the Royal Arms. Requests like these reveal that the institutes sought to differentiate their students and turn them into visible markers of their prestige.[106] Uniforms, colours, and badges were symbolic and served to identify their wearers as members of a community, thus locating them in a hierarchy.[107] These symbols made it possible for students to be 'read' as belonging to a certain social group and having a certain level of education.[108]

Requests to open schools in Brazil followed the European trend towards a 'political anatomy' that aimed at disciplining the body.[109] The organisation of timetables and the distribution of pupils in classroom spaces imposed the same rhythm, regulated repetition, and division of time in activities designed to be promptly obeyed.[110] The assignment of individual places in an organised space made possible the supervision of each pupil and the simultaneous work of all.[111] The educational space became "a learning machine" and a new way of supervising, hierarchizing, and rewarding students.[112] I have examined the educational landscape in the colony from a local perspective; given the influence exerted by French and British culture on modernised Brazil, let us now consider foreign views on the topic.

British and French cultural influence in Brazil: foreign travellers' views on colonial education

The accounts of foreign travellers, as with any historical source, usually offer a biased perspective, although travellers did sometimes recognise their own limitations.[113] Carl Ruders, for example, notes that some travellers based their accounts on imaginary

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[106] Dussel, pp. 213-216; 222.

[107] Ibid., pp. 213-216.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. p. 138.

[110] Ibid., pp. 149-150; 154.

[111] Ibid., p. 147.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Diogo Ramada Curto, "D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho e a Casa Literária do Arco do Cego," in *A Casa Literária do Arco do Cego, 1799-1801, bicentenário: sem livros não há instrução*, ed. Margarida Ortigão Ramos Paes Leme et al. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional; Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1999, pp. 25-26; Burke, "Cultural History as Polyphonic History."

dialogues that they could not have had because they did not know the local language.[114] They are the product of a European tradition that started with colonisation, developed during the nineteenth century, and continued into the twentieth century, restricting knowledge to Europe and historicising it.[115] The European historicism placed the colonies in an "imaginary waiting room of history" and legitimised the idea of civilisation in colonies that were "not yet" ready to become independent from colonial rule.[116] This geopolitics of knowledge have to be taken in consideration when analysing travellers' accounts: they relied on the same argument used in the early stages of colonisation, in which Europeans divided humanity into two categories – superior and inferior – allowing them to justify their rights to rule people that they considered less civilised and therefore unable to govern themselves.[117] I assert that the presence of foreign travellers in nineteenth-century Portugal and Brazil reveals a broader change in Portuguese diplomatic culture, which increasingly tended towards multicultural, transnational exchanges.[118]

This section will analyse two travellers: John Luccock and Auguste de Saint-Hilaire. The British traveller and tradesman John Luccock lived in Brazil between 1808 and 1818, while the French naturalist Auguste de Saint-Hilaire was in the country from 1816 to 1822.[119] The timespan covered by the two travellers was marked by intense economic, political, and cultural change in Portugal and Brazil, hence the importance of their narratives, as they reveal both similarities and differences between places, including the Brazilian countryside. I will focus on their comments on language, culture, and education in Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.

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[114] "Também não faltam outros que, sem critério, fazem menção de tudo quanto aprouve referir-lhes o primeiro indivíduo que enontram, quer por falta de conhecimentos, quer por preconceitos de raça, quer pelo simples prazer de enganar os outros. A mais do que um viajante tenho eu ouvido reproduzir por completo supostas conversações tidas com certo naionais dum país que eles de forma alguma podiam ter conhecido, e numa língua que eles ignoram quase tanto como o próprio para conseguirem entrar em palestra." Ruders. p. 147.

[115] Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. pp. 17; 327-328.

[116] Chakrabarty. pp. 6; 8; 10.

[117] Buettner, p. 256; Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. pp. 318-319.

[118] Curto, "D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho e a Casa Literária do Arco do Cego," pp. 25-26.

[119] Prado Júnior. p. 225.

I will start with the travellers' observations on language. In Luccock's opinion, although Portuguese in Brazil was not written in the "elegant Lisbonian dialect", as it did not differ greatly from it, he could understand and translate into English.[120] Following this, Luccock reflects on one of the consequences of Brazil's newfound elevated status as United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves (1815): it had imprinted on settlers a feeling of national identity, as they started enjoying the same privileges as the mother country.[121] The ramifications of this process contributed to the end of the colonial monopoly and the elimination of Portugal as an obligatory stop for Brazilian exports and imports, which ended in 1808.[122] In 1815 Brazil became equal to Portugal and was no longer a colony. However, it remained politically and economically subordinate to Portugal.[123] This raised the tension between both countries which became more acute with the Port Revolution in 1820 and culminated in Independence in 1822.[124] Economic problems were among the main reasons for the 1820 Porto Revolution. Its participants blamed the moving of the Court to Brazil for the country's problems and considered the treaties with Britain a disaster. Revolutionaries represented by the *Cortes* (a type of Congress) claimed for a constitutional monarchy and the King Joao VI was forced to return to Portugal in 1820, leaving his son, Pedro IV, in charge of Brazil.[125]

On indigenous languages, Luccock and Saint-Hilaire noted their presence and influence on Portuguese; they set about recording them by means of producing short phrasebooks. Luccock included a *Glossary of Indian Words* in his book since "many of them have been adopted by the settlers in Brazil, as to form a Dialect of the Portuguese Language, very different from that of which is spoken at Lisbon".[126] Saint-Hilaire observed that in

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[120] John Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the southern parts of Brazil; taken during a residence of ten years in that country, from 1808 to 1818.* London: S. Leigh, 1820, p. 567.

[121] Ibid., p. 568.

[122] Leslie Bethell, *The Independence of Latin America.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 169.

[123] Ibid., pp. 176-177; Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850.* pp. 99-100.

[124] Bethell. pp. 177-187; Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850*; Monteiro, "Mouzinho da Silveira and the Political Culture of Portuguese Liberalism, 1820–1832," pp. 187;189.

[125] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850.* pp. 109-112.

[126] Luccock. p. vi.

Jacareí, São Paulo, the "sweetness of Brazilian Portuguese that did not occur in Europe, was slow and childish", reminders of the indigenous languages.[127] Luccock placed Brazilian Portuguese in the category of a dialect, not a language, when comparing it to European Portuguese. Further in the text, the British traveller claims that some of the words included in his glossary were "so corrupted by a mixture of syllables from different languages as to render it impossible to give their meaning without a tedious description".[128] Most of the words were "mere names, and admit[ted] of no explanation".[129] Therefore, while the indigenous influence was strong enough to transform Brazilian Portuguese into a dialect, the difference was minimised when Luccock reduced most of it to names. Later, he admitted that the meanings of several words were unknown to him.

Saint-Hilaire also noted that in Jequitinhonha, north of the gold mining district, close to Bahia, all the inhabitants had a basic knowledge of the local indigenous language, and could reproduce the nasal and guttural sounds that were typical of it; there was no difficulty in finding interpreters.[130] These are interesting observations because they provide evidence that in the nineteenth century, Portuguese was not hegemonic in some parts of Brazil. In contrast to Saint-Hilaire, who mentioned an African person interpreting between him and the Botocudo tribe, Luccock did not recognise the influence of African tongues on Brazilian Portuguese.[131] A number of conclusions can be drawn about the Portuguese spoken in Brazil. First of all, both travellers identified the difference between Brazilian and European Portuguese. One can assume that their knowledge of Portuguese was sound, allowing them to identify even subtly different

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[127] "A pronúncia portuguesa toma na boca destes últimos uma doçura que não existe na dos portugueses da Europa; mas aqui esta doçura torna-se já moleza; as inflexões são pouco variadas, e têm qualquer coisa de infantil, que lembra a língua dos índios." In: Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, *Segunda viagem do Rio de Janeiro a Minas Gerais e a São Paulo (1822).* Brasiliana. São Paulo; Rio de Janeiro; Recife; Porto Alegre: Compania Editora Nacional, 1938, p. 155.

[128] Luccock. p. vi.

[129] Ibid.

[130] "Au reste, malgré les difficultés que présente la langue des botocudos, il n'est à S. Miguel presque personne qui n'en sache quelques mots, et s'y trouve même des jeunes gens qui mitent parfaitement toutes les intonations nasales et gutturales de ces sauvages; aussi, pendant mon séjour sur les bords du Jiquitinhonha, ne me fut-il pas difficile de trouver des interprètes." In: Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, "Voyage dans les provinces de Rio de Janeiro et de Minas Geraes," Voyages dans l'intérieur du Brésil ; (Paris: Grimbert et Dorez, 1830), p. 153.

[131] "Je disais des mots portugais á un nègre du commandant qui avait appris l'idiome des sauvages; je faisais répéter les traductions du nègre à un Botocudo […]". In: ibid., pp. 153-154.

accents. On the other hand, it is possible to argue that despite having a basic knowledge of Portuguese, the difference between the Brazilian and the European varieties was so clear that it was impossible not to notice them.

The school system also caught the travellers' attention. In Rio de Janeiro Luccock was left unimpressed by the educational structure.[132] When visiting the College of São José, "the oldest and most renowned" institution of the capital, he was shocked by the negligence of the place which he furthermore linked to its intellectual decadence.[133] Most of the students were very young and gazed at the visitors "with a stupid stare" showing "no elasticity of mind, no inquisitive curiosity, no urbanity of manners, and but little cleanliness of person".[134] From his European/historicist point of view, the traveller immediately concluded that "no ray of science" had penetrated the college.[135] Luccock visited another college where he received the same impression: it was dirty, neglected and had an "air of desolation".[136] He thought slightly better of a college in Rua de São Joaquim, where young students were educated for employment in the state administration.[137]

According to Luccock, there were no primary schools in the colony, and most children learned the basics of reading, writing, and counting "from their father's clerks, in general young men from Portugal, who had emigrated to make the most of their talents".[138] His remark adds weight to a pattern discussed previously: that of young men with a basic education migrating to Brazil to make their fortunes, usually in trading. The new information relayed by the traveller was that tradesmen also worked as teachers, at least informally. Indeed, Luccock stated that a significant number of these immigrants went to Brazil due to the French invasions; some of them turned their accounting skills to gambling, while others became schoolmasters.[139]

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[132] Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-grande & senzala): a study in the development of Brazilian civilization.* p. 405.
[133] Luccock. p. 71.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid., p. 72.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid., p. 127.
[139] Ibid.

According to Saint-Hilaire, at the time of his journey the only educational options available for the population of the mining district were schoolteachers, a number of Latin masters paid by the government (but "totally independent") and one philosophy teacher living in Vila Rica.[140] There were numerous churches, but no charities or public schools.[141] In smaller cities such as Cabo Frio in Rio de Janeiro, there was only one schoolteacher and one Latin master, both paid by the state.[142] The latter did not receive wages for seven years and was "forgotten", forced to work in trade, and uninterested in growing his number of pupils.[143]

Judging by both travellers' observations, the Pombaline educational reforms had had little effect on colonial Brazil, as both affirm that the teaching methods were imperfect and the classrooms were small, with children crammed in.[144] According to Luccock's position, "despite the common degradation in the Brazilian mind", it "might produce great effects if rightly touched".[145] The number of schools and scholars was greater than in the past, but as they remained in Portuguese hands, a lot of time was wasted on "chanting Ave Marias".[146] The traveller was more critical when writing about higher education (colleges): in his opinion, education in these institutions was provided by clergymen and "lay-officers in the Church" who had little knowledge of science or literature.[147] The subjects related to the "clerical profession" were equally poorly served and as a consequence, the Church was "wretchedly and disgracefully supplied".[148] From these excerpts, it is clear that Luccock was a severe critic of the way in which Catholicism dominated education in the Lusophone world. Therefore, it is possible to assume that the educational landscape in colonial Brazil was not as negative as he

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[140] Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem pelo distrito dos diamantes e pelo litoral do Brasil.* Brasiliana, vol. 210. São Paulo; Rio de Janeiro; Recife; Porto Alegre: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1941, pp. 106-107.

[141] Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, *Voyage dans les provinces de Rio de Janeiro et de Minas Geraes.* vol. 1. Paris: Grimbert et Dorez, 1830, p. 175.

[142] Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem pelo distrito dos diamantes e pelo litoral do Brasil.* p. 332.

[143] "É verdade também que esse professor, esquecido pelo governo, havia sete anos que não recebia o ordenado que lhe era atribuído e, sendo forçado a dedicar-se ao comércio, para viver, ele não tinha nenhum interesse em atrair grande número de discípulos." In: ibid.

[144] Luccock. p. 127.

[145] Ibid., p. 128.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid., p. 28.

portrayed, since he was inclined to condemn anything different to the British system as inferior.

Luccock summarised his view on education in colonial Brazil as follows: there were very few means of instruction, and since the population was indifferent to the acquisition of a better education, the colony was "sunk in ignorance".[149] He concluded that even among the higher ranks of society the level of general knowledge was very low, let alone among "common people".[150] Unlike Luccock, Saint-Hilaire mentions that many Brazilians had attended the University of Coimbra; clearly Luccock is unaware of this fact.[151] His impression of colonial culture changes somewhat when he visits other parts of Brazil.

