



Families, affective experiences, and non-school education outside in dynamics of racial mixture: transits, mobilities, and connections in Ibero-America (c. 1750-c. 1800)¹

Famílias, vivências afetivas e educação não escolar em dinâmicas de mestiçagem: trânsitos, mobilidades e conexões na Ibero-América (c. 1750-c.1800)

Familias, vivencias afectivas y educación no escolar en las dinámicas de mestizaje: tránsitos, movilidades y conexiones en Iberoamérica (c. 1750-c. 1800)

Fabrizio Vinhas Manini Angelo
Universidade do Estado de Minas Gerais (Brasil)
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5265-1233>
<http://lattes.cnpq.br/0353283438071098>
fabrizio.angelo@uemg.br

Abstract

This work presents interim results from a postdoctoral research project conducted at UFMG between 2021 and 2023, which compares the role of families as educational agents across several regions of Ibero-America between 1720 and 1820. The research covers themes such as the History of Family, the History of Education, and the History of Emotions. Image and written records were consulted, including paintings of castes from Hispanic America, accounts by travelers, chroniclers, and military members in Brazil, as well as wills and inventories from Minas Gerais in the 18th century. Inspired by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Serge Gruzinski, Eduardo França Paiva, and Thais Nivia de Lima e Fonseca, the research aims to understand global connections and educational phenomena in which families function as educational institutions apart from school during that period. The focus is on analyzing the role of families in the education of future generations, considering historiography on affective experiences and changes in the meanings attributed to family and children in the modern period, as well as family educational practices and strategies.

Keywords: Family; Education; Ibero-America.

¹ English version by S. Iacovacci Translation Service. E-mail: siacovacci@gmail.com.

Resumo

Este trabalho apresenta resultados parciais de uma pesquisa de pós-doutorado realizada na UFMG entre 2021 e 2023, que compara o papel das famílias na educação de seus descendentes em diversas regiões da Ibero-América entre 1720 e 1820. A pesquisa abrange temas como História da Família, História da Educação e História das Emoções. Foram consultados registros imagéticos e escritos, incluindo quadros de castas da América hispânica, relatos de viajantes, de cronistas e de militares no Brasil, além de testamentos e inventários mineiros do século XVIII. Inspirada por Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Serge Gruzinski, Eduardo França Paiva e Thais Nivia de Lima e Fonseca, a pesquisa busca compreender as conexões globais do papel educativo da família para além das instituições escolares da época. O foco é analisar o papel das famílias na educação das futuras gerações, considerando a historiografia sobre vivências afetivas e as mudanças no significado atribuído à família e às crianças no período moderno, bem como as práticas e estratégias educativas familiares.

Palavras-chave: Família; Educação; Ibero-América.

Resumen

Este ensayo presenta resultados parciales de una investigación de posdoctorado realizada en la UFMG entre 2021 y 2023, que compara el papel de las familias como agentes educativos en distintas zonas de Iberoamérica entre 1720 y 1820. La investigación abarca temas como la historia familiar, la historia de la educación y la historia de las emociones. Se consultaron registros de imágenes y escritos, incluidos los cuadros de castas de Hispanoamérica, testimonios de viajeros, de cronistas y de oficiales militares de Brasil, así como testamentos e inventarios mineros del siglo XVIII. Inspirada por Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Serge Gruzinski, Eduardo França Paiva y Thais Nivia de Lima e Fonseca, la investigación tiene por objeto comprender las conexiones globales y los fenómenos de la familia educativa más allá de las instituciones escolares de la época. El enfoque se centra en el análisis del papel de las familias en la educación de las generaciones futuras, considerando la historiografía sobre las vivencias afectivas y los cambios en el significado atribuido a la familia y a los hijos en la época moderna, así como las prácticas y estrategias educativas familiares.

Palabras clave: Familia; Educación; Iberoamérica.

Received: 2025/11/19

Approved: 2026/04/22

Introduction

This paper presents the preliminary findings of a postdoctoral research project carried out between 2021 and 2023 within the Graduate Program in History (Programa de Pós-Graduação em História - PPG History) at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG). Employing comparative analysis, the study explores the connections between different regions of Ibero-America between 1720 and 1820, focusing on the history of the family, education, and emotions². During the research, visual records from various parts of Ibero-America were analyzed alongside travelers' diaries, post-mortem wills, and inventories dating from around 1720 to around 1820. For the present study, however, the focus is on the caste charts of Hispanic America and a selection of wills from Minas Gerais dating from around 1750 to 1800.

The methodological approach adopted was comparison, to understand how these histories are connected — an approach first suggested by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and subsequently developed with different emphases by Serge Gruzinski and Eduardo França Paiva³. During this research, it became evident that comparison is a vital tool for grasping the similarities and differences between educational contexts, particularly within the family setting, the focus of this study. Furthermore, comparison enables us to outline how families organize themselves to sustain themselves and feed, educate, and instruct future generations. This study aligns with recent historiography⁴ on modern education, which seeks to understand the roles of various actors and institutions — such as lay brotherhoods, tutors, women, and families — in educating children, orphans, and future generations, as well as the meanings attributed to education during that period. Therefore, this study challenges perspectives that often restrict education to the schools of the period, particularly Jesuit colleges, or that solely consider educational phenomena through the actions of the Portuguese state, especially following the Pombaline reforms. Here, we take the opposite approach, seeking to understand how families were structured and the educational messages they sought to pass on to future generations, independent of educational institutions. However, they may have used them. We are therefore addressing education as it was carried out within the family, even though the family itself may have used educational institutions of the period, such as schools, universities, or boarding schools.

Some of this historiography has come to focus on the leadership of Thais Nivia de Lima e Fonseca and her studies⁵. In this study, we will analyze the role of families in educating future generations. We will consider how the relevant historiography has addressed affective experiences, the history of emotions, the history of the family, and the history of education. We will also consider how the meanings attributed to the family and children have changed throughout the modern period, as well as the family's role in educational practices and

² Among the works in this field that have influenced this article are: Corbin; Courtine; Vigarello (2020) and Rosenwein (2011).

³ Among these works, we can cite Subrahmanyam (1997); Xavier and Santos (2007); Gruzinski (2001a; 2001b; 2014); Bernard and Gruzinski (1997; 2006); Paiva (2001; 2008; 2009; 2015); Paiva, Anastasia (2002); Paiva and Ivo (2008); Paiva, Ivo, and Martins (2010); and Paiva and Cerceau Netto (2011).

⁴ Among the works in this field of historiography, we can cite: Angelo (2021a; 2021b); Gorgulho (2011; 2020); Silva (2011); Cunha (2006; 2007; 2008); Paula (2016); Julio (2008; 2017); and, more recently, Marques (2020).

⁵ We can cite the seminal work by Fonseca (2006; 2008; 2009a; 2009b) and Fonseca and Veiga (2003).

strategies. Using this chart, changes in family life can be analyzed, as well as the mobilities and transitions experienced by individuals and families. The focus is on their role in educational practices and strategies, which are permeated by affective experiences.

Based on this observation, it may be possible to provide a broader description of the families of that era and those educated by them. This does not imply that an exhaustive study will be conducted on each figure discussed here. Rather, brief overviews will be provided to identify common characteristics, based on historiographical debates on the subject.⁶ Finally, based on the texts consulted, we aim to elucidate these historical figures' understanding of education, as well as its role for humanity and for themselves. In this context, the importance of this study is emphasized, and we aim to highlight the significance of studies that provide insight into the role of education for historical figures engaged with literature during that period.

Furthermore, we aim to contribute to the development of the history of education, specifically in the 18(th)-century Minas do Ouro region and its connections with the rest of Ibero-America.

