



A study on the historical context of the North of Minas in the 19th century and the trajectory of the teaching profession of Chiquinha Leite (c.1840-1911)¹

Um estudo sobre o contexto histórico do Norte de Minas no século XIX e a trajetória da profissão docente de Chiquinha Leite (c.1840-1911)

Un estudio sobre el contexto histórico del Norte de Minas en el siglo XIX y la trayectoria de la profesión docente de Chiquinha Leite (c.1840-1911)

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Abstract

The text is structured around the contradiction of the patriarchy in relation to the professional teaching trajectory of the teacher of the mixed school of Três Barras, Chiquinha Leite, against which she had to fight to insert herself in the teaching career, in the few gaps or crevices of the XIX century. We show how the performance of men in the Senado da Câmara (public administration), in the Comarca do Serro do Frio (administration of justice) and in the parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição (ecclesiastical administration) was based on the system of favors and regalism. On the other hand, we show how the place of the teacher depended on the understanding of patriarchy and its rules historically inherited as a colonial and imperial pedagogical gesture, which in fact is the method of reading this context. The study is part of an attempt to deepen the foundations of female teaching in Minas Gerais in the 19th century.

Keywords: History of Education. Teaching Profession. Female Teaching.

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Resumo

O texto estrutura-se em torno da contradição do patriarcado em relação à trajetória profissional docente da mestra da escola mista de Três Barras, Chiquinha Leite, contra o qual ela teve que lutar para se inserir na carreira do magistério, nas poucas brechas ou fendas do século XIX. Mostramos como a atuação dos homens no Senado da Câmara (administração pública), na Comarca do Serro do Frio (administração da justiça) e na paróquia de Nossa Senhora da Conceição (administração eclesiástica) alicerçou-se no sistema das mercês e no regalismo. Por outro lado, mostramos como o lugar da professora ou mestra dependia da compreensão do patriarcado e suas regras herdadas historicamente como gesto pedagógico colonial e imperial, que de fato é o método de leitura deste contexto. O estudo insere-se na tentativa de aprofundar os fundamentos da docência feminina nas Minas Gerais do século XIX.

Palavras-chaves: História da Educação. Profissão Docente. Magistério Feminino.

Resumen

El texto se estructura en torno a la contradicción del patriarcado en relación a la trayectoria profesional docente de la profesora de la escuela mixta de Três Barras, Chiquinha Leite, contra la cual tuvo que luchar para insertarse en la carrera docente, en las pocas lagunas o grietas del siglo XIX. Mostramos cómo la actuación de los hombres en el Senado da Câmara (administración pública), en la Comarca do Serro do Frio (administración de justicia) y en la parroquia de Nossa Senhora da Conceição (administración eclesiástica) se basó en el sistema de favores y regalismo. Por otro lado, mostramos cómo el lugar del maestro dependía de la comprensión del patriarcado y sus reglas heredadas históricamente como gesto pedagógico colonial e imperial, que de hecho es el método de lectura de este contexto. El estudio es parte de un intento de profundizar los fundamentos de la enseñanza femenina en Minas Gerais en el siglo XIX.

Palabras clave: Historia de la Educación. Profesión Docente. Enseñanza Femenina.

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Introduction

Francisca Leite Teixeira was born in Diamantina, Minas Gerais, Brazil, around 1840. Her life took place in a common way in the North of Minas Gerais – whose main cities are Diamantina, Serro and Minas Novas, as they are the localities founded in the early years of the seventeenth century with their form of colonization within the economy of gold and diamonds – as was to be expected from a girl from a middle-class family linked to commerce. She went to good schools and obtained her diploma as a normalist at Colégio Nossa Senhora das Dores das Filhas da Caridade de São Vicente de Paulo, in Diamantina. She took the public exam to be a teacher at the mixed school in Três Barras, a village between Diamantina and Serro, and passed in first place, following the premises of the notice. She set up her school around 1884 and remained there until about 1901. In total, 17 years of school conducting in the small village of Minas Gerais. She taught her students first letters and elementary mathematics. Writing, reading and doing math, that was the mission of her school. After moving away from the school in Três Barras, she went to live in Itambé and bought an 80-acre farm in Casa de Telha. Her last documentary record is from 1911, the probable year of her death. She had no children. She did not marry. Her will has not been located in public archives.

The double look at Chiquinha Leite – the personal life and the professional life of the school – is added to the other fundamental historical dimension, which was to determine the impact of the gold and diamond economy, the system of mercy and the patronage system, typical legacies of the colonial and imperial pedagogical gesture² in their social mobility. The question that guided us was only one: how did Chiquinha Leite, through her position as a public teacher, transform her own social condition and achieve a certain educational and commercial protagonism in the North of Minas Gerais at the end of the nineteenth century?