The British traveller states that a London physician and professor of medicine in Sabará once prescribed the same medicine for a pulmonary condition: a plant that grew in abundance in Brazil. Luccock is not very emphatic in his assertion, but in this part of his text he recognises that there were educated men in Brazil, despite what he had seen. Saint-Hilaire's observations strengthen Luccock's case, as he recognises that some people in Brazil were highly intelligent and that it was possible to find erudite men who spoke other languages such as English, French, and German, even in the most remote parts of Minas Gerais.[152] Indeed, while returning from the mining district to Rio de Janeiro, Luccock stops off at one of the main tax registers, Matias Barbosa. There he witnesses customs officers inspecting a shipment of books, which according to Luccock was "of all suspected articles the most scrutinized".[153] Among the titles, he was pleasantly surprised to see a Portuguese translation of Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (analysed in chapter three). When John Luccock finally returned to Rio de Janeiro ten years later, he was impressed to see that the number of schools had grown. He mentions an advertisement in the Gazette of Rio de Janeiro for a school for women where daughters, servants, and even slaves learned to read, write, and count. The gazette

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[149] Ibid., p. 129.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Saint-Hilaire, "Voyage dans les provinces de Rio de Janeiro et de Minas Geraes," p. 16; Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem pelo distrito dos diamantes e pelo litoral do Brasil*. pp. 106-107; 136-137.

[152] Saint-Hilaire, *Voyage dans les provinces de Rio de Janeiro et de Minas Geraes*. pp. x; 269-270; 45-451; ibid., p. 16; Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem pelo distrito dos diamantes e pelo litoral do Brasil*. pp. 154-155.

[153] Luccock. p. 479.

announced at least fifteen women's college in Rio de Janeiro after the arrival of the Portuguese royal family.[154]

Luccock and Saint-Hilaire's accounts of early nineteenth-century Brazil highlight the distinction between Brazilian and European Portuguese, attributing it to the influence of indigenous languages. They also pay witness to the preservation of old pedagogical methods and problems with schooling, at the same time highlighting the changes that took place after the court arrived in Brazil. I have attempted to demonstrate the transatlantic connections between Brazil, Portugal, Africa, England, and France through the daily practices of speaking and writing. In doing so, I have exposed the cultural mobility, movement of people, texts, ideas and goods embedded in colonialism.[155] In the following section, I will continue to analyse the importance of cross-cultural exchanges, particularly with France.

The Royal Library in Rio de Janeiro and the French learning tradition

One of the major cultural developments witnessed by Luccock was the inauguration of the Royal Library in Rio de Janeiro. I will analyse three reference books that originally belonged to the Royal Library, and expose relevant methodology connected with the language question in colonial Brazil. I use hard or digitalised copies of works listed in eighteenth-century private library catalogues in Portugal, nineteenth-century booksellers' catalogues in Lisbon, and also in book shipments they made to Brazil.[156] In doing so, the following section aims to cast light on the influence of French on reading habits and education in the Lusophone world. In spite of the British support against Napoleon that contributed to the rise of English in Brazil, the colonial elites remained inclined to learn French (a synonym of erudition).[157]

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[154] Silva, "A educação da mulher e das crianças no Brasil colônia," p. 137.

[155] Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: an introduction," p. 7; Greenblatt, "A Mobility Studies Manifesto," pp. 250-251.

[156] ANTT, RMC, cx. 114-131; 151; 153-157; 163; 494-495.

[157] Ruders. p. 58; Burns, p. 227; Monteiro, "Mouzinho da Silveira and the Political Culture of Portuguese Liberalism, 1820–1832," p. 185.

The Pombaline reforms had not yet been implemented when some of these works were published, but Luís António Verney had already published *O Verdadeiro Método de Estudar* (1746) in which he advocated learning the mother tongue prior to any foreign language. The study of other languages in Portuguese was esteemed in the early nineteenth century, but it reinforced the importance of learning the mother tongue first while a general interest in grammar provided part of the inspiration for the standardisation of Portuguese. The case of *Gramática Francesa ou Arte para aprender o Francês por meio da Língua Portuguesa* (French grammar or art to learn French through the Portuguese language) by Luís Caetano de Lima (1756) strengthens this theory: in its first part, *Gramática Francesa* provides explanations in Portuguese.[158] Similarly, Francisco Clamopin Durand (1768) in *O Mestre Francês ou Novo Método para aprender a Lingua Francesa por meio da Portuguesa* (the French master or new method to learn the French language by way of Portuguese) also used sentences in Portuguese followed by French.[159] To explain pronunciation, Clamopin also used Portuguese and highlighted when they were similar.

The dedications of these works offer a glimpse into the importance of language and patronage in the Lusophone world.[160] They also pay testimony to propaganda powers of the printing press, which authors made use of.[161] Lima dedicated his book to the Prince (possibly King José I), writing in its inscription that "the speech of a great Prince should not be limited to the national tongue".[162] The main reason the author gave for his dedication was that the King should never depend on translators to communicate his message. He argues that this would threaten the King's authority and place him in a vulnerable position in which his power would be fragmented. Lima also makes

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[158] Luís Caetano de Lima, *Grammatica franceza, ou, Arte para aprender o francez por meyo da lingua portuguesa* Lisboa: Officina de Joseph da Costa Coimbra, 1756. The second part is the dictionary of French-Portuguese.

[159] Francisco Clamopin Durand, *O mestre francez, ou Novo methodo para aprender a lingua franceza por meio da portugueza confirmada com exemplos escolhidos, tirados dos melhores autores* Porto: Off. Francisco Mendes Lima, 1768. For more information about Clamopin's life, see: Martins. pp. 391; 616-620; 662; 715-717; Olímpia Maria da Cunha Loureiro, *O livro e a leitura no Porto no século XVIII* Porto: Centro de Estudos D. Domingos de Pinho Brandão: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 1994, p. 43.

[160] Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*. pp. 45-46.

[161] Ibid.

[162] "Ponho aos pés de Vossa Alteza o methodo de aprender huma lingua estrangeira, entendendo que o discurso de um taõ grande Príncipe se não deve accommodar só ao exercicio da sua lingua nacional". Lima. pp. 2-3.

reference to King João V, urging José I to take after his father in his love of the arts and science. The editors of *Nuveau Dictionnaire François-Portugais*, French booksellers Borel & Borel, dedicated the dictionary to the Portuguese nation in recognition of the country's welcome.[163] Joaquim José da Costa dedicated the *Nouveau Dictionnaire* to the monarch in 1786. He claimed that the dictionary was useful because it dealt with two important languages: French, the language of erudition and literature, and Portuguese, the language of the brilliant and glorious deeds of the Portuguese sovereigns.[164] The sovereign was addressed as the Protector of Science and Belles-Lettres.

Equally interesting are the prologues/forewords of the books. In the prologue of *O Mestre Francês*, Clamopin justifies the popularity of French (and the importance of learning it), writing about the excellence of French literature and the ease of explaining ideas in the language. According to the author, Portugal was one of the nations that most studied French, albeit with old-fashioned methods. Clamopin claimed that he had developed an easy and fast method that made it possible to learn French without a teacher. Published for the first time in 1767, it was in its eighth edition in 1809. In 1771, censor Luiz do Monte Carmelo authorised the reprinting of the book. However, this was on the condition that the excerpt stating that it was enough to read "Alemberts, Diderots, and Voltaires" to learn French, was suppressed. This would have been an apology to authors that the Royal Board of Censorship had prohibited. [165]

Luís Caetano de Lima also highlighted the importance of learning French to facilitate the study of arts and sciences, particularly because most Latin and Greek classics were translated from French into Portuguese. Lima touches on a number of other important issues around the language in his foreword, such as standardisation, translation, and meaning of learning French in the Lusophone world. The author starts by explaining

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[163] Manoel de Sousa and Joaquim José da Costa e Sá, *Nouveau dictionnaire françois-portugais.* Lisbonne: Borel & Borel: Impr. de S.T. Ferreira, 1784. The Nouveau Dictionnaire François-Portugais had been left unfinished by Manoel de Sousa and Joaquim José da Costa e Sá published it after his death.

[164] "Uma Obra, qual este Diccionario, que é o Thesouro universal da Lingua Franceza, quero dizer, da Lingua dos Sabios que florescêraõ em todas as mais illustres épocas da Litteratura, e da erudiçaõ, e o Thesouro da Lingua Portugueza, onde lemos escritas as brilhantes acções, e gloriosos feitos dos grandes, e mui esclarecido Reis de Portugal, e de seus valorosos Capitães, como tambem as doutas Composições de nossos egregios Sabios *[…].*" Ibid.

[165] Martins. p. 812.

that his manual came about as a result of twenty years of study in the Parisian court. At the same time, Lima apologised for the spelling mistakes, as very few Frenchmen, let alone foreigners, were experts in French grammar. This humility did not prevent Lima from criticising certain scholars who, in his opinion, had little knowledge of the subjects within the foreign language manuals they wrote. Lima was conservative in his approach to language learning: according to him, it was not enough to understand and be understood when speaking another language; people should either speak French accurately or not attempt to speak it at all, particularly preeminent personalities. Therefore, those readers looking for a standard instruction should not have bothered with Lima's grammar book, as it was written only for "studious and polite" men who wished to speak properly.[166]

In order to illuminate the methodology that Luís Caetano de Lima used in his book, and to partially reconstruct Lusophone reading habits, we must also look at the author's other works. Lima wrote an Italian manual that was published in 1756 and in 1736 an *Ortografia da Língua Portuguesa* (Portuguese language orthography).[167] This orthography appeared in the private library catalogues handed to the Royal Board of Censorship in 1769, unlike Lima's French and Italian manuals, which did not appear once.[168] It is important to note that the contents of the catalogues handed to the Board in 1769 reflected seventeenth and early eighteenth century readership.[169] Therefore, formal interest in foreign languages in the Lusophone world was a late eighteenth and early nineteenth century phenomenon. On the other hand, books other than Lima's Portuguese orthography appeared in booksellers' catalogues or in the lists of books sent to Brazil.[170] This was probably a consequence of the increasing number of grammar books and orthographies on Portuguese after the Pombaline reforms, with Lima's orthography most likely surpassed by others.

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[166] "*[…]* naõ he para esta sorte de homens, que eu dou á luz a minha Grammatica, mas só para pessoas estudiosas, e polîdas, que procuraõ fallar as Linguas com acerto". See 'Prologo" in: Lima. p. 5.
[167] Luis Caetano de Lima, *Orthographia da lingua portugueza.* Lisboa Occidental: Off. Antonio Isidoro, 1736. This was an octavo book, therefore easy to carry and consult.
[168] Loureiro. p. 47.
[169] Tavares, p. 75.
[170] ANTT, RMC, cx. 114-131; 151; 153-157; 163; 494-495.

Lima subscribed to the same etymological tradition as Madureira Feijó, Friar Luiz do Monte Carmelo, and João Pinheiro da Cunha.[171] In his orthography, Luís Caetano de Lima explained that he used Latin as a model for the standardisation of Portuguese spelling despite the fact that the people who most required this kind of instruction had no knowledge of Latin.[172] Lima also argued that in his time, grammar books were seen as inferior because they were not as difficult to write as philosophy books, for example.[173] This position changed after the reforms but may explain why Lima's book was so ubiquitous in private libraries: in addition to Madureira Feijó and Jerônimo Argote, there were few alternatives, except for the sixteenth and seventeenth century grammar books by João de Barros and Duarte Nunes Leão.

Learning foreign languages in the Lusophone world was a means of accessing scientific and literary works that were not available in Portuguese. This was an important way of connecting Portugal and Brazil to other European countries and facilitating cross-cultural exchanges across the Atlantic. If other languages such as English and Italian became more popular in the nineteenth century, French also maintained its prominence, with some manuals being published several times. Good command of French was essential not only for scholars but also for Kings, who ought not to compromise the legitimacy of their power by resorting to translators. The idea of learning second languages first in Portuguese was introduced in the late seventeenth century, and continued in full force during the nineteenth century, as the books analysed in this section have shown. Booksellers acted as printers and writers, and used a number of strategies to thrive in their trade. Some French booksellers faced persecution after the French invasions, but these individuals were not the only ones suspected of conspiring against the Portuguese Crown. Ordinary citizens also came under surveillance – particularly journalists. The next section will look at periodicals written in Portuguese and published in London.

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[171] Gonçalves. pp. 40-42.
[172] Lima.
[173] Ibid.

Portuguese periodicals in London: reflections on language and educational methods

The debate about teaching methods and language appears in myriad sources, including periodicals and newspapers. The existence of articles on education reveals that the subject was not only a matter of state regulation; it involved other professionals who also acted as cultural intermediaries, such as journalists. Before moving on to the question of language and education in Portuguese periodicals published in London, I would like to briefly comment on the history of the Portuguese press to contextualise the periodicals.

Pamphlets began circulating in Portugal during the seventeenth century, with the first gazettes in 1641 (*Gazetas da Restauração* or restoration gazette) and 1663 (*Mercúrio Português* or Portuguese mercury). These were published in the context of the Iberian Union (1580-1640) and aimed at unifying the Portuguese aristocracy, which was torn between national sovereignty and connections with Spain[174] The first official newspaper appeared in 1715 (*Gazeta de Lisboa* or Lisbon gazette) and targeted wider audiences beyond the political circles in Lisbon.[175] The Marquis of Pombal prohibited the *Gazeta* in 1762; between 1768 and 1777 no other periodicals were founded in Portugal.[176] During the reign of Maria I the *Gazeta* reappeared (1778) under different names, which changed according to the political landscape (lasting until 1974).[177] Following the first French invasion (1807), the number of political pamphlets and newspapers in Portugal increased at a rate never seen before in the country – particularly between 1812 and 1820.

