

# José da Silva Lisboa, José Bonifácio and Martim Francisco: discussions about education in the Empire of Brazil

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to accentuate some of the main elements of the debate about Brazilian education at the beginning of the Brazil Empire (1822-1827), identifying the principles and values of Liberalism applied to public education. For this, we analyzed the thought of Silva Lisboa and of the brothers Martim Francisco and José Bonifácio. We use newspapers, pamphlets and Constitutional Proceedings 1823, as well as *A Memória de Martim Francisco*, permeating the works *Constituição Moral e Deveres do Cidadão*, by José da Silva Lisboa, and *Projetos para o Brasil*, by José Bonifácio. For data interpretation, we inspired in the Cultural History, as suggested by Roger Chartier. Thus, we noticed the fundamental concepts to Liberalism, liberty and happiness, as well as the need for an educational system that mobilized the state and nation building in education. So, despite of different views, both ended up seeing the need of education for the new nation.

## KEYWORDS

Liberalism; education; Viscount of Cairu; Andrada Brothers; Brazil.

## **JOSÉ DA SILVA LISBOA, JOSÉ BONIFÁCIO E MARTIM FRANCISCO: DISCUSSÕES SOBRE EDUCAÇÃO NO IMPÉRIO DO BRASIL**

### **RESUMO**

O objetivo deste artigo é destacar alguns elementos do debate sobre a educação brasileira no início do Império do Brasil (1822-1827), identificando princípios e valores do Liberalismo aplicados à instrução pública. Para isso, analisamos o pensamento de Silva Lisboa e dos irmãos Martim Francisco e José Bonifácio. Usamos jornais, panfletos e Anais da Constituinte de 1823, bem como *Memórias de Martim Francisco*, perpassando as obras *Constituição Moral e Deveres do Cidadão*, de Silva Lisboa, e *Projetos para o Brasil*, de José Bonifácio. Para a interpretação dos dados, nos inspiramos na História Cultural, como sugerido por Roger Chartier. Assim, percebemos os conceitos caros ao Liberalismo, liberdade e felicidade, bem como a necessidade de um sistema educacional que mobilizasse o Estado na construção e na instrução da nação. Dessa maneira, apesar de concepções diferentes, os três terminavam por enxergar a necessidade da educação para a nova nação.

### **PALAVRAS-CHAVE**

Liberalismo; educação; Visconde de Cairu; Irmãos Andrada; Brasil.

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### **RESUMEN**

El propósito del artículo es poner de relieve elementos del debate sobre la educación brasileña a comienzos del Imperio de Brasil (1822-1827), identificando los principios y valores del Liberalismo aplicados a la educación pública. Para ello, analizamos el pensamiento de Silva Lisboa y de los hermanos Martim Francisco y José Bonifácio. Utilizamos periódicos, folletos y Procedimientos Constitucionales de 1823, *Memórias de Martim Francisco*, permeando las obras *Constituição Moral e Deveres do Cidadão*, de Silva Lisboa, y *Projetos para o Brasil*, de José Bonifácio. Para la interpretación de datos, nos inspiramos en la Historia Cultural como sugiere Roger Chartier. De este modo, observamos los conceptos apreciados por el Liberalismo, la libertad y la felicidad, así como la necesidad de un sistema educativo que movilizase al Estado en la construcción e instrucción de la nación. Así, a pesar de los diferentes puntos de vista, ambos terminaron por ver la necesidad de la educación para la nueva nación.

### **PALABRAS CLAVES**

Liberalismo; educación; Vizconde de Cairu; Hermanos Andrada; Brasil.

## INTRODUCTION

This article aims to stress and ponder about some of the main elements of the intellectual debate about Brazilian education during the Brazilian transition from Kingdom to Empire (1815-1827), trying, in the meantime, to identify the principles and values of Liberalism applied on public schooling legislation. The time frame comprises the debate about education from the elevation of Brazil to the condition of a Kingdom, in 1815, until the promulgation of the first educational law, in 1827. To that end, we propose a comparative analysis between the thoughts of José da Silva Lisboa, a constitutional congressman of the Province of Bahia, and the Andrada brothers: Martim Francisco and José Bonifácio, constitutional congressmen of the Provinces of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, respectively. The Annals of the Constituent Assembly of 1823 were used as main sources, placing us in the eye of the debate proposed to the Parliament. Furthermore, we analyzed three documents that presented proposals for educational projects in Brazil at that time; namely: *Memórias de Martim Francisco (Martim Francisco's Memoirs)* — from 1821, presented to the Province of São Paulo and, later, to the Constituent Assembly in 1823, which, although it was aborted, is the starting point for this debate —, José Bonifácio's propositions in *Projetos para o Brasil (Projects for Brazil)* — about the civilization of black and Indigenous peoples, presented to the same Assembly —, and, at last, the *Constituição Moral e Deveres do Cidadão (Moral Constitution and Citizens' Duties)* —, a work by José da Silva Lisboa that is employed as a civic catechism for all citizens of the Empire. The analysis of data interpretation was inspired by the Political History and Cultural History conjectures — both in horizontal and vertical points of view — as suggested by Chartier (1988). Thus, we believe it is possible to perceive the spirit of the time, the society and its elements at the moment of the State foundation and of Empire organization. Therefore, we can understand the possibilities of education as an expensive right for the instructed ones.