Chiquinha Leite lived in a patriarchal society that was apparently open to women's participation in the labor market. But we know that public education was not just any profession, since it was a space for debates about public morality, about the project of the Brazilian nation or even for the formation of the children of the commercial and political elite of the North of Minas Gerais. Chiquinha Leite had to prove adequacy to the patriarchal system present in the conception of education, especially that of first letters or literacy. The woman, the teacher, the class conductor were required to take care of the teaching and the maternal feminine feeling to deal with the children. This mystique of the female teaching identity was permeated with patriarchy. Teacher, as long as she is moralized, caring and affectionate. Thus came the “so-called feminization of the magisterium” (FARIA FILHO et al., 2005, p. 53) in the 19th century.

² According to Briskievicz (2021, p. 2), “the colonial or imperial pedagogical gesture – who teaches and how they teach, who learns and how they learn – is an instrument for analyzing political and educational relations, individual and collective; It is a way of telling the Brazilian colonial history, Minas Gerais and the mountains, having as a theoretical assumption the dynamism of the relations of teaching and learning. Those who taught and wished to do so used mechanisms or devices of power that authorized or disauthorized their discourse and practice”. The author continues on p. 5: “In this way, in society, individuals practice pedagogical gestures, educate and politicize themselves, learn and live together. The pedagogical gesture is a political act in which the body presents itself as a didactic resource of the individual and its group, the social class and its various strata. It is the body animated or infested with values and disvalues, knowledge and non-knowledge, beliefs and disbeliefs, that is, the social forms of symbolization of one's being in the world, which translate and express those who find themselves in front of the eyes of others. The presence of the individual body is enhanced by social institutions”.

However, Chiquinha Leite knew how to act in the cracks of the patriarchal society of the nineteenth-century North of Minas Gerais. Temporary and very well guarded crevices³. It's not easy to live with so many traditions. A long colonial and imperial past weighed heavily on women's lives. The cities, districts and towns of the North of Minas Gerais were controlled by influential politicians – many heirs to the mentality of the “good men” of the seventeenth century, connected to the central government of Rio de Janeiro in a constant dispute between liberal (luzias) and conservative (saquaremas) supporters. Those politicians were direct representatives of the merchants of the “Empório do Norte” – as the city of Diamantina was referred to by its elites in the local newspapers. The “Emporium of the North” was not just a city, but the visible tip of a gigantic trade network invisible to the unsuspecting eye, whose ramifications crossed the South Atlantic – slaves were exchanged for cachaça and tobacco in Africa to supply the gold and diamond mines – and the North Atlantic – all kinds of trinkets were imported from Europe, especially from England and Portugal to supply trade and give an air of modernity and cosmopolitanism. Behind the liberal or conservative politics and the cutting-edge trade, the support came from the gold and diamond economy.

This is how we intend to tell part of the history of teacher Chiquinha Leite in the North of Minas Gerais from the sociabilities of the nineteenth century, that is, drawing a profile of the context of the mountainous region in the century of her birth and instruction for public teaching in her school in Três Barras. To this end, we present an overview of where the gold and diamond economy developed and how this context influenced its performance and life trajectory, especially due to patriarchy.

Brazil's colonial past also reverberated in the lives of men and women born between the constitution of new forms of colonial power and authority in the First Reign (1822-1831), the uncertainties of the Regency period (1831-1840) and the formation of the Second Reign (1840-1889).

Teacher Chiquinha Leite was born in the period of Brazil's history of profound changes and visible continuities between the colonial pedagogical gesture and the formation of another imperial pedagogical gesture, between the sociabilities constituted when the people were still colonized by the Portuguese metropolis and a population ruled by a new emperor who had given a cry for independence and self-government, creating new relations of power and authority. The novelty spread through the mountains, this immense territory between the Serra do Espinhaço and Itacambira, where the political center was installed in the old Vila do Príncipe, current city of Serro, the former Comarca of Serro do Frio, now just Comarca do Serro, and the town and city of Diamantina, former village of Tijuco.

Understanding the legacy of the colonial pedagogical gesture in the lives of the people of independent Brazil from 1822 onwards and the later imperial period is an exercise in reconstituting the possibilities of living in society, forming from daily life the networks of sociabilities, in which real lives and their trajectories were framed by political events, economic, cultural and educational developments. Between the colonial past and imperial Brazil, the life trajectory of teacher Chiquinha da Silva began.

³ According to Faria Filho et al., (2005, p. 57) “statistical data show us that, since the 1860s, there has been a rapid growth in the number of women in teaching. This seems to be related to several factors: educational policies that have come to consider the presence of women in public schools increasingly legitimate and sometimes desirable; the increase in the number of girls enrolled and attending public schools; transformations in school culture, making it increasingly refractory to the male presence in the classroom; the decrease in the average age of students, due to the production of pedagogical/moral/cultural constraints to the mixture of students of different ages in the same classroom and, at the same time, with the creation of opportunities for evening classes for young people and adolescent workers”. The authors continue (p. 58): “during the schooling process of the nineteenth century, the idea that women should enter the teaching profession was being constructed. This question is, on the one hand, clearly related to the presence, or not, of girls in the school universe. Thus, if in 1839 there were 598 girls attending schools for girls, in 1885, girls already numbered 7,274, a phenomenon that brings significant changes to the composition of primary teaching since, as a rule, only women could teach girls, although in schools”.