Following the second invasion (1809), the government relaxed censorship of the press in the hope that it would help mobilise the population against the invaders.[178] When the danger passed in 1810, the administration, fearful about the propagation of liberal ideas, tightened censorship once again.[179] By liberal ideas I refer to a "theory and practice of mixed monarchy operating within the boundaries established by a written constitution

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[174] José Tengarrinha, *Nova História da Imprensa Portuguesa: das origens a 1865.* Lisboa: Temas e Debates - Círculo de Leitores, 2013, pp. 31; 49; 61.

[175] Ibid., pp. 31; 68.

[176] Ibid., p. 71; Juliana Gesuelli Meirelles, *Imprensa e poder na corte joanina: a Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro (1808-1821).* Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 2008, p. 55.

[177] Tengarrinha. pp. 83; 885-886.

[178] Ibid., p. 185.

[179] Ibid.

based on modern principles limiting the authority of the executive", as stated by Paquette who prefers the term constitutionalism.[180] At this time, the agents of Portuguese censorship and the police struggled to regulate Portuguese press published abroad.[181] After the third French invasion (1811), the government exiled a number of people and persecuted journalists, not because of their criticism of Napoleon or their opposition to the French invasions, but because they advocated liberal ideas.[182] Forced to emigrate, these journalists continued the liberal debate in foreign lands, openly defending the notion of a constitutional order.[183] Portuguese periodicals published abroad were largely responsible for the circulation of ideas that sparked the 1820 Porto Revolution.[184]

In order to understand the role of the Portuguese press abroad, it is essential to consider not only the history of the Portuguese press and censorship, but also the importance of Portuguese tradesmen in London, Brazil, and Lisbon. London-based Portuguese newspapers spread with the help of a network of overseas tradesmen and their agents, as London occupied a strategic position in the commercial relationship between Brazil and Portugal.[185] It was safer to send newspapers to Portugal and Brazil in British vessels than in the nation's own fleets, as the Portuguese authorities were not allowed to inspect them.[186] These examples add to our understanding of why London, not Paris, became the centre of the Portuguese press during the first wave of emigration, although there were Portuguese periodicals in Paris, too.[187]

In this section, I will look at three periodicals published in London between 1813 and 1823: *O Campeão Portuguez ou Amigo do Rei e do Povo; Correio Braziliense; O Investigador Portuguez em Inglaterra*. My objective is to analyse the ideal of education

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[180] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850.* pp. 123-124; Monteiro, "Mouzinho da Silveira and the Political Culture of Portuguese Liberalism, 1820–1832," pp. 185-189.

[181] Schultz. p. 116.

[182] Tengarrinha. p. 175.

[183] Ibid., p. 186.

[184] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850.* p. 254. For more about the Porto Revolution, see: ibid., pp. 109-112.

[185] Tengarrinha. pp. 186-187; Monteiro, "Mouzinho da Silveira and the Political Culture of Portuguese Liberalism, 1820–1832."

[186] Tengarrinha. p. 188.

[187] Ibid; Monteiro, "Mouzinho da Silveira and the Political Culture of Portuguese Liberalism, 1820–1832," p. 187.

that flourished in Portugal and arrived in Brazil during the decade that preceded independence. I also aim to look at how Brazilian and Portuguese identities were conveyed by the press. According to J. Tengarrinha, these periodicals were of high quality and extremely influential both in Brazil and Portugal.[188] Literature testifies to the presence of London-based Portuguese periodicals in Brazil: the Public Library of Bahia held editions of the *Correio Braziliense* in 1817; these also circulated in Ceará.[189]

I will begin with an article published in 1820 by *O Campeão Portuguez ou Amigo do Rei e do Povo* (the Portuguese Champion or the King's and the People's Friend).[190] It offers insight useful when reflecting on the formation of language, identity, and power in Brazil, and also when thinking about the political rupture between Brazil and Portugal.[191] The article states that in contrast to Spanish America, Brazil was mostly inhabited by Portuguese people born in Brazil whose descendants were considered Portuguese. It asserts that the indigenous people in Spanish America were more civilised than the Brazilian Amerindians who either lived isolated lives in the countryside in non-civilised communities, or mingled with the Portuguese colonists without any civil of political voice.[192] The essay does not discuss African slaves because they were "strangers" in the country, but it considers Afro-descendants to be Portuguese instead of casting them aside as mixed, or non-Portuguese. Hence, there was a "natural connection" between Europeans and Brazilian Portuguese that did not exist between the European Spanish and the American Spanish.[193] However, the article notes

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[188] Tengarrinha. p. 188.

[189] Carlos Rizzini, *Hipólito da Costa e o Correio Braziliense.* São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1957, pp. 28-29.

[190] The periodical was published between 1814 and 1822. Tengarrinha. pp. 67; 175; 183; 188.

[191] "O Campeão Portuguez ou O Amigo do Rei e do Povo ", ed. José Liberato Freire De Carvalho (Londres: L. Thompson, 1819-21), vol. 3, nº 27, 1820, pp. 124-125.

[192] "O Brazil pode dizer-se completamente habitado por Portuguezes, quer ahi nascidos, quer na Europa; porque os Indios indigenas do paiz ou vivem no interior sem fazer corpo de naçaõ civilisada, ou em mui pequeno numero vivem com nosco, sem nenhuma influencia civil ou politica. Assim he claro que se nas Americas Hespanholas pode haver um motivo plausivel de antipathia, e desuniaõ entre Americanos e Europeos, esse motivo não existe, nem deve racionavelmente existir entre Portuguezes Europeos ou Brazileiros, por que todos elles formaõ a mesma familia, e saõ exlusivamente descendentes do mesmo tronco Europeo." in *O Campeaõ Portuguez, ou O Amigo do Rei e do Povo. Jornal politico publicado mensalmente para advogar a causam e interesses de Portugal*, ed. Great St Helens L. Thompson (Londres: 1820), p. 125. vol. III, nº XXV.

[193] "Logo he evidente que entre Portuguezes Europeos e Portuguezes Brazileiros ha mais ligaçaõ natural que, por exemplo, he entre Hespanhoes Europeos e Americanos […]." Ibid., p. 125.

that both nations shared the same 'education'.[194] In doing do, it reinforces the idea that the Portuguese gave the impression of being in greater numbers than they actually were.

Developing the subject of education, I will look at the *Correio Braziliense ou Armazém Literario* (1808-1822), edited by Hipólito José da Costa.[195] Historiography considers *Correio* the first Brazilian periodical, the first Portuguese newspaper that circulated in spite of censorship, and a pioneer of the Portuguese political press.[196] Born in the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro in 1774, Hipólito is considered the founding father of the Brazilian Press.[197] He studied in Coimbra and lived in the United States from 1798 to 1800.[198] He then returned to Lisbon, where he worked with Friar Conceição Veloso at the *Arco do Cego* typography.[199] In 1802, Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, the Marine and Overseas Minister and founder of Arco do Cego (1799), sent Hipólito to London to buy books for the Public Library and machinery for the *Impressão Régia*.[200] Hipólito also had private business to discuss in the British capital, which, according to C. Rizzini, was related to freemasonry.[201] When Hipólito returned to Lisbon in 1802, he was imprisoned on suspicion of being a freemason.[202] He escaped from the Inquisition in 1805, migrated to England and died in 1823.[203]

In his early years in London (1805-1808), Hipólito José da Costa lived on small commercial and journalistic translations, and also gave lessons in Portuguese.[204] In 1808 he founded the *Correio Braziliense* and apparently lived on the profits of its

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[194] Ibid., p. 126.

[195] Rizzini. pp. 18-19; José Marques de Melo, "Hipólito José da Costa: patrono oficial da Imprensa Brasileira," in *Imprensa brasileira: personagens que fizeram história*, ed. José Marques de Melo. São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo; Universidade Metodista de São Paulo, 2005, p. 16.

[196] Rizzini. pp. 18-19.

[197] Melo, pp. 15-16.

[198] Rizzini. pp. 3-4; Melo, p. 16.

[199] Rizzini. p. 6.

[200] Ibid., p. 7; Curto, "D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho e a Casa Literária do Arco do Cego," p. 15. Souza Coutinho was Pombal's nephew and similarly to his uncle he also wanted to modernise Portugal and its domains. See: Paquette, "Views from the South: images of Britain and its empire in Portuguese and Spanish political economic discourse, ca. 1740-1810," p. 77. More about Hipólito José da Costa, his stay in the United Sates and *Arco do Cego* in Neil Safier, "A Courier Between Empires," in *Soundings in Atlantic History*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 2011.

[201] Rizzini. p. 7.

[202] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[203] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[204] Ibid., p. 16.

subscriptions until 1822 when it ceased circulating. As editor in chief, Hipólito was in favour of keeping the United Kingdom of Brazil, Portugal and the Algarves opposed to the periodical *O Portuguez ou Mercúrio Político*, which advocated for a parliamentary monarchy based in Lisbon.[205] (The editor of *O Portuguez* was João Bernardo da Rocha Loureiro, a lawyer who also left Portugal fearing repression. *O Portuguez* was also very critical towards the government.)[206] After the Liberal Revolution in 1820, Hipólito began defending the separation, realising that it was only a matter of time before it became a reality.[207]

The *Correio* was usually divided into the following sections: politics, commerce and arts, literature and science, and miscellanea. In its 11th edition, Hipólito apologises for the lack of literary and scientific news about Portugal and Brazil in previous editions, owing, he says, to the abundance of political events, and including European ideas that he considers relevant and likely to be applied in Brazil.[208] Most of the news was connected with politics, but for the purposes of this dissertation I will look at a number of essays about the Portuguese language, culture, and education. In 1813, *Correio Braziliense* published the Royal Science Academy of Lisbon's annual programme.[209] This gives evidence of the weight with which matters related to culture were endowed by the periodical, as well as the newspaper's recognition of the institution. The programme discusses various subjects, including history and chemistry. The section on the Portuguese language is revealing of the efforts to standardise the language which continued into the nineteenth century. The aim of the Academy was to examine the grammatical rules used by the most respectable Portuguese authors, whilst perpetuating the view that the Portuguese language was a 'daughter' of Latin. The ultimate reason for the establishment of rules such as these was for the education of the youth, who would continue their studies in rhetoric.

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[205] Ibid., p. 43; Tengarrinha. p. 208. For an specific work on this periodical see José Augusto dos Santos Alves, *Ideologia e política na imprensa do exílio: O Portuguez (1814-1826)*. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, Centro de História da Cultura da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1992.

[206] Rizzini. p. 43; Tengarrinha. p. 204.

[207] Tengarrinha. p. 210.

[208] "Correio Brazilienze ou Armazém Literário," ed. Hipólito José da Costa (Brasília; São Paulo: Correio Braziliense; Imprensa Oficial, 2001), vol. 2, nº11, p. 349; Melo, p. 16.

[209] "Correio Brazilienze ou Armazém Literário," pp. 160-162.Vol. 13, nº 75.

In 1819 Hipólito revealed his ideal of language standardisation in a review of the newly published work *Dicionário Universal da Língua Portuguesa* (universal dictionary of the Portuguese language).[210] The editor considered the book useful and well written but disagreed with the dictionary's choice of spelling. Hipólito had expected its editors to show the etymology of each word in order for spelling to be standardised with "more authority".[211] Costa had also hoped that pronunciation would have been recorded using different symbols, alluding to the phonetic alphabet. Such remarks demonstrate Hipólito's awareness of the conventions to represent phonetics, which involves a specialised type of knowledge.[212] Hipólito added that such was the methodology used in European dictionaries, and since Portuguese was derived from several languages, it was even more important to follow this system. This brings us again to the question of the need to modernise the Lusophone world according to higher European cultural standards. With regard to orthography, Costa held a traditional view, praising the organisers for not choosing spelling based on pronunciation, as the latter "changed as fast as fashion".[213] It is noteworthy that he criticised the instability of spelling that followed pronunciation; standardisation required fixed patterns.

In addition to language, Hipólito José da Costa was concerned about other cultural subjects. In 1814 he suggested that a Portuguese Library be established in London.[214] The library would serve as a meeting point for Portuguese people living in London where they would encounter the 'national spirit'.[215] This statement allows the interpretation that language was part of the process of identifying as Portuguese. The library was intended as a place dedicated to Portuguese literature that promoted patriotism. Reading Portuguese literature would help maintain the purity of the

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[210] Ibid., pp. 235-238.Vol. 23, nº 136

[211] "Quanto a etymologia, éra para desejar, que os compiladores deste diccionario dessem a raiz, donde a palavra se deriva, nos mesmos caracteres da lingua original: seguir-se-hia dahi a vantagem de fixar com melhor authoridade a orthographia; *[…].*"Ibid., p. 236.Vol. 23, nº 136.

[212] Ibid., pp. 235-238.Vol. 23, nº 136.

[213] "Quanto á Ortographia, os Compiladores seguem a derivativa, que he sem divida a mais capaz de expressar o sentido dos vocabulos, livre do capricho da pronuncia, que varia todos os dias, quasi como as modas no vestir." Ibid., p. 238.Vol. 23, nº 136.

[214] Ibid., pp. 727-729.Vol. 15, nº 91

[215] "Tendo, porem, crescido neste paíz o numero de Portuguezes, he para sentir que naõ tenham um ponto de reuniaõ commum, que indique áo mesmo tempo o seo *espirito nacional*, e o amor, e veneraçaõ que todas as nações devem ter pelas couzas que constituem os brazões mais eeplendidos da sua gloria". Ibid., p. 727.Vol. 15, nº 91.