## THE NEED FOR A NEW PACT

When the regent prince Dom João arrived in Brazil in 1808, it represented, amongst other things, the preparation of a new way of teaching individuals for a new reality that included the living in the Court, the Royal service and the state bureaucracy. Thus, we discuss new times installed in Brazil, still as a Colony, understanding the need for the reordering of both the colonial society and the State, embodied by the king's figure, which used to be so distant and came to be so close, more present and stronger.

From 1815 on, the Brazilian civil society ponders on a new model of political relationship and of Social Contract: the passage from Colony to the condition of a Kingdom, which meant a redesign of political relationships. Quoting Remond (2003, p.444, translated by the author), “the power relationships in global society are the only ones you can call political: this society is the total amount of individuals who live in a politically precise bordered space”. Then, we understand society from that time had to arrange a new legal foundation in which the new relationships

between Society and the Kingdoms of Brazil, Portugal and Algarves were explicit (Remond, 2003).

In 1820, there was a need to reorganize and constitute this new “total amount of individuals” when the Courts were called to deliberate a Constitution for the Portuguese Nation. There is a reaction from the Province of São Paulo to this action. The congressmen of this Province presented the basis for this recent pact to the regent prince in Brazil, Dom Pedro de Alcântara. The pact assured “the rights and duties for the United Kingdom, Brazil and its Provinces; and defined the way which one of them should cooperate in order to achieve such needed and fortunate aims” (Brasil, 1821, p. 5, translated by the author)<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, this hierarchy explicits the way São Paulo congressmen conceived the new organization of the Lusitanian Empire as a Liberal Constitution, guaranteeing autonomy for the kingdoms and provinces. This way, they define new duties and rights for the new contractors which, in this case, were the Brazilians, who perceived the opportunity to commence the construction of their citizenship. These Brazilians, previously, were merely colonists who were not consulted about business in Brazil. This way, the Nation constitutes itself as a political body that wants to be represented by the State, this “instrument and symbol [...] whose power is admittedly capable of demanding obedience by the law and had the right to punish violations.” (Remond, 2003, p. 444, translated by the author).

The recently discussed pact did not fit anymore into the educational plans commissioned by the king to the Court intellectuals, as was before. This way, the education is also included in the discussions and proposals of the political society as one of the needs of the Nation to achieve enlightenment and civility, the main reason for the initiatives analyzed here.

At that point in history, we had been living under the effects and the organization of the educational reform promoted by the Marquis of Pombal, probably due to its success in achieving its goals, by allowing the State to act directly in the process of education, removing the primacy of education from the Church. Therefore, there was no urge for a new model of teaching. The importance of instruction, as a *sine qua non* condition for the constitutional government implies people from São Paulo to point out the need for “existing schools for basic literacy in all important Cities, Villages and Neighborhoods based on the Lancaster method with good catechisms for children’s reading and teaching” (Brasil, 1821, p. 8, translated by the author). Beyond that, the presence of gymnasiums, schools and universities was pointed as “indispensable for the augment, richness and prosperity of the Nation” (Brasil, 1821, p. 8, translated by the author). However, congressmen Carvalho e Melo’s reaction to congressman José de Alencar’s request, which was made in a session of the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1823, evidences the situation

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1 These words are part of the “Appointments” made by congressmen of São Paulo Province in 1821. The aim was to contribute to a public opinion formation about the “Political Regeneration of the Kingdom of Brazil and its cordial union with Portugal’s one”. The document was signed by the congressmen Antônio Carlos Ribeiro de Andrada Machado e Silva, Nicolao Pereira de Campos Vergueiro, Diogo Antônio Feijó, Antônio Manoel da Silva Bueno and Antônio Pais de Barros.

of teaching in a recently built Empire: “Right now I have listened to the illustrious Congressman Mr. Alencar saying there was not even the basic literacy course in such a notable Village.” (Brasil, 1880, p. 568, translated by the author).