We aim to explain the historical continuities of the mountain ranges, because no one is born without inheriting something from the past. What, then, were the structures or presuppositions of the colonial pedagogical gesture that still remained in the new imperial times? To reach a satisfactory answer, we need to remember and retell stories of the administration of this space and reconstruct its power relations from the “good men” of the Senado da Câmara (public administration) and the general ombudsman of the District of Serro do Frio, in addition to explaining the authority of the priests of the parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição. Thus, we expose the bases of the colonial pedagogical gesture still in force in the empire: the distribution of privileges by the system of mercy, the relations between the Crown and the Church in the system of royal patronage and one of the most present social practices in these sociabilities, the patronage.

Senado da Câmara: space and power in the mountains

The legacy of the set of sociabilities of the eighteenth century, called by us the formation and perpetuation of the colonial pedagogical gesture, was still felt in 1828, when the former Senado da Câmara of Vila do Príncipe extinguished its traditional form of ordinary elections by portfolio and extraordinary by cap. The way of doing politics was still based on colonial structures, in frank transformation due to the intense processes experienced in the daily lives of the residents of the mountains due to Brazilian independence and all its practical consequences for the people and their local political leaders.

The political tradition of the colonial pedagogical gesture and its sociabilities had begun on January 29, 1714, in the year of the official installation of the mountain municipality, through the first council of Senado da Câmara by the “good men” and ended in 1828 with the publication of the law of its extinction and creation of the Municipal Councils. During the period of existence of Senado da Câmara – from 1714 to 1828 – the relations of power and authority met with an important public institution that, in a certain way and in its own way, ordered the social cohesion of the town, the county and the parish. The political game had its explicit or implicit rules, with resistance and acceptance, some disobedience and a lot of servitude. Sociabilities were constituted around power, a microphysical political phenomenon⁴, capillarized, reproduced or denied in private and public life.

From 1714 onwards, the legislative tradition of the seventeenth century of the “good men” took over annually in an election by lot of the names indicated for the administration of the political body of the mountain town and their term as first and second judges, three councilors and a prosecutor of the year was extinguished with the General Law of October 1, 1828. Senado da Câmara became the City Council. Election by portfolio and cap became direct, in electoral colleges with qualified men.

The political changes in the mountains of the nineteenth century presented their conservative character in the daily lives of the population. There were no drastic disruptions. The new political context required diplomatic skill to put old pieces back – the “good men” – in the new national political chessboard, now as councilors elected by popular vote. A political transformation that took place with the relocation of the former rulers of power.

⁴ Power is not something vague, abstract, ideal, but is found where there are social beings, it is historically constituted, and must be analyzed from its instruments – institutionalized or not – from the forms of control of the body, from how it is disciplined in its most banal gestures, in its ordinary attitudes, in its accepted or marginal behaviors, in its explicit or silenced discourses. In addition to the state as a social institution of power, authority and the repression and punishment of criminal behavior, Foucault highlights the microscopic capillarity of power, constituted in micropowers at molecular levels, in multispaces of social relations. See: Foucault, 2017.

In fact, since the arrival and installation of the royal family in Rio de Janeiro in 1808, the changes in the daily political life of the mountain village have been felt. The royal family no longer lived in Lisbon, overseas, in remote seclusion in the distant kingdom of Portugal. Now, the complex and functional system of mercy – which had operated in the distribution of royal privileges to “good men” since 1702, with the distribution of patents and provisions, dates and sesmarias sealing pacts of good services from vassals to the Portuguese Crown – could be accessed by the mountain elite directly with the Prince Regent Dom João or his intermediary officials.

The Portuguese royal family, on the run due to the continental blockade ordered by the Emperor of France, Napoleon Bonaparte, was going through a chronic crisis. Dona Maria I, the queen by right, ended up interdicted by her own son who assumed the Crown, and became king with the death of his mother in March 20, 1816, and needed to sign cooperation agreements favorable to England, its protective nation and main trading partner, such as the treaty of opening ports to friendly nations. England, the main nation affected by the Napoleonic continental blockade, was the largest and most present friendly nation of the Portuguese Crown, now operating directly in Brazil.

The institutional, political and economic crisis of the Portuguese Crown, displaced from its metropolitan territory to its tropical colony, created a social effervescence in Rio de Janeiro that arrived as a modernizing spirit in the old Vila do Príncipe, with new arrangements of its political and economic elite.

The end of the colonial pact decreed by the extinction of the Portuguese industrial monopoly opened new perspectives for the modernization of customs through access to European industrialized products: free competition brought a new reality to the trinkets, fabrics and shoes stores of Vila do Príncipe, now even more integrated into the international market of goods, especially those sold with commercial houses in Rio de Janeiro, crammed with English products; established renewed local and national political relations. It created a favorable environment with enormous possibilities for financial gains, especially because the changes did not shake the structure of the Brazilian, Minas Gerais and mountain economy, that is, compulsory labor based on African slavery.