Portuguese language, which Portuguese immigrants were on the verge of losing as they lived abroad. Therefore, language and linguistic rules were a remedy for mobility that put identity at stake.[216] It also brings us back to the idea that the Portuguese language was embedded in the sense of groupness and rootedness.

I will now analyse a second Portuguese periodical published in London: *O Investigador Portuguez em Inglaterra* (the Portuguese investigator in England), published monthly between 1811 and 1819.[217] The paper was edited by three physicians: Bernardo José de Abrantes e Castro, Vicente Pedro Nolasco da Cunha, and Miguel Caetano de Castro.[218] In 1814, José Liberato Freire de Carvalho became part of the editorial board.[219] Liberato was a liberal, a freemason, and a member of the Academia Real de Ciências de Lisboa.[220] The Portuguese administration intended for *O Investigador* to compete with *Correio Braziliense*, and ordered it be sent to a number of captaincies in Brazil; it supposedly praised the court in Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon.[221] In 1812, however, the political authorities condemned both periodicals as "seditious" and "venomous" for writing against Portuguese politicians.[222] By 1816 *O Investigad*or was still receiving subsidies from the Crown, but the Portuguese ambassador in London advised Liberato to moderate his tone in his political essays.[223] Liberato did not follow the advice, as when José Liberato Freire de Carvalho quit *O Investigador Portuguez*, he started his own newspaper: *O Campeão Portuguez ou Amigo do Rei e do Povo* (1819-1821), published fortnightly, then monthly.[224]

The fact that language was included in a political periodical demonstrates that it was intrinsically connected with power and control. In a letter about a French translation of *Os Lusíadas* (The Lusiads) by Camões, the sender (anonymous to the reader, but probably familiar to the editors) apologises for having sent a French translation to a

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[216] Ines G. Zupanov, ""The Wheel of Torments": mobility and redemption in Portuguese colonial India (sixteenth century)," in *Cultural Mobility: a manifesto*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 70.

[217] Tengarrinha. p. 188.

[218] Ibid.

[219] Ibid. See: ibid.

[220] Maria Filomena Mónica and Pedro Tavares Almeida, *Dicionário Biográfico Parlamentar, 1834-1910* vol. 1 A-C. Lisboa Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2004-2006, pp. 650-653.

[221] Tengarrinha. p. 200; Rizzini. p. 42.

[222] Tengarrinha. pp. 189-190.

[223] Ibid., pp. 191; 193.

[224] Mónica and Almeida. pp. 650-653.

Portuguese periodical. This statement sets the tone for the rest of the letter, which combines the glorification of the Portuguese language at the expense of French, with that of self-appraisal through modesty. According to the sender, it was difficult to translate the best modern poem from a "rich and sonorous" language (Portuguese) into an "infinitely poorer, drier and flamboyant" one (French).[225]

The translator goes further in claiming that it was difficult to translate *Os Lusíadas* into any language, particularly French, because its poetry was "limited and less bold".[226] The sender nevertheless accepted the task as Camões was not only Portuguese, but one of Europe's foremost literary figures.[227] If we consider the Napoleonic invasions and their consequences, it is possible to infer that the anonymous author has projected his aversion to France onto his translation of *Os Lusíadas,* by discrediting the French language. In his discourse, there is a clear desire to elevate Portugal to the same cultural level as Europe, which he achieved by claiming that Camões, despite writing in Portuguese, was not restricted by the borders of Portugal, belonging instead to the European 'republic of letters'.

Moving on to the question of educational methods, I will analyse essays on the Lancaster method from both the *Correio Braziliense* and *O Investigador*. In 1816, the Londoner typographers J. M. Creery of Fleet Street published the pamphlet *Proposals for establishing in the metropolis a day school in which an example may be set on the application of the methods of Dr Bell, Mr Lancaster and others to the higher branches of Education.*[228] Their work sought to establish an affordable school in London in order to make education available to poor children, championing "the inestimable advantages of a liberal education".[229] The pamphlet criticised the educational practices of the time, noting that in London "a great number of tradesmen and others can, and do, afford to maintain their sons, without placing them in any money-getting occupations, from the

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[225] "O Investigador Portuguez em Inglaterra ou jornal literario, politico, etc," (Londres: H. Bryer; T. C. Hansard, Officina Portugueza, 1811-18), vol. 8, pp. 426-427.

[226] Ibid., p. 428.

[227] Ibid.

[228] Andrew Bell, Joseph Lancaster, and Jeremy Bentham, *Proposals for establishing in the metropolis, a day school, in which an example may be set of the application of the methods of Dr. Bell, Mr. Lancaster, and others, to the higher branches of education.* London: J. M'Creery, 1816. In 1813 Hipólito José da Costa published a note about a book on Dr. Bell's System of Education written by Frederico Iremonger. See: "Correio Brazilienze ou Armazém Literário," p. 291.vol. X

[229] Bell et al. p. 4.

age of seven to fourteen, or sixteen years, paying for a species of education which scarcely extends beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic."[230] With the new method, the British middle class would have access to a better education at a lower cost.

By 1815 *O Investigador* had published an article on public education reviewing the Lancaster mutual teaching method.[231] The article starts by stating that the nineteenth century was an enlightened time and that the spread of moral education among all social groups, particularly poor children, was essential to promote civilisation and stability. The article criticises the education system in Portugal for being too expensive and for taking up too much time in comparison to the Lancaster method. According to the article, the greatest innovations of the new method lay in classroom layout. The essay quotes from *Proposals for establishing*, providing evidence that the method was already known to the public before the pamphlet emerged in 1816.

O Investigador summarised the mutual method as the following. The teacher would stand in front of the classroom at a (literally) higher level than the pupils. The students would sit on benches with desks in front of them, and lessons would be on the side walls, with each student having a slate and pencil, but no paper, ink or pen. The group was divided into different abilities and one student would be in charge of each section, acting as a supervisor. Using rotation, the supervisor would call on students to spell a word displayed on the wall which everybody else would write down. In cases of misspelling, a pupil could try to correct his classmate's mistake, taking his place. The idea was that the boys would be able to work as monitors in all stages of learning and no more supervisors would be required. This meant that students would be constantly alert and would strive to achieve the highest positions in class, with the teacher merely supervising and intervening if necessary.

No specific religious doctrine was taught. Instead, the teacher would instruct pupils in general Christian principles. In the editor's opinion, this method was economical because it used few or no books, and in one year a student could efficiently learn to read, count, and write. Other advantages were the attention and order it bestowed inside the classroom. In the Lancaster method the young boys who stood out were able to act as teachers for poor children. According to the essay, the method was a success not only

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[230] Ibid.

[231] "O Investigador Portuguez em Inglaterra ou jornal literario, politico, etc," vol. 14, pp. 28-40.

in Britain, but also in France. *O Investigador'*s essay urged the Portuguese administration to invite British tutors to introduce the method to Portugal and Brazil.

Correio Braziliense also dedicated five essays to the Lancaster method between 1816 and 1817. In most, like *O Investigador*, the *Correio* explains how the system functioned. The first article is the most useful for grasping Hipólito's ideas on education. In his opinion, the education system implemented in Portugal after the expulsion of the Jesuits was expensive and limited. He did not mention them by name, but was most certainly referring to the Pombaline reforms and was in favour of spreading elementary education by new means. [232] He nevertheless held a hierarchical view that education should be based on the social level of the student. In other words, men who were destined for manual activities should not waste their time on "abstract sciences".[233] The aim was to reduce the cost of education and spread elementary instruction to poor children without, depriving the working class of labouring time. Hipólito then suggested using the Bell and Lancaster method, which was "honourable of emulation" in Portugal and Brazil, where elementary education was desperately needed.[234] The editor then proposed to publish essays on the method, which he hoped would be taken up by "brave and perseverant" minds.[235]

In his second essay Hipólito questions who conceived the method – Dr Bell or Mr Lancaster.[236] According to him, both had invented it at the same time but in different places: Bell in the British schools in India and Lancaster in London. In his opinion, Lancaster was more successful because he was less strict on religion than Bell. While the latter only accepted students whose parents agreed that their children would be

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[232] "Correio Brazilienze ou Armazém Literário," pp. 346-350.Vol. 16, nº 95.

[233] "Por este principio se naõ deve occupar a mocidade de um homem, destinado pelas circumstancias a um officio mechanico, no estudo de sciencias abstractas, que naõ tem relaçaõ com o trabalho manual, em que tal indivíduo se deve empregar." Ibid., p. 347.Vol. 16, nº 95.

[234] "*[...]* é por isso que intentamos propôllos como exemplo digno de imitar-se em Portugal, e no Brasil, aonde a necessidade da educaçaõ elementar he taõ manifesta, que julgamos naõ carecer de desmonstraçaõ". Ibid., p. 348.Vol. 16, p. 95.

[235] "Esperamos, que alguem lance os olhos a estas linhas; e se mova a pôr em practica na sua terra, o que tem ja produzido tanto beneficio neste paiz; e se houverem pessoas, que tenham assas coragem e perseverança, para afrontar a opposiçaõ, que suas vistas beneficas necessariamente haõ de encontrar, a posteridade abençoará a sua memoria, quando reflectir nos bens que saõ devidos a seus trabalhos". Ibid.Vol. 16, p. 95; Fátima Maria Neves, *O Método Lancasteriano e a formação disciplinar do povo (São Paulo, 1808-1889)*.UNESP, 2003, p. 70.

[236] "Correio Brazilienze ou Armazém Literário," pp. 460-467.Vol. 16, nº 96.

taught Anglicanism, the former welcomed all religions.[237] The third essay on the theme provides a glimpse into the existing teaching methods at the time, which separated reading from writing. A pupil's reading ability did not necessarily exceed their writing skill; the opposite was sometimes the case, but the Lancaster method made sure that students were at the same level in both.[238]

Literature tends to portray the mutual method in nineteenth-century Brazil negatively.[239] The lack of materials, students, and appropriate premises led to its malfunctioning and attracted criticism in the colony. Nevertheless, the attempts to implement the mutual method provide clear evidence of the commitment of teachers and the government to a better educational system. This method would extend education to the wider population in spite of social control.[240] It also demonstrates that the monarchy, and later the empire, were aligned to the most modern educational methods of the time.[241] References to the Lancaster method also appear in nineteenth-century periodicals published in Brazil; these shed light on the period that the method was beginning to garner wider support.[242] Developing this, the following section will look at the cultural mobility of the Lancaster method and the attempts to implement it in Brazil.

British influences in Brazil and the Lancaster method

The commercial relationship between Britain and Portugal started to tighten up in late seventeenth century. Portuguese vessels, threatened or attacked by the Dutch, often had to seek British protection in West Africa (as a result of the Dutch takeover of Elmina in 1637 and increasing restrictions on Portuguese commerce in the Gold Coast).[243] By the first half of the eighteenth century, the commercial relationship between Portugal,

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[237] Ibid.Vol. 16, nº 96.

[238] "Na instrucção sobre a escripta, custumam as escholas, segundo o methodo usual, faser uma distincçaõ dos meninos, totalmente diversa da leitura. Porém segundo este novo plano, a leitura e a escriptura saõ connexas na mesma classe, e mutualmente se auxiliam estes exercicios um ao outro; de maneira que, quando o menino he colocado em uma classe de ler, se acha tambem na classe , que lhe compete, de escrever." Ibid., p. 596.vol. 16, nº 97

[239] Neves, p. 258.

[240] Ibid.

[241] André Paulo Castanha, "A introdução do método Lancaster no Brasil: história e historiografia," in *IX Anped Sul* (Caxias do Sul: UCS, 2012), p. 13.

[242] Freyre, *Ingleses no Brasil: aspectos da influencia britânica sobre a vida, a paisagem e a cultura do Brasil*. pp. 264-265.

[243] Ferreira, "From Brazil to West Africa," p. 85.

Britain and Brazil had become one of the strongest and most important in the Atlantic.[244] The Methuen Treaty, for example, was signed in 1703 and many merchant vessels in Brazilian harbours travelled under a Portuguese flag but belonged to British owners.[245] This economic relationship affected Brazil in other areas. This attitude was in line with the nineteenth century historicism that put the West and Europe first in terms of knowledge.[246]

Once the Portuguese royal family relocated to Brazil in 1808, the link with England ceased to be merely economic (Portugal conceded special tariffs to England in return for support in fleeing Napoleonic troops) as the British intellectual influence extended to the cultural sphere. The traveller Luccock made a number of observations that illuminate the wider British influence on Brazil. He wrote that his intentions in publishing his notes were to "ameliorate" Brazil, contemplating "the benefit of mankind", particularly of the "British Dominions".[247] From this statement it is possible to deduce that the traveller saw himself as superior when in Brazil; a 'carrier of civilization'. But he did see in Brazil, ideas that would be of interest to the British Empire, and thus decided to publish his travel journal. Both British and French (the aforementioned De La Salle) ideas infiltrated Brazil, which may explain the relative popularity of the Lancaster method.[248] Liberals defended it and it was officially implemented in 1823 in Rio de Janeiro.[249] In England, the method sought to educate and discipline the working class, while in Brazil it was appropriated by the elite to consolidate the nation state and exert control over lower classes. In the remainder of this section, I will examine documentation on attempts to implement the mutual method between 1819 and 1820 in Bahia. This will be supported by theoretical discussion on cross-cultural exchanges across the Atlantic.[250]

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[244] Ebert, "From Gold to Manioc: Contraband Trade in Brazil during the Golden Age, 1700-1750," p. 111.