1. The Mestizo Family in the Americas: Its Cultural, Social, and Emotional Aspects

This article begins with the broader theoretical debate on mixed heritage, which encompasses both biological and cultural aspects. Throughout history, various value judgments have been associated with these forms of mixing. These cultural phenomena have been, and continue to be, important in shaping the concept of "pure" people and cultures, a concept far from simple. Evidence of this can be found in the analyzed documents. The sources show that people of mixed cultural and biological heritage questioned the continuity of their traditions. Each person or group of mixed heritage understood the variations of Western culture grafted onto non-European traditions⁷ differently. For this reason, people of mixed heritage recognized themselves in both mirrors—they exist between worlds.

Therefore, a study of emotions, families, and educational practices and strategies in modern American societies, particularly in Minas Gerais, could be a step toward reflecting on the multiplicity of educational experiences during that period. The *dynamics of mestizaje* in Ibero-America permeate all relationships and are defined as follows by Eduardo França Paiva:

The dynamics of mestizaje were the historical practices that shaped daily social relations in Ibero-America, forging deeply and indelibly mestizo societies. Therefore, it is important to understand, define, and identify the non-mestizo builders of these markedly mixed societies. The persistent presence of mestizos and non-mestizos in social structures across various Ibero-American regions, particularly in urban areas, led to countless family units and communal living arrangements. These two cornerstones of society increasingly fostered intermingling among peoples and cultures over time (Paiva, 2015a, pp. 42–43).

⁶ The historiography on this topic is extensive, and in this article it is based on the works of Boto (1996; 2015); Carvalho (1963; 1986; 1978); Dias (1978); Domingues (2001); Fonseca (2009b); Furtado (2012); Hansen (2000); Morais (2007); Paiva (2000); Russell (1977); Villalta (1997; 2011); Villalta, Morais, and Martins (2015); Zuribi (2004).

⁷ In the context of this study, "non-European" refers to Americans, Africans, and Asians.

To this end, it is impossible not to consider emotional experiences, domestic intimacy, and subjective, personal relationships—harmonious ones, of course, but also conflictual ones. Once again, Paiva (2015a) points the way:

In this shared space, genuine networks of contacts and information formed. These networks involved people of diverse qualities and backgrounds, fostering the emergence of emotional bonds, families, friendships, and business relationships. These networks also promoted the circulation of ideas and information of all kinds. In addition, they enhanced the vitality of biological and cultural mixing (Paiva, 2015a, pp. 41–42).

The discovery of gold and the subsequent influx of people transformed Minas into a true melting pot of experiences and possibilities. In this environment, a reality of mixed heritage took shape, with a dynamism and scope previously unknown in the Americas and elsewhere in the world. The contributions of Africans from various ethnic groups, Europeans, and indigenous peoples were essential to the formation of unique societies. Although these societies exhibit significant differences, their connections are evident.

From this perspective, it is important to consider the captives, their masters, and the other historical actors involved in this reality differently—that is, beyond the overly polarized frameworks presented by some historians. By establishing a specific temporal and spatial framework, we are not excluding historical connections between Minas and other parts of the globe during that period. The intention here is to make this task feasible, which is quite complex and rarely undertaken in day-to-day academic research. In this sense, comparisons are important mechanisms for understanding the phenomena analyzed here, especially those related to families, domestic life, emotional experiences, and educational practices and strategies within families—beyond educational institutions, professors, and schools of the period.

As we will see when we analyze the sources themselves, a transition was taking place in the emotional landscape during that time, as in any period of history. In some regions, emotional experiences do not seem to follow clear rules because they lack well-defined meanings. In other regions, however, which were more closely monitored and regulated by the authorities responsible for norms and public morals (the Catholic Church or the Crown, represented by local authorities), families organized themselves into relatively rigid concentric circles. There are also regions where emotional experiences are lived out in a fluid or unrestrained manner. Therefore, the more bipolar organization of society, which may foreshadow the separation of life into the public sphere (rational, cold, and masculine) and the private sphere (emotional, sentimental, marked by personal relationships, and feminine), will not always be present during this historical period.

The home was a space where different people interacted daily. Of course, they might view themselves as members of the same family and eventually form a consanguineous or nuclear family. Consanguineous family members might live in separate homes yet still recognize each other as family members and share memories, emotional experiences, and strategies for achieving social distinction that would be realized in a future generation.

2. Family Life in Hispanic America as Reflected in the Caste Charts

In light of the information presented, it is important to analyze the sources that contributed to the conception of the family outlined above. In this regard, the caste charts are an important set of sources for the discussion presented here⁸. Emerging during the Enlightenment in the Americas from the 18th through the early 19th century, caste charts have a clear taxonomic or classificatory purpose⁹. Each series consists of 16 or 20 charts, and each chart depicts a household or family symbolized by a dwelling or business. The charts also depict the founding couple of that household, as well as the offspring of the union between couples of different castes. The charts indicate the parents' ethnic-racial background and name the result of the union. Some series include text indicating the temperament or behavior of the offspring. These collections seem to seek order and regularity in what should actually be a somewhat chaotic cultural and biological melting pot, despite the organization imposed by the Spanish crown and the efforts of the examined artists to organize and classify that reality. The charts generally establish a social hierarchy by attributing behaviors, feelings, personalities, occupations, and resources to distinct social groups with varying degrees of mixed-race heritage.

Thus, in general, we find "biological" castes who are naturally more affluent and hold intellectual professions, employing servants in their family homes. These are wealthier families who are closer to the white, Spanish, or Creole elite. At the other extreme are households from the lower classes. These households sometimes exhibit signs of poverty, such as torn clothing and manual labor. Instability, quarrels, and disagreements often mark family relationships in these households. Furthermore, the charts sometimes depict these castes' behaviors: the upper castes exhibit more orderly, cordial, simple, and polite behavior, while the lower castes exhibit behaviors related to alcohol abuse and other vices, such as gambling and tobacco use.

Therefore, the series of charts seeks to present a strictly standardized hierarchy among the various castes or socio-racial groups¹⁰. With this in mind, we will describe and interpret the first set of caste charts¹¹ (Figure 1).

⁸ According to Santelli (2016), the caste charts were: "the production of mixed-race charts—a pictorial style that depicted the various human types resulting from racial intermingling among whites, Indigenous peoples, and Blacks in the newly formed colonial society—began in the second half of the 18th century. Mestizo charts sought to depict the spread of miscegenation and everyday life in Ibero-America. Most of these charts form series of 16 to 20 scenes, each depicting a man and a woman from different groups with their descendant, the result of their intermarriage. Each character is identified by a descriptive caption. This artistic movement occurred primarily in New Spain, from which almost all known series of paintings originate" (p. 93).

⁹ As noted in footnote 06, the historiography on the circulation of Enlightenment ideas throughout Europe and the Americas is quite extensive, but for this work we are drawing on the following literature: Boto (1996; 2015); Carvalho (1963; 1986; 1978); Dias (1978); Domingues (2001); Fonseca (2009b); Furtado (2012); Hansen (2000); Morais (2007); Paiva (2000); Russell (1977); Villalta (1997; 2011); Villalta, Morais, and Martins (2015); and Zuribi (2004). It should be noted that this circulation involved not only Enlightenment ideas but also those of their opponents, particularly the Jesuits and the Second Scholasticism. This applies to the process of secularization of works related to the humanities, even though at the beginning of Portuguese colonization in the Americas, the idea of the orator as a religious figure was strong in the educational process of the elites, even in Brazil at that time.

¹⁰ Among the works that explain this intentionality in caste charts, we can cite Veiga (2022).