Let's look at the case of the publication of the charter of industrial freedom, signed on April 1, 1808 by the Prince Regent Dom João. The charter freed the colonial Brazilian industry and allowed the establishment of manufactures and industries in the national territory. In Vila do Príncipe, the greatest impact that could be perceived in this context of productive and commercial releases was the possibility of implementing either the experience of typographies or artisanal printers. Due to the colonial pact, from July 6, 1747 until the arrival of the Portuguese Court to Brazil, on March 8, 1808, printing presses were prohibited and inactive in Brazil. This changed radically with the decree of May 13, 1808, which instituted the Royal Printing Office in Rio de Janeiro, with the publication of the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* whose first issue came out on September 10 of that same year. According to Briskievicz (2002, p. 12),

with the presence of the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro, the kingdom experienced days of freedom of the press. What had once been a period of censorship, fear of persecution, and the absence of printed news has turned into a period of intense production of the periodical press. The art of typography met its dawn, its years of youth, long awaited. [...] After the creation of the Royal Printing, the following printing presses appeared in Brazil: in Bahia (1811) – Manuel Antônio da Silva Serva; in Recife (1815), which only functioned in 1817, during the Revolution and after 1821; in Maranhão and Pará in 1821; in Paraíba in 1836; in São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul in 1827; Santa Catarina and Alagoas in

1831; Rio Grande do Norte and Sergipe in 1832; Espírito Santo and Mato Grosso in 1840; Piauí in 1816 and Ceará in 1824. Therefore, the art of typography was censored, punished and prohibited until the arrival of Dom João VI in Brazil, and historically, due to the Royal Decree of July 6, 1747, the non-existence of the experiences of the written press in Brazilian territory for fear of severe punishments. On the other hand, after his permission, the art of typography progressed rapidly, largely due to the creative character of the Brazilian, adapting to the limiting conditions of that time, such as the absence of cast type, machines and paper at high prices and the lack of previous experiences.

The implementation of official and unofficial printing presses demonstrates how the Brazilian commercial opening began to impact people's daily lives. In the Comarca of Serro do Frio, for example, the small typographic workshops began to operate in 1828, when the village of Tijuco was printed *Eco do Serro* on May 20, followed by the *Liberal do Serro* in Itambé by the goldsmith Geraldo Pacheco de Melo, from Serrano, in the second half of the year, and the most famous of them, the *Sentinela do Serro*, by Tófilo Ottoni, in 1830. More newspapers, more information, more anti-government speeches; more effort by the government to reassert its authority and centrality in political processes. This is perhaps the main mark of the post-opening of the Brazilian industrial or commercial press, the possibility of making it run quickly between the towns, villages and settlements, the popular discontent of the most varied strands and even the defense of the government's measures in independent Brazil after 1822. The printing press demanded the importation or local production of paper, machinery, movable type, ink, and an efficient postal system. Producing newspapers was a form of organized civil disobedience and the exercise of political freedom through action in the public space. It is no coincidence that the politician and journalist Teófilo Ottoni (1807-1869) projected himself on the Minas Gerais and national scene for his ability to write his indignation against various acts of the government in his newspaper and in a series of articles published and republished by the newspapers of the time.

The government of Dom João installed in Rio Janeiro (1808-1822) published laws, decrees and permits that changed the daily life of the old "good men" of Vila do Príncipe. Everything was changed by force of law. The royal family's visit to Brazil modernized many customs, politics and the economy. Once the new Brazilian sociabilities were modernized, it was not long before the return of the king to the seat of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves in Lisbon provoked in the local elites the real desire for independence or self-government. In a way, the permanence of Portuguese royalty in the tropics taught in a pedagogical way how to govern and how self-government could be more interesting for the national elites. The political pact of those elites revolved around the maintenance of the Portuguese monarchy, with the economy still centered on the slave trade. The new pacts for power affected the daily life of Vila do Príncipe and its administration by Senado da Câmara. Many novelties in such a short time required new local arrangements. The argument of the decay of gold from the mines and then of diamonds in the Diamantino District was practically no longer used as an argument for the low visibility of the mountain elites.

The discourse was changing to the moral decadence of customs. To this end, one solution presented was to invest in quality public education, with the city of Rio de Janeiro as a parameter. In addition to schools financed with government money, the Serranos demanded greater political participation in decisions that affected their daily lives.

Thus, on September 7, 1822, the son of Dom João VI, Prince Dom Pedro, shouted loud and clear – perhaps what was written is more forceful than the iconographic representation of the cry of Ipiranga – Brazilian independence. A new ruler for the newly created Empire of

Brazil. New ruler – or an old ruler who was legitimately the successor to the throne Portuguese – with the same ancestry. The names were changed, the political and economic arrangements of the previous ones were maintained.