[245] Manchester. pp. 1; 18-19; Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal*. p. 15; Ebert, "From Gold to Manioc: Contraband Trade in Brazil during the Golden Age, 1700-1750," p. 115.

[246] Chakrabarty. p. 6.

[247] Luccock. p. iv.

[248] José Ricardo Pires de Almeida, *História da instrução pública no Brasil (1500-1889).* Brasília: INEP, 1989, pp. 57-58.

[249] Neves, p. 45.

[250] ANRJ, SDH, cód. 807, vol. 12, fls. 235-332.

The primary teacher Eusébio Vanério founded a school in Salvador in 1813. Students, both male and female, learned reading, writing, and accountancy; women also learned sewing and craftwork. [251] In 1818, he wrote to the British and Foreign School Society, created in 1814 with the aim of promoting the Lancaster method outside England, expressing an interest to learn more about the method, with a view to implementing it in Bahia.[252] A year later, Vanério received a letter from the director of the Society, Diogo Millar, welcoming the interest.[253] Millar wrote that in twenty years of experience, he found Lancaster to be the most efficient method and likely to become universal within a few years. Accompanied by a copy of the Lancaster Manual, the letter informed Vanério that the committee would be pleased to receive him in their Central School in London to learn more about their system. The director apologised for not having the resources to fund Vanério's trip to Britain, writing that if the Brazilian government were to agree to pay for his expenses, the committee would "facilitate in every possible way" the introduction of the British System in the continent.[254]

As **figure 3** shows, the Society had a letterhead that showcased its classroom layout and the Central School in London. The importance of spatial and bodily control is evident from the classroom layout and the posture of the pupils. On the left **(figure 4)**, the students are in a semi-circle, their hands resting on their lower backs in exactly the same way. They are all looking at a poster in front of them, exemplifying the Lancaster method's requirement of very few books. On the right **(figure 5)**, pupils sit quietly on a large bench facing what is likely to be a monitor, not a teacher, as he is on the same level as the students. The entire picture showcases the idea of order and effectiveness as advertised by the mutual method. For a new nation such as Brazil, it constituted a promising educational alternative.

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[251] Neves, pp. 80-82; Silva, "A educação da mulher e das crianças no Brasil colônia," p. 138.
[252] Neves, p. 67.
[253] ANRJ, SDH, cód. 807, vol. 12, fls. 235-236.
[254] ANRJ, SDH, cód. 807, vol. 12, fls. 235-236.

Figure 3: British and Foreign School Society letterhead

British and Foreign School Society letterhead. *Source:* ANRJ, SDH, cód. 807, vol. 12, fls. 235

Figure 4: British and Foreign School Society letterhead (detail)
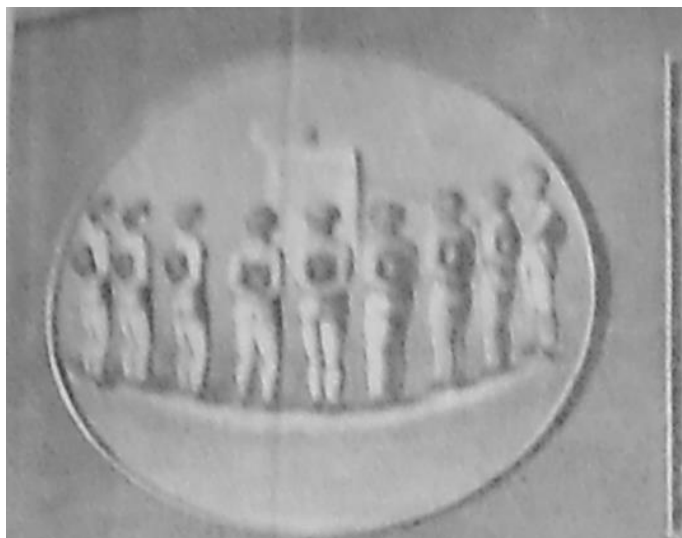
British and Foreign School Society letterhead. *Source:* ANRJ, SDH, cód. 807, vol. 12, fls. 235

Figure 5: British and Foreign School Society letterhead (detail)

British and Foreign School Society letterhead. *Source:* ANRJ, SDH, cód. 807. vol. 12. fls. 235

In the Portuguese translation of the method enclosed in the documentation, Vanério explains that the Lancaster method has become popular everywhere except for in South America.[255] He writes that, inspired by the efforts that other European nations have put into translating the manual into their national tongues, he has decided to do the same. In doing so, not only would "his nationals" who ignored English be able to understand the method, but also those who "loved the state".[256] It would offer the means to cooperate in the construction of the new nation.

Eusébio Vanério offered the translation of the manual to Prince Regent João VI and sent it to the *Desembargo do Paço* (Royal Tribunal) in 1820, along with a letter in which he introduced himself, discussed his experience as a teacher, explained his plans and

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[255] The Mutual Method indeed became a craze after it appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century. See: Battersby. p. 82.

[256] "Naõ só para que os meos Nacionaes que ignorassem o Inglez se aproveitassem das suas maximas, mas taõ bem *[...]* que conhecidas ellas, podessem os amantes *[...]*; Instrucçaõ publica, á exemplo das outras Nações, cooperar quanto lhes for possível para a adopçaõ e propagaçaõ d'hum Systema taó exclarecido, taõ útil e que tanto nos hé necessario." ANRJ, SDH, cód. 807, vol. 12, fls.239-239v.

extolled the benefits of the method.[257] Vanério begins the letter by stating his experience as a teacher in Bahia since 1810; he also explains that his wife was in charge of girls' education, highlighting that in spite of his efforts and the intelligence of his pupils, progress was unsatisfactory due to the inefficiency of the traditional method. Vanério reports that after reading about the British and Foreign Schools Society in English periodicals, he decided to write to its president to request instruction on how to study the Lancaster method. This provides further evidence that British newspapers were read in colonial Brazil in the nineteenth century. Vanério does not specify the periodicals to which he was referring, but one can assume that they were either Portuguese titles published in London or British newspapers written in English.

Eusébio Vanério required a scholarship to travel to England or France with his wife. After the downfall of Napoleon, the Liberal Party in France adopted the Lancaster method within its educational policy.[258] Vanério knew that the government had already selected someone else to perform this task (João Batista de Queirós had been appointed by a royal decree on 1 March 1820), but he argued that the continent was vast and one master would not be sufficient to disseminate the British System.[259] He proposed to work in partnership with Queirós, explaining that the translation was in manuscript because he did not have the means to print it (proof of the high printing costs in Brazil and the maintenance of circulating manuscripts, even after the printing press was established; also indicative of teachers' wages being low).[260] If João VI did not fund the trip, Vanério would require authorisation to open a society in Bahia where people could study the Lancaster method. Once again, he drew on his experience as a teacher and his knowledge of modern languages, as well as his knowledge, in both English and French, of the method. It is important to highlight that Vanério used the words 'country' and 'nation' when referring to Bahia and Brazil, suggesting that nationalism was beginning to take shape in the country.

In the same year (1820), Eusébio received positive feedback from Luiz José de Carvalho e Mello, Minister of Foreign Relations.[261] Mello was to support Vanério's

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[257] ANRJ, SDH, cód. 807, vol. 12, fls. 247-249.
[258] Battersby. p. 82.
[259] Castanha, p. 4.
[260] Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro*. p. 82.
[261] ANRJ, SDH, cód. 807, vol. 12, fls.249-252v.

request to go to England or France to learn the British system (Queirós had not travelled yet). He also suggested that the translation should be printed and distributed to every captaincy in Brazil. Nevertheless, the minister advised him to omit the mention of Haiti (Saint-Domingue) because it was "not fair, decent or useful to spread in this country the progress that this method has made among the rebelled *negroes* of that kingdom".[262] According to the excerpt, Haiti had various schools using the British method, maintained by the Haitian government and acting as a springboard for a number of boys to go on to the Royal College.

Suspicion and debate on Haiti arose as a consequence of the black slave revolution between 1791 and 1804.[263] It became the first independent country in the Americas to free itself from slavery. The revolution led by black creoles and Africans is regarded as one of the greatest of the modern era, though it remained undiscussed for a long period due to a focus on the American and French revolutions.[264] It began to pose a threat to major slave societies in Spanish America and Brazil where the elite played a significant role in unifying the Brazilian ruling classes.[265] The elite refused to abolish the slave trade, threatened by the dream of freedom building among slave populations. The idea of a 'mulatto vengeance' often emerges from contemporary discourse on Haiti.[266] And so, in their opinion it was outrageous that a nation of former slaves had more schools following the Lancaster method than Brazil.[267]

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[262] "*[…]* falando do que ja se pratica nesta materia no Reino do Haiti, naõ hé justo decente, nem útil, que se espalhe neste Paiz o adiantamento, em que estaõ a este Respeito os negros revoltados d'aquelle Reino". ANRJ, SDH, cód. 807, vol. 12, fls.252-252v.

[263] Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: the Saint Domingue revolution from below.* Knoxville, Tenn.: The Univ. of Tennessee Press, 2004, pp. 1; 9-10; 239; Marlene Daut, *Tropics of Haiti: race and the literary history of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic world, 1789-1865.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015, p. 3; Trouillot. pp. 37; 73; 90-95.

[264] Nick Nesbitt, 'The Idea of 1804,' *Yale French Studies*, no. 107 (2005): pp. 6-7; 14-15; 20-22; Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking.* pp. 30; 241; 249; Françoise Vergès, "History, memory and civic education," in *The Impact of History?: histories at the beginning of the twenty-first century*, ed. Pedro Ramos Pinto and Bertrand Taithe. London: Routledge, 2015, p. 100; Trouillot. p. 40.

[265] Dias, p. 100.

[266] Daut. pp. 15; 32; 35; 109. About the negative view that Europeans had about miscegenation in Haiti and the concept of 'monstrous hybridity' see: ibid., pp. 73-109.

[267] Klein and Vinson III. pp. 101-102; Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850*. p. 104. Haiti was under British occupation between 1793 and 1798. See: Fick. p. 246.

I did not find any evidence that Vanério opened his school or the society. The Lancaster method was only officially introduced in Brazil in 1827 and it turned out to be poorly adapted to Brazilian particularities.[268] Foreign ideas aimed at the poor were, in Brazil, used benefit the elites, a contrast to Europe.[269] Its failure lays bare the ways in which Atlantic exchanges affected the colony.[270] The ideal of modernising Brazil sought inspiration in European ideas, but adapted them to the colonial context. Poor people in Brazil were confined to the "waiting room of history", while the elites guided a new nation; it was clearly more important to refine the elites (equal to Europeans in shaping Europe as a bastion of modernity) than to educate the poor.[271] I conclude this section by surmising that the idea behind the Lancaster method in Brazil was the same as in England: to control, discipline, and construct docile bodies ready to obey the state and found a civilisation; the difference was in the target groups.[272]

Conclusion

Since the late eighteenth century, Luso-Brazilian society had concerns with bringing enlightenment to the Portuguese empire. The presence of the monarchy in Rio de Janeiro shifted the administrative centre of the Portuguese empire to Brazil, irreversibly changing the power relationship between the metropole and the colony.

The opening of ports increased the demand for foreign language teachers and requests to set up lessons and institutes in French and English. The contrast between French, the traditional language of erudition – but also the language of Napoleon – and English, the language of trade and those who helped the royal family to escape – was marked. Similarly, Iberian authors turned to England (not just France) and its far-flung North American and South Asian empires for political and economic modernisation.[273] French booksellers, previously well respected in the Lusophone world, became a target of

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[268] Neves, p. 93; Gláucia Trinchão, "A arte de desenhar as Belas Letras: o ensino mútuo, o Desenho e a Caligrafia," in *Do desenho das Belas Letras à livre expressão no desenho da escrita*, ed. Gláucia Maria Costa Trinchão. Salvador: Edufba, 2012, pp. 80-81.

[269] Greene and Morgan, "Introduction: the Present State of Atlantic History," p. 8.

[270] Ibid., pp. 5-7.

[271] Chakrabarty. pp. 8; 43.

[272] Greene and Morgan, "Introduction: the Present State of Atlantic History," pp. 10-18.

[273] Paquette, "Views from the South: images of Britain and its empire in Portuguese and Spanish political economic discourse, ca. 1740-1810," p. 78.

surveillance, while British teaching methods were glorified by the press and the wider public. Following European models, particularly those of the French and the British, schooling in nineteenth-century Brazil gradually became associated with discipline and the creation of docile bodies willing to obey the state as good citizens. Local elites transformed and adapted the De La Salle and Lancaster methods according to their interests and to the colonial dynamics in which they were embedded.

The opening up of Brazil also brought foreign travellers and painters, some of whom exposed aspects that would otherwise remain out of reach for historians.[274] For example, foreign travellers challenged the success of the Pombaline reforms, and acknowledged cross-cultural Atlantic connections, and the influence of Amerindian languages on Brazilian Portuguese. The reconstruction of teachers' daily lives partly contradicts travellers' negative opinions of the reforms, showing modernisation in the educational system. However, teachers' wages remained low in comparison to the early years of the Pombaline reforms. Overall though, it was a sought-after career: some schoolmasters belonged to important brotherhoods in the gold mining district, not because they were wealthy, but because they were teachers.