Still under the Pombal Reform, Dom João did not propose anything new for the primary education and concerned himself exclusively about conceiving a board for the recently arrived administration. There was an exception for General Stockler when he “was in charge [...] of organizing a Public Education Plan for the Kingdom of Brazil” (Saraiva, 1997, p. 82-83, translated by the author). Garção Stockler had already developed an Education Plan for the Kingdom of Portugal in 1799, which was not, however, carried on due to its being considered impractical, expensive, revolutionary and excessively theoretical to even be analyzed, according to the critiques made by a board nominated by the Lisbon Royal Academy of Sciences.<sup>2</sup> All the same, Garção Stockler, following the request by the Count of Barca, introduced it to Dom João VI<sup>3</sup>. The destination of the plan is unknown. It is only known that its author was nominated Azores’ Governor, in 1820, and has not returned to Brazil.

At last, in 1820, Dom João VI convenes the Extraordinary General Assemblies and the Constituents of the Portuguese Nation. Thus,

during the constituent process, the Courts elaborated an Enactment, on March 10, 1821, which established that, independently on the exam or license, any citizen could provide the primary education. The regent Prince (prospective Dom Pedro I) publishes this law in the name of D. João VI (already in Portugal). (Cury, 2014, p. 23, translated by the author)

An intense debate starts after the Courts convene, aiming at the elaboration of an educational project for Brazil.

## INTELLECTUALS WHO COMPETE FOR PROJECTS OF BRAZILIAN EDUCATION

We share Vieira’s understanding (2008) about Bourdieu, in which the intellectuals are “symbolic capital producers, conveying the interests of the dominant classes and the specific interests of the literate people who fight for the exclusive production of symbolic capital” (Vieira, 2008, p. 79, translated by the author). In this regard, the men we analyze in this work express the interests of the dominant classes at that time and present proposals from their point of view, in which the enlightenment is the symbolic capital to a model of civilization in which they believe in and intend to insert their young nation into.

2 This board was composed by António Ribeiro dos Santos (1745-1818), Joaquim de Foyos (1731-1811) and Agostinho José Costa Macedo (1745-1822), members of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences.

3 “Likewise, Stockler prepared a detailed plan related to the global reorganization of Public Instruction asked by the King. This plan was presented in Lisbon, in 1799, and was reshaped when he was in Brazil”. (Saraiva, 1997, p. 80)

The debate about Brazilian education within that period will be analyzed through a comparison between the thoughts of José da Silva Lisboa<sup>4</sup> and the Andrada brothers: Martim Francisco<sup>5</sup> and José Bonifácio<sup>6</sup>. The three of them come from Coimbra and each one, at their own pace, have suffered the impacts of the Pombal educational reform in college education.

The thoughts of these three intellectuals reflect in their actions and in their writings. They are protagonists of a time for building the liberal thoughts in Brazil. Each one, in their way, will build an idea of nation, State and Government for the independent country. Thus,

in view of these ideas, better saying, in view of the concepts used by those men from a certain period and providing them a content from that time, the historian ideas' task is, thus, «switch the search for a determination by the search of a function». This function can only be understood if we consider a global view of the ideological system from each period. (Venturi, 1970 *apud* Chartier, 1988, p. 49-50)

There is an intention of building a legal framework where an undefined nation could fit, causing these three individuals to act based on illuminist suppositions. They believe the liberal philosophy is the individual's self-assertion before the State and before Society. In Silva Lisboa we can detect Adam Smith's thoughts, who states that "the political obligation, i.e., the obedience [...] leads to a habitual deference attitude in front of the stablished authority" (Peixoto, 2001, p. 23, translated by the author). This authority should be clothed by a great public perception and should promote general well-being for the nation. Not far from that, the Andrada broth-

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4 José da Silva Lisboa (1756-1835) was born in Bahia and docked in Portugal in 1773 to proceed his studies in Coimbra. He became a substitute professor in Coimbra and returned to Brazil at the end of the XVIII century, stablishing himself as royal professor in Bahia, retired in 1798. He went to Rio de Janeiro after the arrival of Dom João, who gave Lisboa an employment as a censor at the Royal Press and consented Political Economy teaching. He had a profound influence over the Portuguese Court and acted as a Congressman in the Constituent Assembly. After National Assembly had been installed, Lisboa, now as Baron of Cairu, took a lifelong chair in the Senate.