Justice in the mountains: the Comarca of Serro do Frio

Vila do Príncipe had conquered the position of capital of the Comarca of Serro do Frio in 1720. Because of this privilege, the annually elected officials of Senado da Câmara lived with the general ombudsmen, normally trained in Canons by the University of Coimbra. The clerks of the county were severely reprimanded in the annual corrections of the ombudsmen in the books of councils of Senado da Câmara. According to Silva (1928, p. 72-73), a correction was carried out in Vila do Príncipe on December 20 and 21, 1790. We no longer have this book in public archives. For this reason, the transcription of this mountain memoirist is important to understand two things: the first is that a correction in the year following the Conjuração Mineira was a demonstration of authority of Senado da Câmara in relation to the Portuguese Crown, affirming its submission to the Portuguese kings; the second is that in the midst of the debauchery of the rebellion of the “good men” and after the arrest of Padre Rolim, it was necessary to confirm that in Vila do Príncipe everything was in the most perfect order, that there was an absolute guarantee of the tranquility of the people. It reads as follows:

Year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ of 1790, on the 20th of December, in this Vila do Príncipe and houses of the Chamber where Dr. Joaquim Antônio Gonzaga of the Desembargo of his most faithful majesty was, ombudsman-general and corregidor of this district, with the present judge, councilors and attorney of the year, undersigned, for the purpose and hearing of correction of the present year and to provide what is necessary in conservation of the public good and utility of the peoples, according to the Rules of Procedure and Interrogations as follows. And then by the same minister the officers of the Chamber were asked:

Who owns this village? To which they replied that it was from the queen, Our Lady, whom God keeps.

Are there in Vila Paços do Concelho and do they need to be renovated? And they replied that there were Senate floors, and that they did not need reforms because they had already made them.

Is there in life foral and confirmed by his majesty? That there wasn't.

Is there any heritage in the village? They answered that it was not; that there was once a sesmaria only granted; but it was neither measured nor confirmed.

Do the Municipality's rents increase or decrease? There was a decrease, as no one in the square offered more.

Do the Town Hall pay any taxes or jurisdiction? And they answered, that they pay neither tribute nor jurisdiction, because they do not

acknowledge any other lordship than his most faithful majesty, whom God keep.

In this village there are Postures for the good regiment of the Republic and are there any of them that need to be reformed? They replied that there is a lack of salary fees for doctors and surgeons coming from outside and, in this regard, they request that this correction be granted.

Is there a standard in the Village of the Municipality and is it checked? And they replied that there was a standard conferred with that of Vila Rica and that of Sabará.

Are the festivals determined by his majesty held in this village? They replied that every year there are four feasts of the Senate: Angel Custodian, Saint Elizabeth, Corpus Christi and the patron saint Nossa Senhora da Conceição.

In this village is there a need for bridges, fountains, sidewalks? And they replied that she needs all this, but they take care of their duties, and now they have made many arrangements regarding public fountains.

Are there powerful people in this village who disturb the republic? They replied that everyone lives in peace and there is no one to disturb the public.

Does the village jail need repairs? They replied that they have made some repairs, as many as possible, and they can't do more - which is to do new work.

And more was not asked. The clerk appeared, and I requested an order from the Senate that no receipt should be issued except on the back of the license given to official merchants, etc., and that the clerk should be paid a bribe. And because there's nothing else... and so on.

The correction previously transcribed was carried out by the ombudsman general of the District of Serro do Frio, although his name was not mentioned by Dr. Dario. The questions are “external”, that is, they come from some authority who apparently did not know the daily life of Vila do Príncipe and its Senado da Câmara. It may be that the questions have come from some gang of the governor of the Captaincy of Minas Gerais with a demand for shipment to the capital in Vila Rica or even to Lisbon. The fact is that the question as to whether there were powerful people or “good men” troubling the republic was directly aimed at the recognition by the officers of some other conspirator about to commit the crime of *lèse majesté*. The correction has three central themes: the calculation of the municipality's income, the progress of the operation of the jail and the real possibilities of some “good man” committing civil disobedience or insubmission to the Portuguese Crown. After the Conjuração Mineira, the Portuguese Crown was afraid of a new uprising.

In the mountainous district, the Auditoriums were common, a kind of forum hearing with the litigants of justice, at which time the general ombudsman heard the lawyers and gave their sentences. The officers of Senado da Câmara and the ombudsman-general were the most

powerful “good men” of the mountain district and its terminus, because behind them there was a capillary police inspection system distributed throughout its extensive territory. To administer was to distribute public offices to the “good men” of the villages and camps so that they would assist in the rapid spread of their authority. In fact, in the seventeenth century, the boundary of the village coincided with the boundary of the comarca (both derived from the demarcation of the parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, created in 1713).