Education helped forge a connection between members of the elite from different parts of the empire: instruction for intermediate social groups also improved under the Joanine period. 'Country', 'nation', 'Brazilian' and 'Portuguese' were still fluid concepts, but had become more defined than in the eighteenth century. D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho (c.a. 1797) claimed that only by 'feeling' Portuguese, regardless of birthplace, could Portugal be strong in Europe.[275] The relocation of the royal family to Brazil in 1808 and the proclamation of independence in 1822 stimulated debate about the Brazilian identity that continued into the twentieth century. Such debate often revolved around language, whether directly or not. Although the Portuguese did not constitute the majority of the population in Brazil, they were very effective in creating the illusion of groupness, in part through a unified language. The Brazilian constitutionalists had great expectations for the *Cortes* in 1820 because they considered

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[274] Lesser. p. 9.

[275] Rodrigues. "O português nascido nas quarto partes do mundo se julgue somente português." Apud: Curto, "D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho e a Casa Literária do Arco do Cego," pp. 26-27.

them Portuguese and they both spoke the same language.[276] The Lusophone press published abroad sometimes exaggerated this connection between Portugal and Brazil and forced such identification to keep the Portuguese empire together.[277] This shared Portuguese identity did not prevent Brazil's independence, but it played a significant role in delaying it and shaping how it occurred.

Brazil was at a cultural crossroads: a colony that was a united kingdom in the process of constructing its identity under European, African, and indigenous influences.[278] The Portuguese language in Brazil was as porous, permeable, and fluid as the colonial project.[279] Such transitory characteristics opened up space for settlers, Africans, indigenous and Portuguese to negotiate their interests for more than three hundred years. The Portuguese language is one of the most significant legacies of the colonial period, but after the 1820s and Portugal's attempts to revert Brazil to its colonial status, language was not a sufficient symbol of soft power to hold together the United Kingdom of Brazil, Portugal and the Algarve. R. Faoro argues that the transmigration of the court to Brazil alienated the rest of society from the political game and, for this reason, rupture was inevitable.[280] Portuguese was, however, appropriated by the new elites as a symbol of power that the rest of the population, consciously or not, adopted and identified with as part of the new Brazilian nation.

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[276] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian world, c. 1770-1850*. pp. 150-152.

[277] Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," p. 116.

[278] Schwartz, "Colonial Identities and the 'sociedad de castas'," p. 191.

[279] Russell-Wood, "The Portuguese Atlantic, 1415-1808," p. 82.

[280] Faoro. pp. 300-301.

Conclusion

Language, identity, and power were interlinked in colonial Brazil and they connect the variety of subjects and actors covered in this dissertation. The interplay between missionaries, indigenous interpreters, Africans, and settlers is revealing of the multilingual society that predominated during the first two centuries of Portuguese colonisation. The ways in which teachers, students, censors, and writers interacted with one another illuminate our understanding of language as a mechanism of power. Power relations and linguistic skills also permeated the personal stories of Holy Office agents, Order of Christ knights, and priests in the gold mining district, throwing weight behind the relevance of basic education for Portuguese immigrants and mixed-race settlers in Brazil.

Literacy gradually became a prerequisite for the occupation of religious and administrative posts, in addition to its importance in commercial activities. The foundation for the Pombaline educational reforms, therefore, occurred prior to their practical implementation in the Lusophone world. The relocation of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro further signified the key role played by teachers, journalists, students and their families in language standardisation and education in Brazil. Moreover, it accelerated the processes by which Portuguese became associated with Brazilian identity.

This chapter will consolidate the multiple strands of thought and cultural intermediaries examined throughout this dissertation. I seek to answer the opening question about the relationship between language, power, and the shaping of identity in colonial Brazil. I also suggest future research possibilities and contributions to historiography. Three main themes have emerged from the Atlantic history and Foucauldian framework that guide this investigation: 1) evangelisation and colonisation; 2) censorship and language; and 3) the identification processes forged by education and language.

As Father António Vieira observed in the sixteenth century and the traveller Auguste de Saint-Hilaire confirmed in the 1800s, Portuguese was not the dominant language in Brazil. Portuguese America was a multilingual society where indigenous, African, and Portuguese languages coexisted in daily life, just as missionaries and interpreters played a crucial role at the early colonisation of Brazil. Missionaries tended to prefer general languages such as Paulista, Nheengatu, and Coastal. The choice of general languages over Portuguese indicates that spreading the word of God was more important than spreading the Portuguese word during the early years of colonisation.

The power of religious orders surpassed the power of the state at this time. This is revealing of one of the main purposes of Iberian expeditions overseas: the expansion of Catholicism, challenged by linguistic differences. To transcend linguistic barriers was to facilitate not only evangelisation, but also commercial interests. Once Portugal achieved these two main objectives, the Crown introduced more aggressive linguistic policies to ensure the dominance of Portuguese in the colony. Political and cultural power was at stake and the need to assert them both culminated in the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal and its domains (1759), followed by further prohibition of the use of general languages.

As colonisation progressed, the importance of general languages did not preclude Portuguese from becoming a marker of group identification in Brazil above Amerindian and African languages, pidgins or creoles. This process was mostly unplanned (or unintentional) and the symbolic power of Portuguese for social recognition increased from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century when European settlers and the colonial population broadly shared Portuguese in a multilingual landscape. This sharing created a sense of *commonality* and *connectedness* that bound the population in spite of the differences between and within social groups.[1] The consolidation of Portuguese occurred – not without controversy – during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but the foundation for this prominence had been established during the colonial period. At the risk of simplifying a complex question, I assert that the consolidation of

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[1] Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond "Identity"."

Portuguese resulted from three interwoven factors: individual agency, state regulation, and Luso-Brazilian colonial dynamics. Individual agency was fundamental in the consolidation of the Portuguese language. However, tensions between individual agency and colonial powers appear in formal situations in which education and censorship regulated language use.

The censorship of language

The tensions within the Royal Board of Censorship (1768) mirrored the power relations in colonial Luso-Brazilian society. These relations explain why language was not the Board's *raison d'être*, but certain censors (for example, Friar Luís do Monte Carmelo) took a keen interest in it. Language represented monarchic power through the practice of correct spelling.[2] Hence, to define the official standard was to be closer to the King's authority and, therefore, to power. To follow the standard was to respect royal authority; to challenge the standard was to undermine authority. Language censorship amounted to the control of ideas. This was particularly meaningful in relation to works that appealed to a wider public, for example, piety books. As language had the power to convey and change meaning, to censor language usage in 'popular' books was a means of exercising power over the people. The power of language rippled through society in ubiquitous ways, from religious to mundane forms and actors. Although Luso-Brazilians had their written culture controlled by censorship, the transformation of Portuguese followed the often indirect path of people and goods.

Censors, teachers, writers and students' families were largely responsible for the applicability of linguistic norms – or lack of. The power to choose the type of material (manuscript or printed) and which books to teach from was in their hands. They also depended on the metropole to receive books and usually had to work with the resources available to them, even if they wanted to follow the rules. The colonial dynamics of a diverse society in which very few controlled a large population in a vast territory imply that the Portuguese language in Brazil was more fluid than in Portugal. This fluidity suggests that the Portuguese colonial project in Brazil adapted to changes instead of resisting them. Linguistic fluidity contributed to the prominence of Portuguese in the

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[2] Chartier, *Cultural History: between practices and representations*. p. 31.

colony, as censorship and official standards were malleable and opened space for negotiation as an alternative to rupture.

In terms of language standardisation, probate inventories reveal that in Minas Gerais settlers learned not only from manuscripts, but also from the works of Madureira Feijó and the Jesuit Bento Pereira, for example. The former followed an etymological approach in his orthography, meaning that he favoured the origin of words rather than their correspondence with pronunciation. The latter had a more conservative approach to Latin. The Pombaline reforms banned Feijó's *Arte Explicada* allegedly because he was a commentator of Bento Pereira's *Arte* – which the board considered difficult and inaccurate.[3] Unlike *Arte Explicada*, Feijó's *Ortographia* was never mentioned in Pombaline legislation and it influenced various scholars, including the censor Friar Monte Carmelo.[4] The prohibition of Bento Pereira and his commentators reveals an attempt to modernise the teaching of Latin. On the other hand, the acceptance of Feijó's orthography suggests a desire to control the Portuguese language and protect its written form from the inconsistencies of pronunciation. The assumption that Portuguese in colonial Brazil was more fluid than in Portugal, and the strong presence of an etymological approach in Portuguese lessons, demonstrates the tension between norm and usage. On paper, the Portuguese language taught in Brazil might have been more conservative, but it neither prevented changes from occurring in Brazilian Portuguese, nor the influence of other languages on it. However, it was strong enough to bring Brazilian Portuguese closer to its European counterpart. Orality and written forms were thus interwoven and interchangeable.

Other books listed in the libraries of teachers and clergymen in the gold mining district reveal a myriad of subjects taught in the colony. For example, ABC manuals and etiquette books focused on pupils' upright posture, handwriting and good manners. Control over the body dates back to the sixteenth century but its focus shifted from the formation of aristocrats to the formation of good citizens and vassals throughout the

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[3] Andrade, *A reforma pombalina dos estudos secundários (1759-1771): contribuição para a história da pedagogia em Portugal.* pp. 81-82; 87.vol. 2
[4] Gonçalves. pp. 44-50.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[5] The fact that these types of books circulated in Brazil in spite of the absence of a printing press until the nineteenth century reveals that the colony was not isolated from cross-cultural Atlantic connections. Epistolary knowledge was also of paramount importance, which is understandable in a context where letters were the main means for settlers to conduct business and stay in touch with their families across the ocean.

Identification processes through education

Private tutors, schools, religious colleges and seminars presented educational possibilities before the Portuguese administration took official measures towards education in both Portugal and Brazil. While education was the privilege of only a few in Brazil, as elsewhere in Europe and other colonies, the interplay between high and popular culture narrows the gap between written education and orality, as well as between the colony and the metropole. Popular and high cultures were interconnected in daily life through interpersonal relations, commercial partnerships, religious assemblies and lettered culture. At a local level, this dissertation has examined the various ways in which teachers and students connected the vast majority of illiterates with written culture in processes that were essential to the functioning of the modern state. In this sense, literacy was relevant not only to tradesmen and petty officials, but to agricultural workers, journeymen, miners, military officials, and artisans.

Literacy in colonial Brazil can be better understood in the context of immigration patterns. Most of the male and literate sample from the gold mining district came from northern Portugal (directly or indirectly, as they usually migrated to the Islands first). The significant numbers of literate men who migrated to Brazil were from the Minho and Entre-Douro and attended school before going to the colony. Once in Portuguese America, immigrants used their knowledge to stand out from their peers, for example by occupying administrative posts, holding honorific titles, becoming priests and teachers.

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[5] Citizen is used here in the sense of councilmen, or local elites – 'good men' (*homens bons*); the equivalent of the French term bourgeois. See: António Moraes Silva, *Diccionario da Lingua Portugueza.* 4º ed. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1831, p. 389.vol. ; Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," p. 117; Russell-Wood, "Women and Society in Colonial Brazil."

To send offspring to school was a way of climbing the social ladder and imitating the elites.[6]

The concept of purity of blood was racist from the beginning and in the Portuguese Atlantic it was often linked to slavery when applied to Africans, African-descents, and Brazilian-borns.[7] However, education balanced negative views on miscegenation and illegitimacy as it elevated one's status in Luso-Brazilian society. Foundlings and mestizos in Minas Gerais frequently overcame purity of blood, the 'colour-bar', and religious obstacles to become a student, priest or teacher. Similarly, various knights of the Order of Christ came from New Christian families.[8] The fluidity of power dynamics in colonial Brazil offered formerly marginalised groups an opportunity to achieve a better social standing in the colony through education. Flexibility and negotiation allowed enough distance for a fresh start in Brazil without breaking the ties with Portugal.[9] The Portuguese were more organised as a cultural community as they shared similar geographical origins, group behaviour, educational patterns and language, which created a sense of belonging to a distinctive group ('groupness').[10] This connectedness, however, did not exclude other social groups. Moreover, it helped the Portuguese create the illusion of being the majority. In doing so, they exercised 'soft power' over the rest of the colonial population that helped to consolidate Portuguese language in written culture.

Elites and intermediary social groups gradually embraced the importance of literacy as a means of retaining or improving their social standing. In Portugal, education presented an alternative to the difficulties of manual and agricultural work.[11] In Brazil, education adapted to the colonial dynamics and served to overcome racism and social prejudice.

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[6] Sá, "As crianças e as idades da vida," p. 82.

[7] Russell-Wood, "The Portuguese Atlantic, 1415-1808," p. 101; Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," p. 111; Mattos, "'Pretos' and 'Pardos' between the Cross and the Sword: Racial Categories in Seventeenth Century Brazil," pp. 49; 52; Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português: 1415-1825*. pp. 271; 275; Bethencourt, *Racisms: from the Crusades to the twentieth century* pp. 1-2; 368.

[8] Mattos, "'Pretos' and 'Pardos' between the Cross and the Sword: Racial Categories in Seventeenth Century Brazil," p. 50.

[9] Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," pp. 106; 112.

[10] Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond "Identity"," p. 20.

[11] Lisboa and Miranda, p. 353.

Hence, the conditions for the educational changes brought about by the Pombaline reforms occurred prior to the reforms themselves. The teaching of Portuguese and its standardisation did not drive the reforms, but the reforms were certainly an important goal. This is clear not only in the interference of the Royal Board of Censorship, but also from authors that guided the educational reforms such as Manuel de Andrade Figueiredo (1670-1736), Martinho de Mendonça Pina e Proença (1693-1743), and Luiz António Verney (1713-1792). The Marquis of Pombal also took inspiration for his reforms from the Catholic Enlightenment and sought to extricate the Lusophone world from its backwardness while maintaining religious and colonial order.