¹¹ For this article, we selected a few charts to highlight trends most closely related to the concept of family, concerns about raising and educating children, and—consequently—the history of education. However, we must make it clear that the postdoctoral research draws on the complete series, which were chosen for their ease of access and the availability of digital collections online, since all are part of the collections of the Museum of the Americas and the National Museum of Anthropology in Spain, and all the charts have been digitized and are available for consultation on the website of the Red Digital de Colecciones de Museos de España - Available at: <https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>. They are also available in the publication *Five Caste Paintings by Buenaventura José Guiol, a new discovery*. No. 4. Jaime Eguiguren/Eduardo Cohen Studies, 2018. Available at: https://jaimeeguiuren.com/usr/library/documents/main/cat_castas.pdf. Accessed June 4, 2024.

Figure 1 - Set: Family Organization.

a) Andean Series



b) José Joaquín Magón



c) José Joaquín Magón



d) Buenaventura José Guiol

Sources: Figure 1a: Collection of the Museum of the Americas, available for viewing on the website of the Red Digital de Colecciones de Museos de España¹²; Figure 1b: Collection of the National Museum of Anthropology of Spain, available for viewing on the website of the Red Digital de Colecciones de Museos de España; Figure 1c: Collection of the National Museum of Anthropology of Spain, available for viewing on the website of the Red Digital de Colecciones de Museos de España; Figure 1d: Mata (2018).

Figure 1a shows an Andean chart whose artist is unknown. It depicts a seemingly familiar scene: a couple with their daughter. The man appears to be amusing his daughter by handing her flowers that are resting on the woman's left shoulder. Everyone in the scene appears to be smiling: the man, the woman, and the child. As mentioned earlier, this painting depicts various mixed-race individuals, including Spaniards, Black people, and Indigenous women, as well as the results of this mixing in the Americas. These individuals are usually depicted in caste charts or charts showing mixed-race heritage.

Figure 1b shows a chart attributed to José Joaquín Magón depicting a family scene: a woman holds a spoon and looks at a man who appears to be comforting a crying child. The woman appears to be scolding the child while the man, the child's father, seems to be protecting her by hugging and comforting her. This suggests distinct personality differences between the

¹² The complete references for all charts are listed at the end of this article, along with the sources and References.

racas. Here, the Black woman appears harsh, while the Spanish father seems gentle and affectionate toward his child.

Figure 1c depicts a scene in which a woman is seated with a child on her lap, changing the child's diaper. Next to her sits a man on a stool entertaining the child with a bouquet in one hand and holding the shoe he is repairing in the other. This seems to indicate men's participation in domestic life, albeit in a secondary role. At the same time, it conveys the value of family, which requires men to take time off work to help their wives with household tasks. It is important to emphasize that we are discussing a deeply misogynistic society in which men and women were "naturally" expected to have distinct societal roles. However, based on the images we are analyzing, both men and women had roles to play within the family, especially in caring for, educating, and raising children.

Figure 1d shows the couple fighting while a child tries to break it up. Thus, we observe a common pattern of the period: the establishment of a hierarchy among various types of families that would emerge in Hispanic America. This hierarchy is characterized by a taxonomic, even classifying, nature. Despite this hierarchical view of society, we can see how deeply families were immersed in an emotionally charged environment. It is important to note, however, that emotional experiences should not be understood solely in a positive sense. Even crimes of passion are influenced by emotional bonds. In this case, it refers to an extreme passion and to allowing oneself to be swayed by another's actions. It would be naive to attribute an exclusively "positive" character to the feelings between people. Even in cases of conflict, children seem to have a sense of justice and understand that fighting and aggression are never good for the family.

In this sense, caste charts reinforce the sense of family, as Ariès (1986) has pointed out. Another interpretive approach might be to view the child as an evolved—or even "improved"—element that intervenes in a disagreement, pointing toward a better path: unifying the family and moving it forward together.

The emotional experiences within families may have been richer, more varied, and more intense in mixed-race families, which are far more numerous than we might imagine. This is especially true if we consider the meaning of family in the second half of the 18th century. Considering the emotional experiences within households, even when those involved are not blood relatives or share the same living space, the following questions arise: Were these types of actions or expressions of feelings common to all families, regardless of caste, during this period? Wouldn't this have been typical of a lifestyle that was gradually becoming more private by the end of the 18th century, including in the Americas? Rather than being something that only occurred in the 19th century and was later adopted by the Americas, might these phenomena have occurred simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic? If quarrels and expressions of anger were common to all castes, might these images also suggest that smiling, playing with children, having fun as a family, love, touch, mutual affection, and the exchange of gifts, treats, and flowers occurred across all castes? Like two sides of the same coin, couldn't pain, hatred, anger, fighting, alcohol abuse, and other addictions be

present in all families, ranging from the highest to the lowest castes in that society? One can observe scenes of games and family fun, such as music, play, and card games. In some cases, one can even observe more than one child, along with sibling dynamics and play, which suggests a family life rich in experiences deeply interwoven with emotions. Smiles and tears are depicted or implied in these scenes.

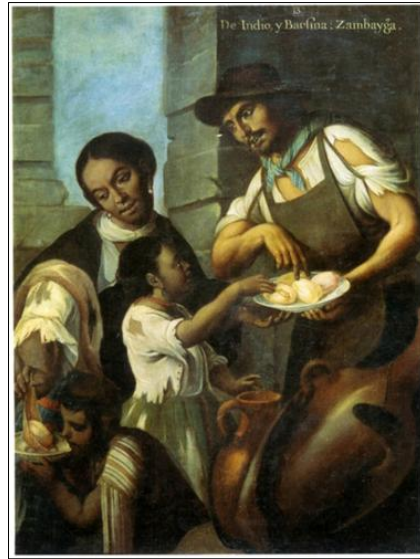
Therefore, we must read between the lines of the charts to interpret the social reality they depict adequately and critically. The attempt at classification is generally accompanied by the understanding that reality is so multifaceted and complex that it is difficult to organize or classify easily. As a result, other meanings slip through the cracks—meanings that may not have been fully conscious even to the artists who depicted those scenes. In this sense, it is not safe to assert that all of these categories actually existed in the daily life of Hispanic America, especially when attempting to attribute actions, behaviors, and personalities to so many possible types (generally between 16 and 20 castes represented in the series). We must ask ourselves why that society sought to produce such charts. In a society with elements of the Ancien Régime, where inequality of privilege is the norm, classification is essential. Thus, this attempt may signify a society that had become increasingly diverse, multidimensional, fluid, and impure—allowing people from higher and lower castes to be indistinguishable in daily life—and that was trying to reclassify, restratify, and reorganize to avoid disappearing. However, we must ask ourselves whether this was possible. Wasn't that society engaging in something unnecessary and on the verge of disappearing?

Beyond the question of whether castes actually existed, which has been debated by historians in recent decades, caste charts reveal information that seems to align with Philippe Ariès's¹³ observations regarding shifts in ideas and sentiments concerning families and children, as well as the role of education in this changing dynamic. Caste charts are important sources for analyzing and understanding this phenomenon. Many families were not formed "legitimately"; rather, they emerged as a social practice. They come into being with the birth of a child, not through a document such as a marriage certificate. In other words, the *de facto* family arises in response to the social challenge of feeding, caring for, and educating a child. Thus, beyond civil obligations, a cultural and emotional world awakens from the union of two people who often come from very different backgrounds. These unions are fraught with contradictions, violence, and ambiguities yet are also permeated by affection and care for one another and their children. Emphasizing only one of these dimensions presents an incomplete, limited view of reality that may be anachronistic. Such an approach interprets the past from the perspective of the present and often adopts a teleological view of history. This view posits that the primary function of the past is to bring about the present, as if it were a commitment established *a priori*—which it never was. A more comprehensive analysis of this topic will be conducted using the following sets of caste charts.