The Comarca of Serro do Frio was formed around Vila do Príncipe. It could not be otherwise, following the model of Portuguese territorial occupation. The mountainous comarca originally arose from the dismemberment of the Comarca of Sabará, a locality from which the pioneers of São Paulo came to discover the mines of Serro do Frio in 1702. To get an idea of the territorial extension of the mountain region, it is enough to remember that its boundaries ranged from rio Cipó (river) from the source until it entered the Paraúna (river), it descended through it until it entered rio São Francisco (river), which descended to rio Carinhanha (river), and following, it divided on the right side with Bahia, by rio Verde (river) a short distance from the village of Matias Cardoso, then shared with Caeté by rio Peixe (river), passing through the river of Itambé do Mato Dentro, from its source until it enters rio Preto (river), until it enters rio Tanque (river), which leads to rio Santo Antônio (river), which flows below rio Doce (river), on the border of the captaincy of Espírito Santo. This was at the time of the first ombudsman general of the district, Antônio Rodrigues Banha, in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The Resolution of June 30, 1833, in its article 2, paragraph 6, put an end to the old Comarca of Serro “do Frio”. Thus, the province of Minas Gerais was divided into nine judicial districts, twenty-six terms and two judged. The new and remodeled Comarca do Serro comprised Vila do Príncipe, Vila Diamantina and Curvelo. After this first dismemberment, the comarca was successively divided for the benefit of the inhabitants and the speed of justice.

Certainly, the old mountain comarca could only be dismembered and successively divided because of its enormous and difficult territorial extension. In the daily life of the inhabitants of Vila do Príncipe, the Comarca of Serro do Frio and the parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, the extension of the territory became a major problem for modernization at the end of the nineteenth century, on the occasion of the republican ideals established in 1889. If, on the one hand, a larger population guaranteed commercial profits, on the other hand, a project of changing the imperial mentality to another, republican one, was practically unfeasible. How to change the mentality of such a heterogeneous population, distant from the urbanity of the old mountain village where the mountain baroque way of being was formed?⁵

We know from the newspapers of the time and also from the chamber documents that the mountainous oligarchic elite had a very clear proposal for modernization, probably coming from the positivist mentality of Auguste Comte adapted to the national context by the historical

⁵ We have demonstrated this concept in several studies. See: Briskievicz, 2020a, p. 451-452; 2020, p. 25-26; 2021. The Serrano Baroque way of being is the specific way of being, thinking, and acting in that society in symbolic power relations reproduced by social institutions, such as the school, for example. We understand the term mountain baroque way of being as a set of economic, social, family, religious, artistic and political behaviors experienced and reproduced by each individual in Vila do Príncipe in the eighteenth century and which constitutes their cultural identity and their way of self-referencing in comparison with other ways of being from other places. Baroque is understood as the modern division of the existence of the individual in the common world in which he is modernly fragmented between two dimensions and oscillates between them in his apprehension and understanding of the world: the mortal and the immortal, the finite and the infinite, the private and the public, the secular and the religious, good and evil, truth and falsehood, the city of God and the city of men, light and shadow, wisdom and ignorance, the free and the captive, the masculine and the feminine. The Serrano Baroque way of being in education concerns the reproduction of this way of seeing the world in the spaces of literacy and schooling.

republicans. The most important for the history of the mountains was João Pinheiro da Silva, who became president of the state of Minas Gerais and led the modernization movement from the capital of Minas Gerais, Ouro Preto. Along with the prospect of some industrial, commercial, and educational progress⁶ to the north of Minas Gerais, where the replacement of slave labor by European immigrants, combined with the modernization of agriculture and the construction of ferrovia Vitória-Serro (railroad which never released its smoke along the Serro tracks, reaching only Diamantina), could create a new favorable scenario for the same traditional mountain oligarchic elite. Modernization with the promise of lucrative business.

However, the republican reformers of Serro had a big problem to solve. Modernization as a political-economic project needed public adhesion in a region that was undergoing constant transformations and we dismembered it, as we saw earlier. Social cohesion around the new republican ideology was necessary. The reforms needed to reach the daily lives of the inhabitants, but thousands of them only recently became ex-slaves (1888), most of the men and women were illiterate in all social classes, with no schools or public classes close to their homes. There was a great desire for modernization, in a gigantic territory, with citizens scattered far from the municipal headquarters where ideas were bubbling up. The basic obstacle was the inefficiency of transport. Only with a modernization of the roads and with new communication resources would it be possible to speed up the reforms and the arrival of the new republican winds in the most remote places. Another obstacle was the fierce republican anti-clericalism inherited from Comtian positivism. The priests were, for the most part, united against the republic. The long-term strategy would be to transform the ecclesiastical power of the royal patronage trained for centuries to reach the most remote places where there was a devotee around a chapel, into the power of public instruction. How could the power of the chapels be replaced by the power of the schools if they had not been placed at the center of the imperial ideals? An arduous task for the Republicans that stretched throughout the twentieth century and, despite the advances, there is still much to be done.

Patronage in the mountains: the parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição

The royal patronage was, along with the system of mercy, one of the pillars of support of the Portuguese colonization in the Captaincy of Minas Gerais in the mines of Serro do Frio, its village, its comarca and its parish. It is a system of distribution of royal privileges to the bishops who administer dioceses and to priests, especially parish priests or vicars, owners for life appointed by bishops with the approval of the Crown or the Empire for their parishes. With regalism, another name for the royal patronage, the payment of annual congruas boosted the adhesion of free men to the priesthood in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, added to the knowledge, collection of parish taxes that helped a lot in the exponential increase of the vicars' income.