Brazil felt the effects of the Pombaline reforms on primary education from the reign of Maria I onwards. Teachers formally nominated by the state had usually been teachers before the reforms in the mining district, but during the Marian period they appeared in payrolls and could enjoy the privileges granted by their position. Teaching wages were low, but teachers held positive social visibility in society. As cultural intermediaries, teachers and students had the final say in the implementation of the Pombaline reforms at its extremities: locals obeyed, but also reinvented and challenged formal instruction on language and schooling. For example, they lent one another books, shared texts, improvised classrooms in their houses, and bought or produced teaching materials. Teachers generally continued to use the books directly available to them either consciously (because they wanted to) or not (because they did not have another option since the colony depended on book imports). This is significant as it strengthens the idea of tension between individual agency and structural constraints: education was fluid in the colony, but there were boundaries to it.

Diverse social groups throughout the Portuguese Empire discussed education and the standardisation of Portuguese. They spurred this debate in the Luso-Brazilian world, demonstrating that education and language were not exclusive to state regulation. For example, students and their families were aware of how teachers should deal with their pupils. Their opinion was decisively to nominate or keep teachers in their posts. During the nineteenth century, journalists discussed the best teaching methods and spelling. Local teachers in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia sought to follow the latest European theories of education as they requested to open private schools in French and British methods.

The interest in foreign languages (through the study of Portuguese) suggests a desire to modernise the Luso-Brazilian world and access works not available in Portuguese. In the second half of the eighteenth century, it was necessary to modernise knowledge in the Portuguese empire in order to secure and improve Portugal's economic position in the colonial system. After the relocation of the court to Brazil (1808), it became critical to modernise the pluricontinental monarchy according to European standards. Travellers noted the changes brought about by the move of the royal court, despite observing the continuity of old teaching methods in Brazil. Their travelogues also pay testimony to cross-Atlantic exchanges, as travellers encountered speakers of English and French in the colony, even in the countryside. Education thus linked both sides of the Atlantic and it adapted to colonial dynamics. Although the population did not simply copy European rules and teaching methods in the colony, sharing similar cultural values contributed to the creation of a shared Luso-Brazilian identity.

This dissertation set out to expand our knowledge of the historical processes by which Portuguese has become the main language spoken in Brazil today. Focusing on the gold mining district for its economic and political significance, it has challenged the idea that Portuguese became the main language in Brazil simply because it was the language of the coloniser. This superficial view glosses over individual agency and the fact that a considerable number of historical processes were unplanned. It has proposed that in multilingual colonial society, Portuguese was imposed by the state in certain occasions, but it was not the only linguistic option available. On the contrary, common people such as teachers, scholars, students, booksellers and settlers interacted with administrative authorities to shape the language. The question of women's education and literacy has been left open for future research, as their role in domestic education was crucial, but also difficult to assess and requiring further investigation. The literate population shaped Portuguese according to official standards, but these did not overcome the particularities of colonisation and alternative learning forms.

And so the spread of Portuguese was a product of the state but not solely: it depended upon peoples' choices, their social standing, and on the colonial dynamics in Brazil. The creation of new identities was part of the immigration process and the encounters engendered by it. The influence of indigenous and African peoples, together with

fluidity, changed the contours of the Portuguese spoken in Brazil and made it part of the Brazilian identity. Speakers embedded Portuguese in the identification process of being Brazilian and, therefore, it became and remained the main language.

In the nineteenth century, Brazil was at a cultural crossroads: a colony about to become independent yet rooted in indigenous, African, and European influences. This mixture was not a 'racial democracy' as traditional scholarship sometimes projects, but a result of disputes over power, violence, and discrimination.[12] Language, however, was hardly ever imposed violently by the ruling groups and assimilation does not necessarily preclude a choice. On the contrary, the awareness of linguistic difference is paramount to understand the social and racial gap in Brazil.

The Portuguese colonial project and language were often chaotic due to their porousness, permeability, and fluidity. The Crown sent ambivalent and often contradictory messages.[13] However, this was not necessarily a negative feature, nor did it imply a lack of guidelines. In fact, they opened space for negotiation of power that was largely responsible for the success of the Portuguese colonisation in Brazil. It also contributed to the identification process that embedded Portuguese in the Brazilian identity from the end of the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.

As with other colonies during the modern period, language was not an issue that differentiated Brazil from Portugal, or aroused animosities between countries during the colonial period.[14] However, this does not mean that they spoke exactly the same language. Likewise, the colony was not merely an overseas extension of the metropole. Portuguese was never the only linguistic option in Brazil, quite the opposite: the vast

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[12] Ribeiro. pp. 1-5; 157; Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-grande & senzala): a study in the development of Brazilian civilization*. pp. xxiv; 78; 83; Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825*. pp. 86-130; Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties (Sobrados e Mucambos): the making of modern Brazil*. pp. 102; 63-64; 231-232; 431; Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: growing pains of a colonial society*. p. 169; Peter Burke and Maria Lúcia G. Pallares-Burke, *Gilberto Freyre: social theory in the tropics*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008, pp. 18; 181-185; Arocena, "Multiculturalism in Brazil, Bolivia and Peru," pp. 2-3; 6;18; Schwarcz, "A Mestizo and Tropical Country: The Creation of the Official Image of Independent Brazil," p. 39.

[13] Russell-Wood, "Centers and Peripheries in the Luso-Bazilian World, 1500-1808," p. 133.

[14] Anderson. p. 47.

majority of the population was either Amerindian, or African and African-descendant. Mina-Jejê or Tupi could have become the dominant language in Brazil but the Portuguese created an imaginary Lusophone community accessible to all, in which the Portuguese language was a shared feature. In practice, Brazil was never a monolingual country, but cultural intermediaries on both sides of the Atlantic embraced the idea of a Lusophone community. They appropriated Portuguese and made it their own, shaping the Brazilian identity, which would be consolidated in the late nineteenth century.

The maps below have been chosen due to their historical relevance, time of production, and content that fit the scope of this dissertation. They are not used as neutral sources, but rather as a manifestation of their authors and publishers' perceptions.[1] In the case of the New World, mapping and naming places was a way of imposing the ideal of civilisation.[2] As such, all of the five maps used here, with the exception of MAP 5, were published in Paris and London, the centres of map production in Europe during the eighteenth century.[3] The fact that Africa and Spanish and Portuguese Americas figure in them are revealing of foreign knowledge of these regions, despite the secrecy involved in conquest and exploration, particularly of precious metals.

The same author, Gilles Robert de Vaugondy (henceforth Monsieur Le Robert), produced **MAP 1 and MAP 2**, both of which belong to the David Rumsey Collection (www.davidrumsey.com) – the largest private map collection in the United States.[4] **MAP 1**, *L'Afrique* (1756), is co-authored by Monsieur Le Robert and his son, Didier Robert the Vaugondy – '*géographe du roi*' Louis XV.[5] **MAP 2**, *Partie Meridionale du Royaume de Portugal* (1751), shows administrative divisions in eighteenth-century Portugal inspired by ecclesiastical districts.[6] These maps were published (after lawsuits involving copyright) as part of *The Atlas Universel*, printed by the Parisian publisher Boudet and available by subscription.[7] It is a reissue of the French cartographer Nicolas Sanson's (1600-1667) maps.[8] It is hard to say whether this constitutes plagiarism, as the meaning of the term was

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[1] Mary Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: making and marketing maps in eighteenth-century France and England.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. 10.

[2] Benjamin. p. 168.

[3] Pedley. pp. 1; 5-6; 12-14.

[4] Marco Pais Neves dos Santos, 'Estudo de dois mapas do geógrafo Robert de Vaugondy relativos ao Reino de Portugal do Século XVIII (1751),' *Semina. Revista cultural e científica da Universidade Estadual de Londrina. Ciências Sociais e Humanas* 34, no. 1: p. 71.

[5] Jean-François Gauvin, 'Mid-18 century traditions in globe making: a comparative study on the Valks, Didier Robert de Vaugondy and Akerman ' *Globe Studies*, no. 51/52 (2005): p. 50; R. V. Tooley, *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers.* ed. Valerie Scott et al., Revised ed., vol. 4. Riverside: Early World Press, 2004, p. 52. For more about the Vaugondy family refer to: Mary Pedley, *Bel et Utile: the work of the Robert de Vaugondy family of mapmakers.* Tring: Map Collector Publications, 1992.

[6] Santos, "Estudo de dois mapas do geógrafo Robert de Vaugondy relativos ao Reino de Portugal do Século XVIII (1751)," pp. 80-82.

[7] Pedley. pp. 51-68.

[8] Santos, "Estudo de dois mapas do geógrafo Robert de Vaugondy relativos ao Reino de Portugal do Século XVIII (1751)," pp. 71; 75-76; 79-81; Tooley. p. 52; ibid., pp. 102-104.

ubiquitous in the eighteenth century and usually used together with 'copy' and 'piracy'.[9] However, it was common for mapmakers to use older maps in order to cut survey costs.[10] Indeed, part of their job was to assess the reliability of their sources.[11]

MAP 3, *Chart of the Açores (Hawks) Islands* (1787), was produced by Thomas Jefferey, geographer to King George II of England[12]. Jefferey was one of the most important British cartographers and globe makers in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, he experienced serious financial difficulties and had to become a business associate of Robert Sayer, a London map and print dealer in order to sell his works after 1766.[13] The map was first published in *The West-India Atlas*, following increasing attention paid to the West Indies by the British after the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).[14] Jefferys collected material produced by military officers during this war.[15]

Richard William Seale, an engraver and draughtsman in London, authored **MAP 4**.[16] The circumstances of the production of this map are less clear than other maps used in this dissertation. However, since it was published in London and the making of maps involved considerable investment in production, promotion, and sale, it is reasonable to claim that there was sufficient interest in Spanish and Portuguese Americas in at the time to justify the costs.[17] Moreover, the information on the Iberian colonies circulated extensively, at least among the aristocracy, upper military ranks, gentry and rising classes.[18]

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[9] Pedley. pp. 96-118.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] J. B. Harley, 'The Bankruptcy of Thomas Jefferys: An Episode in the Economic History of Eighteenth Century Map-Making,' *Imago Mundi* 20, (1966): p. 27.

[13] Ibid; Mary Pedley, 'Maps, War, and Commerce: business correspondence with the London map firm of Thomas Jefferys and William Faden,' *Imago mundi (Lympne)* 48, (1996): p. 162; R. V. Tooley, *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers.* ed. Valerie Scott et al., Revised ed., vol. 2. Riverside: Early World Press, 2001, pp. 433-435; Mary S. Pedley, *The Map Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century: letters to the London map sellers Jefferys and Faden.* Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000.

[14] Monteiro, *D. José: na sombra de Pombal.* p. 189; Thomas Jefferys, *The West-India Atlas: or, a compendious description of the West-Indies.* London: printed for Robert Sayer and John Bennett, 1780, plates 3 and 4.

[15] Pedley. pp. 7-8.

[16] Tooley, *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers.* p. 139; Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: making and marketing maps in eighteenth-century France and England.* pp. 52-53.

[17] Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: making and marketing maps in eighteenth-century France and England.* pp. 11-12.

[18] Ibid., pp. 163; 165.

José Joaquim da Rocha authored **MAP 5**. Rocha was a Portuguese military officer who lived in the gold mining district.[19] His maps are unique representations of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais and were published in his book *Geografia Histórica da Capitania de Minas Gerais* (historical geography of Minas Gerais) in 1780.[20] In addition to his experience as a military officer, Rocha also counted on the help of another settler who profoundly understood the mining district: Francisco Antônio Rebelo, who published his *Erário Régio* (Royal Treasury) in 1768.[21]

Rocha was remarkably accurate in scale, and the ornaments in his maps are embedded with symbols. The Amerindian on the bottom right is surrounded by natural elements, suggesting that native populations and nature remained significant and may pose some kind of danger. Conversely, the Amerindian seems willing to collaborate with the Portuguese, as he holds the table of explanations (legend of the map). This image reflects the power relations in colonialism, as by choosing the Indian as the symbol of Brazil over the African, it constructs an idealised idea of Brazilian Empire.[22] On the one hand, it demonstrates the knowledge, fear, and respect that Rocha had for native populations and nature. On the other, it lays bare the idea of the *bon sauvage* and the subjugation of colonial populations.

The following maps have been tailored to highlight the names of the places mentioned throughout this dissertation.

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[19] Scarato. pp. 60-61.

[20] Júnia Ferreira Furtado, 'Um cartógrafo nas Minas,' *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro* XLVI, no. 2 (2010): p. 154.

[21] Fernanda Borges de Moraes, *A rede urbana das Minas coloniais: na urdidura do tempo e do espaço*.USP, 2005, pp. 96-998; Júnia Ferreira Furtado, 'Um cartógrafo rebelde? José Joaquim da Rocha e a cartografia de Minas Gerais,' *Anais do Museu Paulista* 17, no. 2 (2009): p. 170; Maria Efigênia Lage de Resende, "Estudo Crítico," in *Geografia histórica da Capitania de Minas Gerais; descrição geográfica, topográfica e histórica da Capitania de Minas Gerais: seu descobrimento estado civil e político e das rendas reais-ano de 1781; Memória histórica da Capitania de Minas Gerais*, ed. Maria Efigênia Lage de Resende. Belo Horizonte: Fundação João Pinheiro; Centro de Estudos Históricos, 1995, pp. 13-67; Furtado, "Um cartógrafo nas Minas," p. 155.