5 Martim Francisco Ribeiro de Andrada (1775-1844) is the youngest brother of José Bonifácio and intervened, with Antônio Carlos Ribeiro de Andrada, in favor of a Liberal way of thinking and a Liberal Constitution in Brazil. He held a degree in mathematics and was a doctor in natural sciences from the University of Coimbra in 1798. Martim Andrada was director-general of Mines and Woods from São Paulo. He was a Finance minister in the First and Second Empires of Brazil. Before that, he had been the secretary of the Interior during the Interim Government of São Paulo Province.

6 José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva (1763-1838) went to Coimbra in 1783 to study mineralogy. After that, he took a trip through Europe and visit, mainly, Paris and Freiburg. He published in important French magazines and held bureaucratic and academic positions as a scientist, reaching the position of secretary of the Science Academy of Lisbon. He is one of the most illustrious Brazilians and began his political career as a vice-president of the interim board of São Paulo. He reached the position of Dom Pedro I's main minister. After he was demised from the Ministry, he assumed a position as a deputy of the Constituent Assembly of 1823.

ers' thoughts were "permeated by the reforming ideals. However, they feared the political course in revolutionary France", neither allowing the setback suggested by the Portuguese Courts nor the progresses proposed by the Exalted Liberals in Brazil (Neves, 2001, p. 81, translated by the author).

Regarding the presentation of Martim Francisco's plan in the Constituent Assembly of 1823, Fávero (2001) comments the urgent request due to the delay observed in Brazilian education. He says that "Martim Francisco's project was the most ambitious and organized program of public education made in the first quarter of the XIX century. He presents grades, curricular organization and well settled aims for each grade" (Fávero, 2001, p. 40-41, translated by the author).

From Fávero's point of view, we have already highlighted some liberal principles proposed by Martim Francisco: liberty and equality. Although, it should be asked: which education for which liberty and which equality was preached in the Province of São Paulo and in the Kingdom of Brazil in 1821? How are these concepts going to become the Imperial Constitution and the Law of 1827?

In this regard, there is a need to analyze Martim Francisco's proposal through time and space perspectives. Martim Francisco offers his work as a secretary of the Province of São Paulo and thus as a piece of the political and administrative team of Dom João VI. In 1815, Brazil went through the experience of becoming a Kingdom and the forces that led the country and the Andrada Brothers to fight for independence were not evident yet. Thus, we can deduce that the education proposed by Martim Francisco would not be for the forthcoming society or the conjunct of citizens from the nation-to-be to enjoy. By withdrawing the word "equality" from his *Memoirs*, the author demonstrates his place in society, and when he talks about servants, he indicates that only those who served the King would have the right to education. Moreover, the servants were supposed to stablish a trustful relationship to execute the Royal demands, which was not for everyone. It was necessary to earn the relationship, as if a contract. Thus, although he was copying Codocert's ideas<sup>7</sup>, Martim Francisco seems to be conscious about his place: a colonial elite man, educated in the metropolis, but loyal to the King. As he said in his *Memoir*:

§1<sup>st</sup> – Public education is a monarch's duty to his vassals. It is an inborn obligation attributed to political societies and it is stablished between the ruler and the ruled person. And it overtly results in mutual benefit: public instruction equally and generally spread through all the members of any State levels a little more or a little less their intellectual faculties; it enhances, without any loss, the superiority of those who naturally received a better organization; it annihilates this royal dependency, a sad monopoly that the lights of a kind will exercise over the whole blind ignorance; it destroys inequality that emerges from moral

7 Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (1741-1794), French nobleman, was a Member of the National Assembly by the Paris Department, a member of the Public Instruction Committee, in April 1792 presented an extensive report and a Public education in revolutionary France from which he extracts his Five Memories on Public Education, a source of inspiration for various educational proposals in Brazil.



sentiments; it eases the joy of goods offered by society; it nips the evils and torches of disagreement in the bud. And they – evil and torches – are the means through which the ignorance have been abusing the world in different periods and filling the pages of history; and it finally colludes to promote the prosperity of the States, to toughen and stabilize them through the conjunction of moral and fiscal strengths. (Andrada, 1945, p. 466, translated by the author)