⁶ In the Brazilian imperial period, public education was guided by the pedagogy of morality. Thus, according to Castanha (2017, p. 22), “the landlord class imposed the idea of national interest and public morality” to justify “a severe action by the state in the face of the private interests of some owners and, above all, in the face of the threat of the free poor and slaves”, in which an “ideology of order and civilization” was spread. The newly created Brazilian republic continued to invest in an elitist, centralizing and civilizing project through public education, but its hegemonic discourse was presented in opposition to the old, backward and old, highlighting a pedagogy of novelty with its innovative, modernizing, progressive, creative and industrial aspect. According to Fausto (2001, p. 246), “progress meant [...] the modernization of society through the expansion of technical knowledge, the growth of industry, the expansion of communications.” See: Calvi and Machado, 2003; Saviani et al., 2017.

In the partnership between the Church and the Portuguese Crown (until 1822) and the Emperor of Brazil (until 1889), they formed what we can call Ecclesiastical colonial pedagogical gesture. This gesture can be classified in its popular form (common sense and formation of sociabilities) and institutional (regimental, documental or legal derived from the counter-reformist Tridentine mentality and centered on catechesis, administration of the sacraments, popular festivals and sermons) of dealing with politics from the establishment of parochial powers for the vicars (owners of “land” where their customers lived with the right to knowledge and their coadjutors, chaplains and sacristans).

In general, the colonial ecclesiastical pedagogical gesture of the mountains was taught and learned on a daily basis, in the family, in the church, in the brotherhoods, on the streets, on the roads, in commerce and services. This gesture resulted from the varied networks of mountain sociabilities. It is that formal education (it can be school or something similar to it, such as private or public classes) and non-formal (or non-institutional or spontaneous) education and the official policy of the state and its relationship with the people constituting a common sense are colonial pedagogical gestures activated primarily by the Portuguese in constant contact with multiple cultures, providing a vast process of unique assimilations and acculturations, known historically as the formation of the Brazilian people, and by extension of the people who became miners and the people who became mountain rangers. Education – or being civilized – at first can be generically defined as the ability to understand the orders of others, the commands of another person (official, family, religious authority, etc.) and adjust them to the daily life of one's own existence, assuming this ordering from the outside to the inside, from the outside world to the interiority of the subject.

Even after Brazilian independence in 1822, the colonial heritage of its sociabilities based on the ecclesiastical colonial pedagogical gesture was not shaken, becoming naturalized until positivist and republican anti-clericalism questioned the links between Church and State. Only after this formal dissolution of the patronage in 1889 can we speak of the effective separation between the Catholic religion and the Brazilian governments. However, the social cohesion around the moral authority of the vicars seems to be perpetuated throughout Brazil even today. A long-standing permanence still reverberated in the daily life of Brazilian cities.

Serro shaped its territory at the same time that it constituted its ecclesiastical fabric in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact, the Catholic Church has been a partner in the colonization of Brazilian territory since the sixteenth century and its presence on Brazilian soil was part of a very well elaborated arrangement with the Portuguese Crown, constituting through the royal patronage, a system of state financing of devotional or religious activities, in which the Catholic Church had the absolute prerogative of creating its ecclesiastical network. their parishes, dioceses, and archbishoprics.

Therefore, in the mines of Serro do Frio, in Vila do Príncipe, in the parish and in the mountain region from 1702 to 1889 – and later as remnants of sociabilities and their pedagogical gestures – the constant functioning of the royal patronage system and the regulation of the privileges of the system of mercy ordered the social relations in the upper strata of the population with the Portuguese Crown and with the Church. It is not by chance that this pedagogical moralization of the dominant ethical-moral conducts has spread capillarily in the public and private spaces that constitute the sociabilities of the mountains. Thus, it is necessary to understand that the colonial, ecclesiastical and imperial pedagogical gestures conditioned the sociabilities of the mountain civilization. As time went on, beginning

in the second half of the eighteenth century⁷ (after gold stopped overshadowing public education) and more strongly demanded from the second half of the nineteenth century (when baccalaureate became a precept of the urban middle classes), there was a certain popular effervescence around the constitution of the school pedagogical gesture. From Vila do Príncipe/Serro, the local authorities brought to the governments of the captaincy/province and the Crown/Empire a new demand for public education. The demands further increased their importance when the old Vila do Príncipe was transformed into a city, with qualified voters for elections of councilors and provincial deputies.

Conclusion

The province of Minas Gerais inherited from the eighteenth century the colonial pedagogical gesture that reverberated for many years in the nineteenth century of Ouro Preto, São João del Rei and Serro, have their own characteristics.