¹³ Ariès (1982; 1986) and Ariès and Béjin (1985).

Figure 2 - Set: family feelings.

a) Miguel Cabrera



b) Miguel Cabrera



c) José Joaquín Magón



d) José Joaquín Magón

Source: Collection of the National Museum of Anthropology in Spain, available for viewing on the website of the Red Digital de Colecciones de Museos de España or in Wikipedia's image database.

Figure 2a, attributed to Miguel Cabrera, depicts a scene in which a man and a woman look at each other while two children stand nearby. A girl, who appears to be standing on a bench or table, seeks comfort in her father's arms. Meanwhile, a boy sitting on the floor blows a small ball (possibly made of paper, a pebble, or a seed) through a straw to hit the girl. Despite their serious expressions, the parents seem to be observing the children play, as the girl smiles—likely at or with her brother. At the top of the canvas is the inscription: "Of Spanish and mulatto descent, Moorish." The children's joy as they play seems to indicate a harmonious family atmosphere.

Figure 2b, also attributed to Miguel Cabrera, is an oil painting on wood bearing the inscription, "Of Indian and Barcina descent—Zambaiga." This painting depicts a family consisting of a father, mother, and son. The inscriptions refer to their degree of racial mixing. Here, we see a family from the lower strata of society. However, despite the negative connotations associated with families of low caste, we observe the care this family takes to feed and look after their child with whatever means are available. Even this low-income family, whose clothes are torn, sets aside time to feed their children. According to Ariès (1986), this suggests a widespread, deeply rooted sense of family in that society, independent of social status.

Figure 2c shows a wooden-framed oil painting attributed to José Joaquín Magón. The painting depicts a seemingly familiar scene: a woman holding small flowers in both hands, a man placing his hands on a girl's shoulders, and a girl holding a bowl of fruit. The man's gesture appears affectionate, as if he were reaching out to embrace his daughter. In the upper right corner of the canvas is a parrot, and in the center is an inscription that reads: "From Spain and India, the mestiza is born."

Finally, Figure 2d depicts an intimate family scene in which a woman and a man play cards at a table, while a child leans against the table, holding a bouquet. An inscription appears in the upper left corner of the canvas, reading: "8. A mulatto and an indigenous woman give birth to a calpamulato." Thus, we see depictions of families from different social strata through scenes that share common elements, such as moments of fun and togetherness, represented by games, feeding children, and affectionate touches.

The charts analyzed indicate that feelings toward children are central to the formation of a family, which is also marked by intimacy, emotional experiences, and a sense of family¹⁴. After all, official marriage was not always a defining feature of this social unit. Even cohabitation was sometimes repressed¹⁵. We can observe the formation of a family when it seeks to care for and raise its children—biological children as well as those placed under someone's protection for various reasons, such as foster children, godchildren, nieces, nephews, and future generations of those referred to as heirs¹⁶ in previous works.

This can be observed when parents play with their children to distract them during an uncomfortable activity, or when children play together and express happiness. The centrality of the child in family life is also evident when the family avoids discussing certain topics in front of the children. Private matters are kept quiet out of a duty to shield the child from certain situations and to ensure their nutrition. While we typically see the mother in this role, there are also depictions in which the father serves or prepares food for the child.

¹⁴ According to Ariès (1986) and Ariès and Bejin (1986).

¹⁵ Among these works, we can cite Figueiredo (1997) and Cerceau Netto (2008).

¹⁶ According to Angelo (2021a).

Figure 3 – Context: The Family as an Agent of Education

a) Buenaventura José Guiol



b) Andrés de Islas



c) Série andina



d) José Joaquín Magon

Source: Figure 3a: Mata (2018); Figures 3b, 3c: from the collection of the Museum of the Americas and available for viewing on the website of the Red Digital de Colecciones de Museos de España; Figure 3d: Source: Wikipedia. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_Joaqu%C3%ADn_Mag%C3%B3n#/media/File:Jos%C3%A9_Joaqu%C3%ADn_Mag%C3%B3n_-_El_Mestizo.jpg. Accessed on: June 24, 2024.

Finally, the family's concern for the education of the younger generations is another category that reflects shifts in the meaning attributed to family and children in the Americas during the second half of the 18th century. Here, education is understood broadly as preparation for life, as well as in relation to formal instruction in reading, writing, and even learning a specific trade. However, this does not always take place within a formal institution, as we can see in the caste charts. We will also examine this when discussing wills in the following section. Here, we observe the family's desire to expose children to the father's work environment, which is more closely linked to literacy. One of the children likely learned to read with the help of the mother, who led these early lessons or assisted her son with schoolwork at home. Perhaps we can observe the parents' "take on reading" in an activity we would call "literacy" today. Within a family setting, a child's exposure to art and high culture through books, writings, or studies

may indicate the transmission of cultural capital, as previously discussed¹⁷, drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's work¹⁸. Here, this could point to a strategy of social distinction.

Figure 3a, by Buenaventura José Guiol, depicts a woman holding a girl in the office of a man who is likely the head of the household. The setting is clearly a residence, and people—likely servants—are preparing a meal in the background. This type of image shows that heads of households in some wealthier social classes had specialized occupations and domestic spaces. What interests us now are these spaces, which serve as repositories for elements and objects that indicate a certain amount of cultural capital or denote high culture, or so-called legitimate culture, as possessed by that family, or at least the head of the household. In this sense, children were exposed from a very early age to a significant number of materials, objects, and utensils that enabled them to engage with high culture. These social groups most likely valued this exposure. They could open doors to a particular professional career in the future or create the conditions for an advantageous marriage, as was the case for the girl depicted in the chart.

Figure 3b, painted by Andrés de Islas, depicts a domestic interior with an elegantly dressed woman holding a child and a man holding a violin. The child fiddles with the violin strings and tries to play them with the bow held by the father.

At the top of the chart is the following inscription: "From a Calbizo and a Spaniard, a Spaniard is born." Access to music and lessons, as well as the system of musical notation through sheet music, begins at a very early age with parents teaching their children at home.

Figure 3c is part of a series of Andean-origin charts attributed to Lozano. It depicts two Indigenous people. The woman carries a child on her back and holds a flower in her hand. The man holds a sheet of paper with writing on it that may indicate an ongoing or completed literacy process. The child on his mother's back is exposed to reading from that moment on. At the top of the chart is a message that reads: "No. 2. Mountain Indians. Civilized subjects (perhaps literate, Christian?). This early exposure to writing may give rise to a strategy of social distinction based on literacy, at least among their peers.

Figure 3d, by José Joaquín Magón, shows a mother bringing her son to the office to show the father/husband something. The child appears to be showing his father that he can read. Perhaps the family is monitoring the child's reading progress. This points to the concerns of a certain type of affluent Hispanic American family that focuses on writing, books, high culture, and how their children might benefit from these things in the future, particularly through family-based educational strategies. However, when we compare the previous two charts, we realize that learning to read and write can serve as a strategy for social distinction among groups far apart in the social hierarchy. It is important to note that the process of social distinction does not need to occur among all members of a society but can occur exclusively among one's peers. One can be recognized as a capable individual simply for knowing how to read and write, even if they have not risen to higher positions in society. Thus, social distinction can occur either across one's entire social space or solely among one's peers.

¹⁷ Angelo (2021b).

¹⁸ Several of Bourdieu's works address the theory of capital, such as these by Bourdieu (1996; 2007a; 2007b; 2013a; 2013b) and his works co-authored with Passeron (Bourdieu; Passeron, 1975; 2014). Finally, there is a book that compiles articles by the French sociologist, including a specific chapter on cultural capital, which helps us understand its role in the theory of capital (Nogueira and Catani, 2012).