[22] Schwarcz, "A Mestizo and Tropical Country: The Creation of the Official Image of Independent Brazil," pp. 30; 39.

MAP 1: Africa (1756)
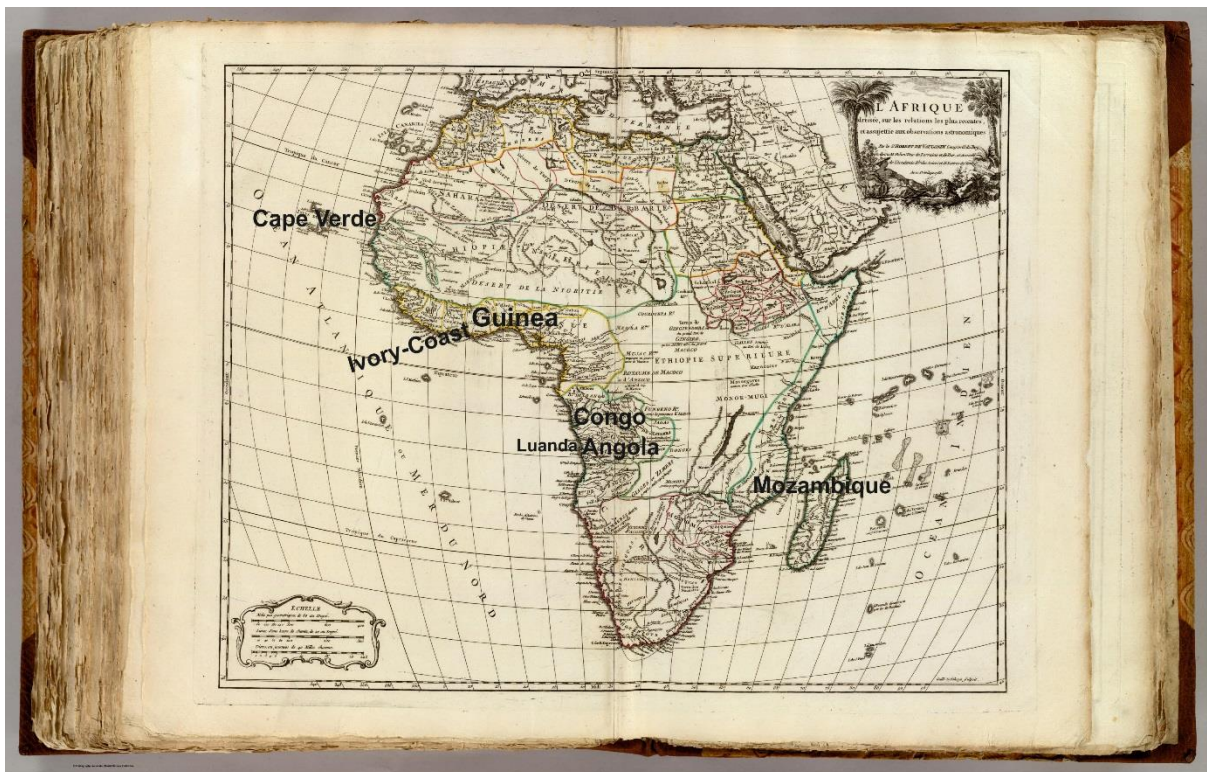
Source: Robert de Vaugondy, *L'Afrique*. Paris: Boudet, 1756. Available at: David Rumsey Map Collection, Cartography Associates
http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3985~500002:L-Afrique-
?showTip=false&showTipAdvancedSearch=false&title=Search+Results%3A+List_No+equal+to+%273353.096%27&thumbnailViewUrlKey
=link.view.search.url&helpUrl=http%3A%2F%2Fdoc.lunaimaging.com%2Fdisplay%2FV71D%2FLUNA%2BViewer%23LUNAViewer-
LUNAViewer&fullTextSearchChecked=&advancedSearchUrl=http%3A%2F%2Fdoc.lunaimaging.com%2Fdisplay%2FV71D%2FSearching
%23Searching-Searching#

MAP 2: Portugal (1751)
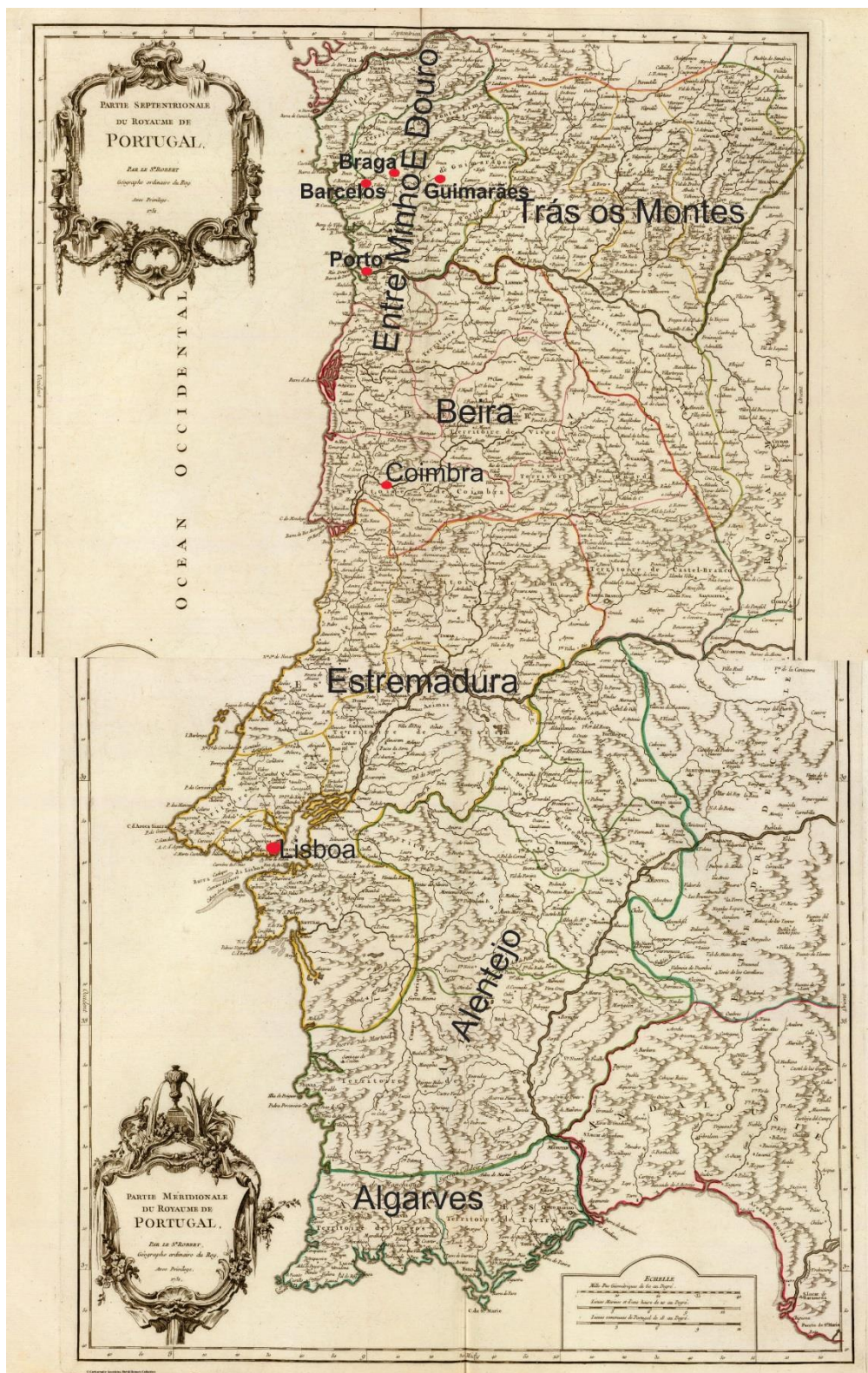
Composite of) Partie ... du Royaume de Portugal, par le Sr. Robert, Geographe ordinaire du Roy. Avec Privilege. 1751. Scale: 680,000. Available at:
http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3968~490047:Composite--Portugal-?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No&qvq=w4s:/where/Portugal/when/1751;q:portugal;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=2&trs=3. Access date: 03rd July 2015.

MAP 3: Atlantic Islands (1787)
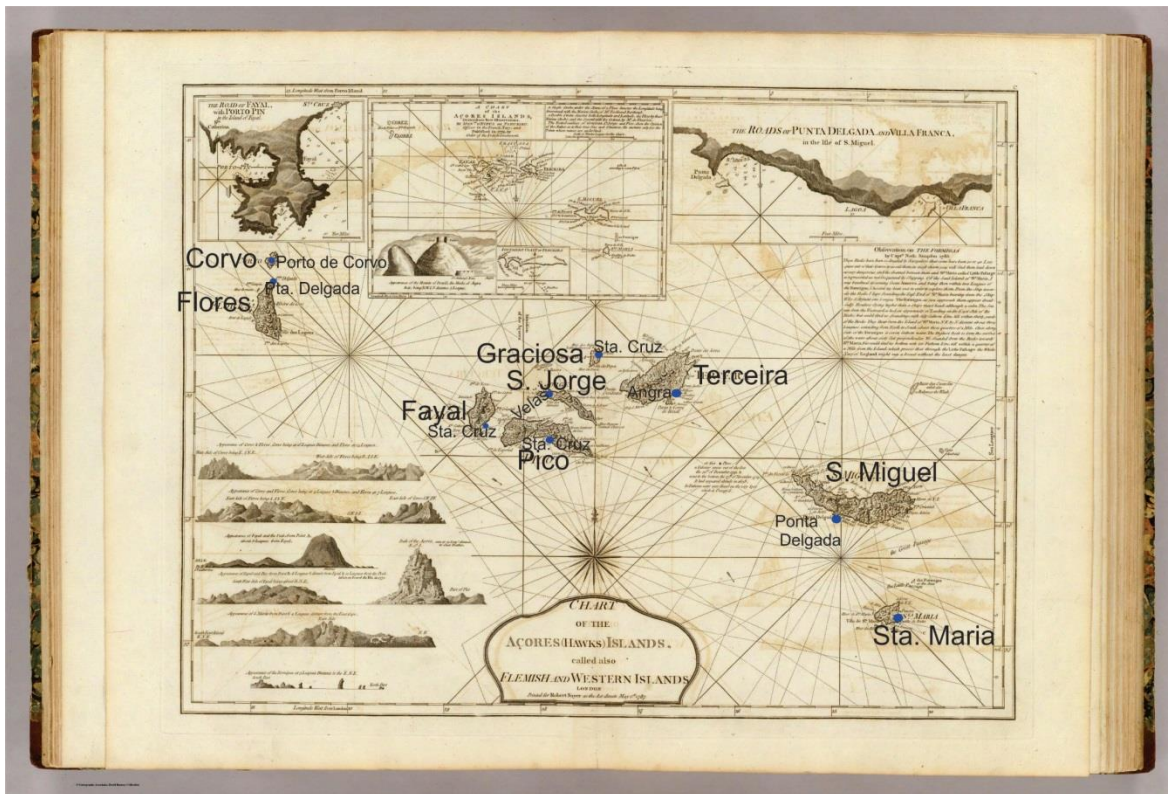
MAP 4: Portuguese and Spanish Americas (1740)

A map of South America with all the European settlements & whatever else is remarkable, from the latest & best observations. Richard William Seale, 1740. Call Number: G5200 1740 .S43. Available at: Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library http://maps.bpl.org/id/14264 Access date: 24th June 2015.

MAP 5: Gold Mining District of Minas Gerais (1777)

ROCHA, José Joaquim da. Mappa da Capitania de Minas Geraes... [S.l.: s.n.], 1777. 1 mapa ms., desenho a nanquim col., 89,2 x 34,5. Available at: http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_cartografia/cart519682.htm. Access date: 24th June 2015.

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i. Primary manuscript sources

I have arranged my sources according to the research paths that I followed (other additional libraries and sources are listed separately). They are divided by country and type of source that each archive holds. I started my research by looking at payrolls at the *Arquivo Público Mineiro*, in Minas Gerais, Brazil. On the following, I gathered the names of some teachers from these payrolls and started looking for their wills, after death inventories, and *de genere* files in local archives scattered all over Minas Gerais. During my stay in Portugal, I proceeded to look at catalogues directly related to the Pombaline educational reforms, particularly those from the Royal Board of Censorship, at *Torre do Tombo*. Meanwhile, I started a research on *habilitation* processes from the Order of Christ and the Holy Office, as they could reveal details about the educational background of the young men who immigrated to Brazil. I also visited archives and monasteries in Braga, looking for information about parish schools. In addition to that, I carried out an extensive research at *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* on reference books and other titles related to education that I had found in Braga and at *Torre do Tombo*. When I returned to Brazil for the third part of my fieldwork, I continued to look for teachers' inventories and wills. I then went to Rio de Janeiro, where I looked for information about educational methods at *Arquivo Nacional*. At *Fundação Biblioteca Nacional*, I consulted books listed in the teachers' inventories that I had already examined. There, I also studied reference books that had belonged to the Royal Library.

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- Brazil – Inventories and Wills
- Inventários, 1º and 2º ofícios, Arquivo Histórico da Casa Setecentista, Mariana, MG, Brazil.
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- UK, Portugal, and Brazil – Libraries
- Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
- Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro
- Kings MS 223, British Library, London, UK

- Brazil – others
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