The naturalization of slave labor in gold and diamond mines (extraction, commercialization, transportation, food, and ranches), in the urban daily life of the villages (domestic work, water donors, nannies, pages, slaves, etc.) and agropastoral production farms (cowboys, farmers, cooks, domestic services), was common. To slavery are added the system of mercy for the distribution of privileges of the Portuguese Crown or of the Brazilian empire and the system of royal patronage, creating social relations around chapels, matrices and leite brotherhoods.

In addition to slavery, the system of mercy and regalism, another colonial legacy presents the constant functioning as a functional structure, which is sometimes made invisible in studies on demography. It is that families arranged in homes or domiciles structured their social relations in public and private life marked by patriarchy.

Patriarchy as a structure for organizing sociabilities in Portuguese America did not go unnoticed by Gilberto Freyre in his book *Casa grande & senzala*, published in 1933. In fact, the opposition between patriarchy and matriarchy appears in the work as a demarcation of well-defined social places, as for example, when the author cites the African slave Jacinta de Siqueira as the matriarch of an extended family rooted in the mountain mines.

In the nineteenth century, this patriarchal structure seemed to still be in force. For this reason, the preponderance of the father over the mother is fundamental to understanding the in-between of patriarchy. The woman appears subjugated, in the background, ready to bear

⁷ According to Briskievicz (2020b, p. 104-105), “the first teacher of Latin Grammar was Padre Dr. Manoel José da Fonseca Brandão, second vicar of the parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, from 1778 to 1797. He was not paid by the Portuguese crown to open his house for Latin grammar lessons. He was a tutor. The payment of teachers from the public coffers only occurred with the official appointment of the master priest Teodoro Pereira de Queirós (c. 1760-c. 1814), the first official teacher of Latin Grammar paid by Senado da Câmara by order of the Portuguese government. After him there was another professor of Latin Grammar paid by the public coffers, not a priest, but a professional teacher named Francisco de Paula Coelho de Magalhães, who also served as attorney of Senado da Câmara in the years 1817 to 1819. He was appointed in 1814 for six years, attested in his magisterium by Dom Frei Cipriano de São José, bishop of Mariana [...]. However, in order to teach literacy to the population of Vila do Príncipe, it was only in the early years of the nineteenth century that a tailor and lieutenant from the Senado da Câmara, appointed a tailor and lieutenant from Senado da Câmara, as a teacher of royal classes, was Antônio Gomes Chaves. All those masters were white men, descendants of Portuguese families who migrated to the Captaincy of Minas Gerais.” Silva (1928, p. 127), citing *the Memória do Dr. Couto, in 1800*, stated that “the majority of the population was in the stultifying plantations, transporting their rural goods, without freedom of trade, paying tithes and without masters even for the first letters”. Mourão (1959, p. 3) confirms the information: “in the first years of the imperial period, primary education in Minas Gerais was very deficient”, with only “very few schools remaining from the eighteenth century, the government Portuguese provided the regular revenue with which to cover the expenses of the still very rudimentary education in the captaincy”.

children of “good men” and because of this she deserves to be remembered for being an important matriarch of a family branch in Minas Gerais. Although Freyre considers the matriarchy of women important in the formation of the Brazilian family, their role is always overshadowed by men who are intoxicated and eager for sexual disorder. Thus, power and authority emanate from men to women, and power, in fact, belongs preferentially and favorably to men. This mark of Brazilian colonization does not go unnoticed in the structuring of sociabilities in Minas Gerais and the mountains, by extension.

Patriarchy even seems to emerge from the mountain sociabilities as a system of historical domination, capillarizing in a microphysical way in the formation of the colonial pedagogical gesture (the power of the “good men”, officials of Senado da Câmara), imperial (the power of the emperor, the governors/presidents of provinces, the deputies, the councilors), ecclesiastical (the priests, the bishops, the pope, the chapters of Rio de Janeiro and Mariana). But how did royal classes, public and private classes, and isolated schools allow women to rise in teaching careers? This is an important point of our study and we can see that it has everything to do with the feminine view of care, or rather, of the one who is seen as someone who knows how to take good care, take care of and form character by the example and instruction of those who are under her roof or guardianship.

Chiquinha Leite was born in a very young Brazil. It was a newly created country, which had just become free – perhaps not so much – from the domination of the Portuguese Crown. Her life happened, from an early age, permeated by old and antiquated sociabilities, conserved or in crisis, new and modernized, in the constant work of the new generations, with their own agendas, with very peculiar ways of being and thinking about existence. An environment of constant tensions, whose life trajectory is always framed by values shared in the family between grandparents, parents, siblings, cousins, nephews; between listening, approving or rejecting the value propositions of social institutions such as the Church and its patronage, and more than that, accepting or not accepting the rules of patriarchy.

That's why Chiquinha Leite was born in an environment of change. Would she have been adept at novelties, showing herself open to the new times of her generation, or would she have been created to preserve the structures of the past and have made her choices based on old values?

One thing is certain: to be a teacher in the nineteenth century, she had to accept or reject the colonial legacies, be it patronage, patriarchy, slavery and the precariousness of public education.

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