4 - *Post-mortem* wills and inventories from Minas Gerais as sources for reflecting on the family and education during that period.

To conclude our analysis of the changes that emotional experiences within the family underwent in Europe, the Americas, and Brazil during the 18th and early 19th centuries—and how the family ultimately influenced the educational paths of its “heirs”¹⁹—it is necessary to briefly present one of the primary sources for this research: wills. These documents reveal another dimension of family life that is not always evident in other sources. Why are wills an important source?

Such accounts are rare: it is as if men did not like to speak of the bond between spouses, except in wills, where such references become more frequent. It is difficult for the historian to interpret the silence that reigns over vast areas of life: at times it signifies indifference or ignorance; at others, modesty and secrecy. Some things were not spoken of: conjugal love was one of them. Sometimes this silence is broken, and this almost always occurs on the eve of death. [...] Here, in the case of the Duke of Saint-Simon and in some other wills of the time, the originality lies in the public, poignant expression of a feeling whose very nature is to remain secret²⁰.

Sources such as wills are essential for reflecting on and understanding the emotions and feelings of bygone eras, particularly within families. Through these documents, we can observe the emotional experiences of a group considered a family. During the studied period, this group may have formed from more or less homogeneous groups in relation to the testator. For practical reasons, we focus on wills from Vila Rica (now the city of Ouro Preto). After all, it is impossible to work with every will from every part of the globe. However, as will be noted, there is a certain consistency between the information generally presented in the international literature and that presented here regarding caste charts and the analyzed wills. Based on research conducted in other regions of Minas Gerais, the concept of groups forming concentric circles has not been proposed to date, as this does not appear to be how group/family dynamics function in those regions. In Vila Rica, however, because of its proximity to civil and ecclesiastical authorities, relationships appear more hierarchically structured. The bishopric's seat was in Mariana, right next door. Therefore, relationships appear to be rational and classifiable, as in more rigidly hierarchical concentric circles. Thus, it appears that something is changing, which may indicate growing polarization between public and private life, at least in this important town in Minas Gerais, particularly from the end of the eighteenth century onward. This does not seem to be as prevalent in other regions of Minas Gerais, at least in the wills examined in another study²¹; by the end of the 18th century, these issues became more evident in Ouro Preto.

¹⁹ Once again, and to make it clear, *Herdeiros* is the title of a book written by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron. “Herdeiros,” in this case, refers to the heirs—almost always the children—of the families studied by the French sociologists. Inspired by this work, I published my doctoral dissertation (Angelo, 2021b) under the title: *Heir: The Role of the Family in the Education of Its Descendants in Eighteenth-Century Minas*, and in this work I treat “heirs” as those who receive some kind of (educational) legacy in the wills of eighteenth-century Minas. In the dissertation, heirs are not always the children; they can often be other people close to the testator, such as cousins, nephews, foster children, godchildren, and even close slaves. Throughout this section, it will become clear who the study refers to as heirs.

²⁰ Ariès and Bèjin (1985, pp. 158–159).

²¹ All of my work on this topic can be found in Angelo (2021a; 2021b), which are publications derived from my master's thesis and my doctoral dissertation, respectively.

The decisive factor in organizing family life in the Vila Rica region was the effective action taken by the state and the church to repress alternative family arrangements. This action was aimed at enforcing the order that the crown and church sought to impose on the region. In the view of these centers of power, the region represented a rebellious Minas Gerais²². This seems to be reflected in the increase in legitimate marriages sanctioned by the Church, which, in turn, favored endogamy and homogeneity. Another important factor evident after the peak of gold mining was the decline in immigration. Although immigration remained constant for many decades, the reduction allowed natural population growth to balance the sex ratio minimally.²³ This may have facilitated the formation of "legitimate"—and therefore more homogeneous—families. However, the rate of illegitimacy remained high, indicating that consensual unions continued to occur, albeit more fleetingly and inconsequentially. In such cases, fathers often did not take responsibility for their children. Alternative family arrangements were effectively repressed, and at the same time, the demographic structure shifted to balance the distribution of men and women in Vila Rica. This shift allowed for the formation of "legitimate" families. Therefore, a shift in mentality began at this point. This shift no longer recognized "illegitimate" families as environments of emotional security or entities to which responsibility was owed regarding the children born of these more ephemeral unions. This development only became clear as the 19th century progressed.

With this in mind, we will analyze families based on the relationships within the nuclear family: father, mother, spouses, and children. However, other relationships are important for understanding how these ties change and intertwine. In this sense, relationships with other relatives, such as siblings, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, sons-in-law, and brothers-in-law, are significant. We will also consider other relationships that we would not consider familial today but that were important to the family at that time: slaves (primarily domestic servants), ritual relatives (godchildren/compadres), and those living in the household (friends, colleagues, neighbors, business partners, foundlings, children raised in the home, and more traditionally, people who cohabited with the testator but were not relatives or had no obvious relationship). These relationships are important for understanding the dynamics of miscegenation in mixed-race families, which are permeated by emotional bonds and shaped by their composition.

For methodological purposes, we will consider the closest relationships (those in the innermost circles), as these can generally alter relationships. For example, it is common for a child, cousin, or uncle to serve as godparent to their more distant cousins, nephews, or nieces. In such cases, ritual kinship arises from the bond as a relative. When dealing with a slave who is his master's son, however, we will analyze the relationship in terms of the bond between father (master) and son (slave).

Therefore, we will analyze the family relationships recorded in the testator's last will. We will seek to understand the bonds, feelings, and emotions established within the family's intimate circle. In this case, these bonds are embodied in the testamentary clauses, their respective justifications, and their conditions. Based on these relationships, we can observe the formation of multiracial families, even though some of their members have distinct origins, such as Portuguese from northern Portugal and people of African descent. Sometimes, emotional bonds are formed that incorporate elements from each of these cultural worlds. Yet, these relationships are clearly permeated by emotional experiences. Next, we will analyze some cases involving the unit most commonly understood today as the nuclear family. As we will see below, some cases aid in this reflection. The will of Antônio da Silva Maya illustrates how relationships between fathers of illegitimate children evolved.

²² Among the studies that document this trend, we can cite the work by Lott (2008).

²³ The sex ratio is a demographic indicator that measures the ratio (number of men per 100 women) in the population.

I hereby declare that I have two children, a son and a daughter, the latter of whom is currently in captivity; the son's name is Serafim and the daughter's is Mariana, whom I name as my lawful heirs to all my property. The remainder of my estate I bequeath to my mother, Quiteria da Silva Maia. I declare that my aforementioned daughter has been released from my estate by my executor, as evidenced by this being my last will. As stated, my daughter is currently residing at the home of Reverend Gonsallo da Costa Pereira.

It seems that the son had already been freed, perhaps through his father's influence, while the daughter remained enslaved. It is also possible that the son purchased his own freedom. In either case, however, the mother's name or the name of the woman with whom Antônio was involved is not mentioned. Antônio's mother, however, is mentioned as the recipient of one-third of the testator's estate. She was also the grandmother of his children. One might imagine a family with few possessions that, by pooling all its assets, took steps to free its descendants and to leave the responsibility of raising the girl to her grandmother. This will shows how families took action out of concern for their children and future generations, regardless of social class. Family members appear to have come together to ensure the well-being of all relatives. Therefore, even though they were scattered across multiple households, this family saw itself as a single unit, bound by feelings of kinship and mutual support. One might suggest that, by living in the home of Reverend Gonsalo da Costa Pereira, the daughter was educated and cared for in a respectable household. Was this a strategy to keep the daughter in good standing, even as an enslaved person, by having her guided by a clergyman who could teach her to read and write and perform domestic chores? Was this a strategy to secure an advantageous marriage for Antônio da Silva Maya's daughter, even though she was enslaved? Was this an educational strategy employed by the family toward their daughter? In this case, concern for children—their manumission and upbringing—arises from the need to raise, feed, and educate children within the caste system, even if they were not with their father.