What is interesting about this first paragraph of his *Memoir*? Firstly, it is a justification of Martim Francisco's project, in which the author demonstrates the benefits earned by the monarch and by his vassals through education. Subsequently, he says that it is a "monarch's duty", and therefore, the vassals have the right to education as long as the rights and duties equal zero. Meaning the results of this "acquired obligation" is a *sine qua non* condition for the construction of the modern "political societies". The notions of Social Contract are the ones behind Martim Francisco's work. It is not the English liberal matrix of thinking, but rather Rousseau's French matrix, which "works basically with the senses of citizenship, equality and popular sovereignty" (Peixoto, 2001, p. 21, translated by the author). Thereby, we notice the sense of equality with the terms "equally", "generally spread", and "all" to whom the monarch's educational project may be directed, in a way so there is balance between those who are different by nature, since it "levels a little more or a little less" every man (Andrada, 1945, p. 466, translated by the author).

Martim Francisco shows an understanding about the natural differences of human beings and believes an equally offered education would decrease the social differences observed at that moment. That way, public education would provide everybody with the chance to be in society with the minimal conditions to participate in political and social bodies. This happens because education joins opposite sides, those "who nature granted to be part of a happier organization" and those who live under "blind ignorance", vanishing the dependence of the second kind of people in relation to the first ones (Andrada, 1945, p. 466-467, translated by the author). At last, public education is needed, once it is democratic and distributive, making it easier to "each one to enjoy the goods [subjected to that provisos] society has to offer" (Andrada, 1945, p. 466-467, translated by the author); public instruction promotes peace and justice nipping "the evils and torches of disagreement in the bud" since men start using reason to solve their conflicts; and, lastly, it strengthens the State, assembling "moral and physical strengths" (Andrada, 1945, p. 466-467, translated by the author).

In this way, Martim Francisco develops his argument showing that an unequal distribution of education only causes hazards. The States which promote this strategy end up disseminating military or religious despotism in order to domain society by "exclusively limiting the knowledge to some classes" (Andrada, 1945, p. 466-467). Along with his arguing, Martim Francisco resumes to justify the benefits of education, but clarifies the need for some small divisions. He believes that a general plan should be created, "a general education basis that embraces the elements of all particular instructions" (Andrada, 1945, p. 467, translated by the author). It is a general education's duty to develop human faculties related "to humanity and to the State" (Andrada, 1945, p. 466-467, translated by the author). In other words, general



education helps developing those civic virtues that shape a good citizen, a citizen who bears enlightenment and is capable of serving humanity, of serving their land, and their State; it is up to private education to build people's "natural guidance and personal talents" (Andrada, 1945, p. 466-467, translated by the author), developing the skills for life as well as conditions for their survival (Andrada, 1945).

By the proposal of a lay public education under the care of rulers, it is suggested for the third year that boys should be introduced to moral and legal principles, so he or she can have a better understanding of the Constitution. The difference from what Martim Francisco suggests is a religious matter. He openly supports the severance of education and reinforces the idea of a laic school, apart from the citizen's religious life: "I do not include religious opinions of our cult in the minor moral code because these opinions are the parents and soul healers' responsibilities; and with all the authority, they should oversee resembling opinions" (Andrada, 1945, p. 473, translated by the author). Therefore, there is a dissociation between the public and the private education fields. Science and reasoning education should be public and equalizer, whereas private education should educate about moral and religious values. Citizenship occurs by widening, not by overcoming, moral and religious values, which gathers civic values that build the citizenship. The school should add "a purer joy to the happiness they promise and a certain compensation for the sacrifices they demand from thee: we do not offer a new yoke, but we must slacken the weight of what is ancient" (Andrada, 1945, p. 467, translated by the author).

José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva believes that trade and education would be a way to turn natural enemies — Indians and black people — into friends and siblings, compatriots and citizens. His writings transpire this idea. The exercise of liberties, justice, industry and commerce would make Brazil become a free and sovereign nation, according to the example of the United States of America. However, although José Bonifácio's being a remarkable intellectual, he does not bring a set and planned action for national education. After he left Dom Pedro I's Ministry, he takes office as a constituent congressman and presents two propositions to the Assembly: the first one is the "Representation on Slavery to the Constituent and Legislative General Assembly of the Empire of Brazil" (Silva, 2000, p. 23-45, translated by the author), composed by 32 articles; the second one are the "Remarks for the civilization of wild Indians from the Empire of Brazil" (Silva, 2000, p. 47-62, translated by the author) composed by 44 items, but not as articles. In his proposals, José Bonifácio rarely mentions the poor white people and, when he does, he puts them in a position above Indians and black people.