Another will that clearly establishes these family ties is found in the last wishes of Colonel Feliciano José da Câmara, who states that he is: "[...] a native of the parish of Santo André de Barcelinhos, outside the walls of the town of Barcelos, in the Archdiocese of Braga; the legitimate son of Manuel Ribeiro dos Santos and his wife, Catarina da Cruz, both now deceased." Originally from northern Portugal, he is believed to have emigrated to the Minas region of Portuguese America to save money. However, while in the region, he states: "I have always remained unmarried and have never been married, nor do I have any compulsory heirs; therefore, I hereby name my sister, Jacinta Ribeiro, as my heir. In her absence, I name her children, my nephews and nieces, as my heirs."²⁴

It is unclear whether his sister lived with him or was settled in Minas at the time. However, Colonel Feliciano José da Câmara, in the following passage, states that: "I bequeath to my brother Belchior Ribeiro dos Santos, a resident of the parish of Itabira, two hundred thousand Reis. Upon his death, this shall pass to his heirs²⁵," which seems to indicate that part of the family had settled in Minas. Furthermore, Colonel Feliciano José da Camara appears to have been an influential figure in the region. He sponsored many godchildren and made a point of donating toward their upbringing and education. This becomes clear when he justifies, as we will see in the following passage:

²⁴ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Colonel Feliciano Jose da Camara, April 8, 1778.

²⁵ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Colonel Feliciano Jose da Camara, April 8, 1778.

I bequeath to my goddaughter, the daughter of Manoel da Sylva Guimaranes, three hundred thousand reis// I bequeath to my godson—that is, my godson João, son of André de Ceas Lobato—one hundred thousand reis// I bequeath to a godson of mine, whose name I cannot recall, son of Antônio de Cerqueira, one hundred thousand reis// I bequeath to a young woman named Maria, who resides in the home of Ventura da Costa Rangel, the daughter of a Creole woman named Bernarda, a house that I own on Rua Direita de Antonio Dias, along with one hundred thousand reis, to help her establish herself in married life// I bequeath to my goddaughter Branca, known as Flecianna, who is living in the home of Dona Tereza Maria de Olhoa, one hundred thousand reis to assist her in getting married// I bequeath to my goddaughter, the daughter of Valentim, a tailor's clerk, and his wife Anna, residents of Rua de Santa Quiteria, fifty thousand reis//²⁶.

Later, in his wills, he mentions other godchildren and his intention to bequeath something to them.

I bequeath to my godson João, son of the late Magdalena da Silva Parda. This free woman was a resident here, the sum of one hundred thousand reis// I declare that I bequeath to Genoveva, daughter of Lieutenant Manoel de Souza and his wife Dona Luisa Roza da Silveira, one hundred thousand reis// I bequeath to my goddaughter, daughter of Francisco Alves, a resident of Caquende, one hundred thousand reis// I bequeath to my goddaughter, the daughter of a woman named Luiza—that is, Luiza, who accompanied Father José Antunes on his journey to Rio de Janeiro—fifty thousand reis//²⁷.

Regarding his slaveholding, the colonel mentions the following benefits:

[d] I declare that I have a mixed-race woman named Tolipa, whose son I have set free; my executors shall purchase for her a dwelling consisting of huts at the expense of my estate, for twenty thousand reis, give or take a little, and shall deliver it to her, as well as the pewter dishes, brass spoons, treyas, bowls, old tables, an old cot, and some of the most worn-out boxes. They shall give her an additional five ten thousand reis in recognition of the good service she has rendered me//²⁸.

Further on, regarding other relatives, Colonel Feliciano Camara specifies the following bequests: “[I] declare and appoint as residual and line-of-descent heirs [sic] Francisco Antonio de Araujo, married to a niece of mine—the daughter of my sister Jacinta Ribeira//”²⁹. About a household member, with whom it is not possible to ascertain any kind of blood, legal, or spiritual kinship, Colonel Feliciano Camara stipulates the following bequest.

²⁶ ²⁶ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Colonel Feliciano Jose da Camara, April 8, 1778.

²⁷ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Colonel Feliciano José da Câmara, April 8, 1778.

²⁸ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Colonel Feliciano José da Câmara, April 8, 1778.

²⁹ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Colonel Feliciano José da Camara, April 8, 1778.

[I] hereby declare that Francisco Jose Gondim is currently living in the house where I reside, and that he will not be charged any rent until my death, as I have granted it to him for the love of God. I declare that I ordered the sale of a slave belonging to a mixed-race woman named Marcellina, a resident of this town, whose debt is held by João Rodrigues de Macedo, so that he may collect it from the debtor in Serro Frio; and whatever amount is collected shall be handed over to the said Marcellina, as it belongs to her// I declare that if my godfather João Francisco pays eighty thousand reis, he shall be given the deeds I hold in my possession for the houses in which he resides//³⁰.

As we can see in this will, testators who have no close relatives or compulsory heirs often express their emotional bonds through bequests to their godchildren, dependents, slaves, and friends. These individuals are mentioned without any indication of hierarchy: godchildren of various social statuses and qualities, slaves of various qualities, and even dependents whose origins cannot be identified. In many cases, this is an obligation established as a customary practice, mainly because there are no compulsory heirs; on the other hand, many of these bequests convey an educational message when they justify the reason for such a bequest as “making a living” or even when the reason may not be justified, but still serves as an example of charity³¹. This does not necessarily imply an emotional bond—after all, some of the beneficiaries are not even named—but it does imply a moral and ethical obligation toward the upbringing, in the broadest sense, of all these heirs (who range from close relatives such as nephews and nieces to more distant ones such as godchildren), which signifies an educational obligation toward future generations.

In some cases, however, emotional bonds do define kinship relationships, which are sometimes mentioned in wills. Examining the ways and reasons families act in relation to their kinship ties is still important. The will, a complex document in which relationships that we would not understand as familial today appear, shows how the mixed-race family was constituted through formalized relationships, such as spiritual kinship, relationships with slaves and dependents, and with more distant relatives, such as nephews and nieces, among groups originating from very distinct *cultural worlds*³². It also shows how these heterogeneous groups could be considered family and receive bequests in the testator’s last will. While other bonds besides blood ties are evident here, parents still bequeathed assets that went far beyond their own personal gifts.

In Father Bernardo Madeira's will, we see his close relationships with his godmother and godson, who receive bequests from the priest. We also see his relationship with his slaves, which does not seem unusual since slaves in the region appear to have frequently been a concern for testators, as we shall see. First, however, it is necessary to understand the family network in which the testator is embedded. The testator declares, "I was born and baptized in the parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Varge, in the district of the town of Santarém, within the Patriarchate of Lisbon, the legitimate son of Mathias Madeira and his wife Joanna Colassa, both now deceased³³." Since he was a priest and had not declared any relationships or illegitimate

³⁰ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Colonel Feliciano José da Câmara, April 8, 1778

³¹ The conceptions of education during this period can be grouped into at least four categories: 1 – Education as the transmission of values and cordiality; 2 – Education as a means of pursuing a profession to earn money; 3 – Education as a means of enhancing Portugal’s prestige; 4 – Education as a means of learning an art or science. For a better understanding of the concept of education in the 18th century, see: Angelo (2021b); Fonseca (2009b); Boto (1997; 2015); Carvalho (1963; 1986; 1978); Furtado (2012); Hansen (2000); Morais (2007); Paiva (2000); Villalta (1997; 2011); Villalta, Morais, and Martins (2015).