During his presentation, José Bonifácio explains that "the civil society has justice in first place and men's happiness as its main purpose" (Silva, 2000, p. 30, translated by the author). When he indicates the basis (justice) and the purpose of the society he presents the possibility for constructing a "Liberal and enduring Constitution" (Silva, 2000, p. 24, translated by the author), which he believed to be the only feasible way for the Empire to be constituted as a Nation and State. Justice and happiness are the mottoes of both his presented works.

The main action to be taken would be to cease the slave trade to Brazil and stop promoting wars against natives. The first and main action would be justified

by the notion of wealth that the liberal ideals can bring, “since man cannot be a thing he cannot be a prosperity object” (Silva, 2000, p. 30, translated by the author). In order to cease the war against natives, justice goes through the commerce, by buying their lands instead of taking them. That way, he exhibits his liberal principles of justice, happiness and prosperity, deriving from one another; however, the only idea of slavery was already a demonstration of lack of enlightenment. It was the undeniable prove that “the families neither have education nor can obtain by trading slaves. Nothing can force them to accustom and to know the truth and the religion” (Silva, 2000, p. 27, translated by the author). At last, the required and useful tools to transform “brutal and enemy slaves” (Silva, 2000, p. 24, translated by the author) into useful and regimented citizens were liberty, commerce and education. Even if the natives are, according to him, “vagrant peoples and interested in constant wars and robberies” (Silva, 2000, p. 47, translated by the author) it is necessary to treat them differently to achieve civilization. There was no need to fight them. Instead, they should be educated and a commercialization should be established.

The suggested objective for the general population and, more specifically, to natives and black people was “to domesticate and make them happy” (Silva, 2000, p. 47, translated by the author). The obligation of taking care of slaves, so they would “be transformed from brutal immoral citizens to useful, active and regimented ones” (Silva, 2000, p. 31, translated by the author), should be more than moral: should be legal. This way, “if the laws consider them as objects subjected to penal legislation, why would not they be objects subjected to civil protection?” (Silva, 2000, p. 31, translated by the author). Society is then “forced by the reason and by the law to turn these people from merely slaves into free and active men” (Silva, 2000, p. 32, translated by the author), in a dual movement of population’s moral and mental freeing in the Empire “releasing their families of domestic examples of corruption and tyranny; releasing them from their and the State’s enemies, who are without a homeland e who could become our siblings and our compatriots” (Silva, 2000, p. 32, translated by the author).

In José Bonifácio’s project, the responsibility of freed slaves’ education was restricted to the offspring a master would have with his slave. In article XI, the Constituent proposes that “every master that lives in concubinage with his slave or has had children with her should be forced by the law to free the mother and the offspring, and should be forced to mind their education until the age of fifteen” (Silva, 2000, p. 35, translated by the author). On the other hand, the government care for the arrived slaves and the recently formed citizen released from slavery. And “all the measures will be equally taken so the slaves are instructed religious and morally. The master earns a lot from this: beyond eternal happiness, the subservience and adequate loyalty from slaves” (Silva, 2000, p. 37, translated by the author).

The idea of happiness was straightly connected to the idea of civilization in José Bonifácio’s writings. For him, a wild, barbaric man had no technical conditions to be a happy man, once that “the civilized man needs to make calculations to achieve happiness. Even whether the arithmetic is rude and imprecise, it is essential” (Silva, 2000, p. 49, translated by the author). Calculation is connected to the idea of property, provided that mathematics is not just a language: it is an elegant way to describe the world, emerges in civilization to count one’s properties, their desired

goods, their projections and what must be accumulated and protected. Therefore, the “wild native without any goods and any money does not have anything to calculate. And all the abstract ideas of quantity and number, without which men’s minds differ just a little from the wild instincts, are unknown by them” (Silva, 2000, p. 49, translated by the author). This conception of civilization, attached to the idea of property, would be useful to justify the limited idea of citizenship established in the first Constitution, regarding the Imperial education.

Beyond basic education, a college schooling is also included in the proposals of the congressmen. Silva Lisboa, in the Session of September 6, 1823, defends the urge for creating a conjunct of Universities all over the Empire:

1<sup>st</sup> Art. There should be created a university at this court, afforded by the Treasury, which will be called: university of Sciences, Fine Arts and Languages. (...)