³² Paiva (2008).

³³ AEPNSCADOP - Codex 6.12.1 - Will of Father Bernardo Madeira - June 5, 1756

children, he ultimately named his soul the universal heir. However, this entailed establishing pious clauses regarding his closest ritual/spiritual kinship with his godmother and godson, as evidenced by the following passages:

I hereby declare that I bequeath one hundred thousand Reis to my godson, Alberto Madeira, a Creole who lives in my house, as a gift. I also bequeath one hundred thousand Reis to Madalegna, a Creole woman and the daughter of Jozefa Rodrigues, a formerly enslaved Black woman. I bequeath eighty thousand Reis to Bernarda Madeira, a mixed-race woman married to Domingos Ferreira, a mixed-race man. [...]

I bequeath the stone farmhouse with a tiled roof, its outbuildings, and other belongings to my godson Alberto Madeira. I have owned and possessed this property for thirty-seven years. As long as Antonio Mina is alive, he may work and live on the property. Upon Mina's death, the property will be transferred to Alberto Madeira.

I bequeath the two single-story dwellings in which I live to my godmother, Jozefa Rodrigues, a freed Black woman who lives with me. She may live there with her three mixed-race daughters: Sebastiana, Madaglena, and Crescencia. I do this solely out of love for God. Upon the death of all of them, the Brotherhood of the Rosary of the Blacks of Alto da Cruz, a branch of Antonio Dias, shall take possession of the dwellings.³⁴

As we have seen, in the absence of blood relatives, those who are close by are the objects of the testator's affection, even if this represents an ethical obligation—one that acknowledges the good services they received from some of their slaves, even though others were freed as if out of a sense of duty. In this sense, the responsibilities of providing for, caring for, and educating others—concerns present in the caste charts—are also evident here, extending far beyond the immediate generations.

Another will that sheds light on the relationships between former slave owners, freed slaves, and slaves is that of Rosa Gomes, a freed Black woman born in Costa da Mina, as the following passage informs us:

[I] declare that I am a native of Costa da Mina, baptized in the parish registry of Nossa Senhora do Pilar in this town, and that I was a slave of Custódio José—that is, of Custódio José Gomes—who freed me in exchange for this amount of gold that I gave him, as stated in the letter of manumission he gave me// I declare that I have never been married, nor do I have or have I ever had any children [illegible] relatives who might inherit my [illegible], for which it suffices that I am from the Costa da Mina. Therefore I dispose of my property as [illegible]//³⁵.

It is quite interesting that the following passage seems to seek to document acts of kindness and relationships marked by emotional bonds between the lady and some of her slaves:

³⁴ AEPNSCADOP - Codex 6.12.1 - Will of Father Bernardo Madeira, June 5, 1756.

³⁵ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Roza Gomes, a freed Black woman, May 15, 1790

[d] I declare that I also own the following slaves: a black woman named Maria with her daughter named Joanna; the mixed-race slaves Antonio Angola, Caetano Mina, Damian Angolla, and Antonio Mina—whom I hereby free and emancipate as if they had been born free—and no one may contest this, for I have granted them their freedom as stated. Furthermore, I own a mixed-race slave named Teotonio. I declare that my aforementioned slave Antonio Angola is, by my will, leased for ninety-six eighths of gold for a period of four years, to be paid in installments of three months each. If he fails to pay in full by the end of the said period, my executor, upon accepting the case, shall grant him one additional year; and if he still fails to satisfy the debt, he shall be taken into captivity, and thereafter as before// I declare that in the same manner and under the same conditions as above regarding Antonio Angola, I lease my slave Caetano, a miner, as he is my godson, for the sum of six hundred and nine eighths of gold//³⁶

As we saw in the previous passage, the testator freed two of her slaves through quarterly payments, showing considerable flexibility in the payment schedule and a great deal of trust in the two slaves. Despite having no children, Rosa Gomes's concern for future generations is noteworthy.

[d] I hereby declare that I bequeath to my godson, Manoel Pardo, the sum of fifty-eighths of gold, which my executor shall give to him when he is of age to receive it; in the meantime, it is my wish that this sum remain in the custody of my executor, who shall accept this responsibility, particularly as he is the first named; and if, in the meantime, the first executor should die, the same executor shall dispose of the said sum and more for the repose of his soul//³⁷.

Firstly, it is unusual that Manoel was described as mixed-race, since this status can only be fully determined if you know the parents of the foundling, which is impossible given the nature of being a foundling. This suggests that raising a child in these circumstances involves elements such as trust, consideration and the deep feelings that can develop while raising the child or learning about their past. Thus, it seems that the testator took the upbringing, development and education of the village's foundlings seriously. This leads us to imagine that there is something in this child's past that would be better left unknown, and that these stories were therefore kept hidden. The child was characterised as mixed-race, which is unusual since this status can only be fully determined if one knows the parents of the foundling, which is impossible given the child's status. This suggests that raising a child under these circumstances involves other elements, such as trust, consideration, and the deep feelings that may arise while raising the child or learning about their past. Thus, the testator appears to have taken the upbringing, development and education of the village's foundlings seriously. This leads us to believe that there is something in the child's past that would be better left unknown, and that these stories were therefore hidden from prying eyes.

³⁶ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Roza Gomes, a freed Black woman, May 15, 1790.

³⁷ IBRAM/MI/AHCP- LT - 0010 - Will of Roza Gomes, a freed Black woman, May 15, 1790.

João Ferreira da Rocha, from whom the Town Council of this town will collect his debt, owes me whatever is stated in the will drawn up by the aforementioned Manoel, my executor; he shall collect everything that is due to him from the totality of my assets and shall also pay all my debts that are presented to him [illegible]—in fact, all without legal dispute, as in the case of São Antonio da Cunha de Oliveira—or account for the remainder of a debt from which he shall deduct three half-days of service from the same slave arising from said debt, as he shall specify; and to Felix Dias Monteiro, the remainder of a gold debt owed by a slave, as recorded//³⁸

Even if viewed as a business venture, Rosa Gomes was qualified to educate some of the village's outcasts, as she possessed writing skills, at the very least—which certainly offered advantages for her profession as an “educator,” as the following passage highlights: “Manoel da Costa Pacheco, who wrote this for me, dictated the text after reading it to me word for word, as I found it to my liking; and as I dictated it, I signed it with my name while in this said Villa Rica”³⁹. In addition to this venture, Rosa Gomes appeared to be involved in other economic activities.

I declare that the property I currently own consists of a single-story house where I live on the dry stream bed of the hill in this town, and a mine on said hill where I work with whatever tools are available; I also own three other mines at the foot of mine. I further declare that, in the mine where I am currently working, I have appointed as my partner the aforementioned Tenete Jose da Cunha Souza Carneiro and not in the others//⁴⁰.

This passage highlights the strong entrepreneurial spirit typical of the women of the Costa da Mina. An important testament—because it reveals an atypical trend, yet one that may also reflect a shift in emotional experiences toward the end of the 18th century, at least within one social sector—can be found in the will of José Felix de Magalhães e Faria.

I hereby declare that I am a Roman Catholic, born and baptized in Villa do Caitê, the natural son of Lieutenant Bernardo de Magalhaens e Faria and Maria das Neves, both of whom have passed away. I declare that I am married, in accordance with the Holy Council of Trent, to Leonor Maria Martins, and from our marriage we have the children Thereza, Bernarda, and Joam, whom I hereby jointly appoint as my legitimate and universal heirs ⁴¹.