3<sup>rd</sup> Art. There should be founded similar universities in the Captaincies from other provinces of the Empire of Brazil when requested by their people. The local government should assign and ensure the funds and credits for each one to stablish the universities and independently of their comprised public incomes. (Brasil, 1880, v. 5, p. 49-50, translated by the author)

Although this proposal was extensively supported, some of the asides — both opposite and favorable — from the remaining registered congressmen allow us to know the arguments of Silva Lisboa on education. In Congressman Gomide’s opinion, member of the Committee of Public Instruction, a university would be possible, though not in the Court, once that the pleasures offered there would make the young men unfocused and less capable of study. He quotes, as an example, the distance between the University of Coimbra and the Portuguese downtown areas, as Lisbon and Porto. Opposite to congressman Gomide, congressman Miguel Calmon would believe universities should be built in big cities once these towns offered the possibility to put the theories learned at the universities into practice. He also suggested the Assembly authorizes two universities per province as “if any of the provinces wants to hold another university, there is no reason not to allow it, as long as the province supports the university with his own funds.” (Brasil, 1880, v. 5, p. 50, translated by the author). Congressman Vergueiro, sharing the same opinion of congressman Gomide, also added the costs of living and studying at the Court. Moreover, he believed the University in Rio de Janeiro should have the science monopoly, and to practice it in the Court would be a privilege. As observed, the arguments are of economic nature, with no pedagogic argument against enlightenment dissemination.

Albeit building a university in Bahia had been considered, Silva Lisboa was aware of its the precarity because of the pro-independence conflicts that have been occurring there or anywhere else and the small existing investment. The arguments were constructed on a financial basis and, therefore, the creation of a university involved centralizing economic efforts. If the provinces were not capable of doing so, the Empire should be. This way, founding a university in Rio de Janeiro meant concentrating efforts as there were already enough schools and all the elite would go there to study. On the other hand, “all the institutions would be weak or would be

excessive for the country if these institutions were multiplied” (Brasil, 1880, v. 5, p. 51, translated by the author), and the experience had already shown “that many programs of college education were created in Bahia and they have shown themselves as exotic plants that will not survive” (Brasil, 1880, v. 5, p. 51, translated by the author).

In a previous session, on August 22, 1823, Silva Lisboa defended public and college educations, manifesting his opinions and principles for legislation on this topic. He warned the Assembly he would have a long explanation on this topic, since “the implementation of a University in Brazil was an urgent subject” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 170, translated by the author). This University should be unique and placed in the Court, in disagreement with the Committee of Public Education. He defends the Independence, after Bahia — his homeland — had been through a traumatic experience, “our first and more urgent need is the defense: afterwards, there will be college education in the Empire” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 170, translated by the author).

While discussing in favor of Rio de Janeiro, Silva Lisboa argues about economic and natural opportunities achieved “by commerce freedom and geographic position” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 171, translated by the author). Instruments and books would be easily imported through the ships harbored in Rio de Janeiro, not only through the economy, but also “because of the large transit of foreigners” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 171, translated by the author), as well as the fact that the most important schools of the Empire are located there, missing only a Law School: “Therefore, there is already a partly formed university” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 171, translated by the author).

Rationally, Silva Lisboa argued that a major number of universities scattered throughout the country would mean a “super abundance of Doctors out of proportion when compared to the positions the State needs” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 171, translated by the author). He reinforced his argument about exclusivity, stating that

As it is recognized by practical Statesmen, it is not desirable to allow all the classes unrestricted access to college education, so only the right number of civil servants would suit the country’s demand. Thus, this is necessary to guarantee the public interests as belonging to certain straighten and wealthy families. Indeed, the supernumerary workers would cheapen or would not have fair salaries, as happens in other sectors. (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 171, translated by the author)

Market regulations should, therefore, determine when, where and how to set a university. A diploma would have costs and should, then, payback the high investments made by the families. The maintenance of public positions in a low populous country was fundamental for preserving names, influences and cultural capital, since the elite depended on the benefits given by the State. This way, their offspring would have a position, as some of them would not inherit or manage the properties. A diploma was a real distinctive character in the Brazilian Imperial culture.

The next congressman’s argument was also the royal censor’s argument. A cosmopolitan university would “be more detached from local characteristics; it would hold a bigger knowledge about men and about business of the world” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 172, translated by the author). This argument vindicates the opposition to dispersal of universities as in “unfortunately, parties that disagree with the Constitutional Empire

have been raising in the Provinces” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 172, translated by the author). It is necessary to be careful so “those who influence the less instructed classes should be given the opportunity to study and to share the ideals of our system” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 172, translated by the author). As an example of this type of control, deputy Silva Lisboa quotes the attitude of Leo X, who created “more than a hundred vacancies for Science studying” in Rome (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 172, translated by the author).

If the professors and students were far from the emperor what control would the ruler have upon them? In a continental country, the surveillance of incompatible ideas would be difficult due to the distances which would prevent, thus, an immediate energetic response to incompatible ideas on new behaviors. The moment was still quite tense. On the other hand, being close to the king also meant a better opportunity to be noted and take a position on magistrature. By being close, the king would honor professors and students with his presence, he would watch the best ones to be chosen for high public jobs and would stimulate students. Finally, closing his argument about the best place for the university, Silva Lisboa relies on the “rule of Scripture — The King’s Eye dissipates all the evil” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 172, translated by the author). Thus, he concludes that the severe vigilance over the ideas and teachers and students takes place in the remarkable “paragraph of the project’s, in which he omits the creation of a Rector, and only assigns for the position of Vice-rector of the Lentes Group” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 172, translated by the author). That is, the rector would be the closest confidence of the emperor. Such authority would restrain students and teachers, both in customs and in ideas.

Silva Lisboa strongly advocates for the establishment of a Law School as in the Roman Laws, according to the thoughts presented during the Pombal Reforms of the University of Coimbra, so “there would be Judges. Because even though Constitution establishes this position, it does not take roots in Brazil” (Brasil, 1880, v. 4, p. 172, translated by the author). He shows that the upbringing of Roman Laws through universities has civilized Europe, providing a typical relationship between the State Law and the Civilization. At last, as an overview argument, he stated:

I did not propose to monopolize the studies at the university or extend this situation for perpetuity. I only attended the urgency presented by the circumstances of the Empire and the non-existent possibility for the Treasury to provide all the demanded universities. When parted, they weaken. (Brasil, 1880, v. 5, p. 52, translated by the author)

Silva Lisboa, as it seems, recognized the need for increasing the number of universities in the country. Although he also recognized the Treasury was not capable of maintaining all of them. There were no impairments as to other universities being created, but each Province should maintain their own institutions.

## CLOSING REMARKS

This debate did not happen at the Constituent Assembly of 1823, except for Silva Lisboa’s comments in favor of the University in Brazil. Martim Francisco and José Bonifácio’s proposals were presented according to the internal regulations

of the Assembly and, even so, they were not submitted to the plenary, preventing, thus, the Constituents' reactions to their proposals to be perceived. Nevertheless, we realize the presented proposals explicitly expose their authors' thoughts, in which we notice concepts appreciated by Liberalism, mainly the ideas of liberty and happiness, as well as the need for an educational system that would involve the State in the construction and instruction of the nation. Therefore, although these ideas are different and bear a conflicting political background, they agreed education was mandatory for the new nation. However, there were diverse objectives.

For José Bonifácio, it was mandatory to integrate Indians and black people in this project turning "these immoral peoples into useful, active and regimented citizens" (Silva, 2000, p. 31, translated by the author) who "should join the general society of citizens after being educated" (Silva, 2000, p. 71, translated by the author). So, they would be part of the Brazilian Imperial project of civilization, which would promote justice and happiness. Martim Francisco believes education is the basis and one of the main causes of prosperity of a nation, being the State's obligation to offer education if it wants to preserve its freedom and sovereignty, warning that "every political society remains prosper through the labor of every citizen" (Andrada, 1945, p. 467, translated by the author), and the State should enable all citizens so general happiness would be guaranteed. Silva Lisboa was more careful, down to earth and less idealistic. He advocated in favor of Enlightenment and believed dissemination of Lights was an effective way to civilize the Nation. Although, during his presentation, he unpromisingly warns about the Royal Treasury's capacity to maintain a public education and emphasizes the need for absolute control over the propagated ideas, he defended a controlled liberty, *i.e.*, the human being is only civilized and happy if he controls his passions and his sense of hunger, since "ignorance is far from being a human nature law. First, ignorance is an obstacle for the practice of laws. Ignorance is the *legitimate original sin.*" (Silva Lisboa, 1824, p. 84, author's emphasis, translated by the author).

We realize these educational projects had the final purpose to insert Brazil in the list of civilized nations using two fundamental documents: a Constitution which would grant political freedom, and an educational plan which would grant Constitution. Everyone saw education as the enlightenment path; education was the scape door to all the evil of the colony, for the civilization of men and to assure Brazil as an independent nation.

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