In other words, he states that he is the son of a couple who were not married in accordance with post-Tridentine guidelines. Nevertheless, as a good Catholic, he married in the manner recommended by the Catholic Church and had three legitimate children. What is surprising is that he names three women—his relatives—as his executors, as indicated in the following passage:

³⁸ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Roza Gomes, a freed Black woman, May 15, 1790.

³⁹ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Roza Gomes, a freed Black woman, May 15, 1790.

⁴⁰ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0010 - Will of Roza Gomes, a freed Black woman, May 15, 1790.

⁴¹ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0001 - Will of Joze Felix de Magalhaens e Faria, May 28, 1788.

[I] hereby declare and appoint as my executors, first, my wife, Leonor Maria; second, my sister, Leonarda de Magalhaens e Faria; third, my sister, Maria de Magalhaens e Faria; and fourth, Adjutant Miguel Dionizio Valle, so that all together and each one individually may administer, collect, safeguard, and dispose of the specified assets that I possess, which they shall deem to be legitimate[?] and sound, and I entrust them with the responsibility of serving as my executors⁴².

Could this be an opportunity to recognize women's abilities? Could it be the result of a matrifocal family influenced by Afro-Brazilian ancestry and feminism? Who is the only man listed among the other executors? What is his connection to the family? The consensual union of José Félix's parents seems to have produced other offspring: his sisters, who enjoyed the testator's complete trust and were appointed as his executors. The testator entrusted his wife with the responsibility for his funeral arrangements, as indicated in the following passage: 'My funeral, burial and further memorial services I leave entirely to my wife's discretion, expecting her to do for me what I would do for her, though always within the limits of our assets'.⁴³ It is worth noting that funeral rites and other pre- and post-death preparations were fundamental to the period's mindset⁴⁴.

The expression 'in the hope that she will do for me what I will do for her', far from being commonplace, seems to express a reciprocity in a relationship deeply marked by the emotional bonds of a very happy marriage. However, this does not appear to have been the norm for marriages of that time. In the following excerpt, José Félix clarifies his relationship with his sisters when he makes a bequest to one of them:

[e]xcept for the mines in Minas Gerais, because I want three of them to be reserved for her [his wife] and my children// I bequeath two of the aforementioned mines to my sister Maria de Magalhães e Faria, who, from the time of my death onward, will continue to manage them as her own// And although I hold my sister Leonarda in high esteem and regard her greatly, I leave her nothing, since she has nothing and is not in need./⁴⁵

Therefore, despite the affection and consideration he seems to have for his sisters—since his sister Leonarda did not need an income or financial support—José Félix bequeaths his mining concessions solely to his sister Maria de Magalhães. He shows consideration for both of them, but, at this time, only one will be included in his charitable provisions. Later in his text, José Félix reveals other relationships marked by a sense of family.

I hereby declare that I appoint my wife as guardian of my children, and in her absence, any of my sisters, for there is no one better than them to ensure their proper education and upbringing. I instruct my executor to have four Masses said from my estate for the souls of my parents. I strongly urge my wife that, upon my death, she immediately arrange for a small outfit made of shirting cloth, stockings, shoes, and a hat to be made for my disciple Antonio Joze Duarte—for although I have taught him, supported him, and clothed him free of charge, he has helped me acquire [?] with his voice, and I love him as a father⁴⁶.

⁴² IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0001 - Will of Joze Felix de Magalhaens e Faria, May 28, 1788.

⁴³ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0001 - Will of José Félix de Magalhães e Faria, 28 May 1788.

⁴⁴ As noted in Campos (1994).

⁴⁵ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0001 - Will of Joze Felix de Magalhaens e Faria, May 28, 1788

⁴⁶ IBRAM/MI/AHCP - LT - 0001 - Will of Joze Felix de Magalhaens e Faria, May 28, 1788

By acknowledging his wife's and sisters' ability to raise their children, he seems to recognize an experience filled with positive feelings that is now surfacing on the eve of his passing: the women in his family's ability to care for and properly educate the next generation. This trust in women's ability to educate their children does not seem to be disconnected from a broader movement. Rather, it foreshadows the separation of the public sphere (rational and masculine) and the private sphere (emotional and led by women). This division would be consolidated in the nineteenth century. Once again, the women entrusted with the children's education are the same women who were entrusted with the estate in the caste charts discussed earlier⁴⁷.

Furthermore, this passage acknowledges the memory of those who have passed away, such as José Félix's parents. Most surprisingly of all, we perceive parental love towards his ward, student, and apprentice, indicating a relationship that goes far beyond teaching and learning — it is a relationship of filiation. This also suggests that part of the family's livelihood came from José Félix de Magalhães e Faria's work as a professor or instructor, perhaps teaching basic literacy or a more advanced subject, or even a trade or musical instrument, since he mentions that his disciple has been helping him build his estate. Despite the uncertainty surrounding the testator's professional activities, the above-transcribed passage makes it clear that emotional bonds shaped his relationships, even professional ones and those imbued with charity, such as his teaching of his pupils.

There are certainly many other documents worth exploring here. However, due to space limitations, it is not possible to provide further examples. Therefore, we will conclude this article by highlighting its main contributions.

Final considerations

Throughout our research, we realized that the family has historically served not only as a setting for emotional development but also as a site for the formation of a social hierarchy. The classification suggested by caste charts indicates an attempt to rank families hierarchically. This ranking marks more mixed-race families through the violence, crying, and fear experienced by their children. These emotions represent a child's anger, rage, fighting, and pleas to a parent when reprimanded. Despite this bias in the representation of families, however, we observed in the caste charts and in the analysis of 18th-century Minas Gerais wills that families also form spaces for building feelings of trust, affection, and concern, as well as spaces for guidance from the older generation to the younger one. These spaces were also places for smiling, playing, and having fun. Many families valued love, touch, and mutual affection. We observed the exchange of gifts, treats, and flowers, as well as legacies bequeathed to distant relatives with whom they had no close relationship, or to people who were close to them physically and emotionally, even if they were not blood relatives.

Furthermore, the silences and confidences that shielded children from secrets and "bad" feelings demonstrate this care within families. In the analyzed sources, we find families entertaining themselves through games, such as card games, and music. They introduced elements of high and popular culture to future generations to nurture their spirits. Additionally, we observe the care taken regarding the nutrition, upbringing, and education of children and future generations in the analyzed charts and wills. We also note the interaction among siblings, which informs the testators' kind deeds toward their siblings and their nephews and nieces. We can even observe men assisting women, including their wives, while a child is being breastfed or cared for. While this is evident in the caste charts, the division of domestic chores is not as

⁴⁷ On this subject, see the works of Julio (2017), Fonseca (2009b), Morais (2012) and Marques (2020).

clear in the wills from Minas Gerais. Yet we can still perceive the presence of men in the process of educating and shaping future generations through donations and the establishment of pious clauses that require specific tasks, such as taking vows. In short, a concern for the moral upbringing of future generations is present in both types of documents.

Regarding the centrality of families, specifically children, it is important to recognize how the group mobilizes to feed, care for, raise, educate, and instruct children.

When adults play, as indicated by a child's smile, gift, flower, touch, or playful attempt to touch, the mother's lap and protection during sleep or when the child cries also demonstrate the child's centrality, including in fostering a sense of family. The attempt to provide for and support children, as well as to build a stable, safe environment for the family, indicates a shift in the emotional landscape in these regions during this period. This is also evident when uncles or godparents give gifts to their nephews and godchildren, even if they don't know their names. Not even time and distance can erase the ethical and emotional bond between generations. Finally, a family's response to a child's crying indicates the construction of a family life permeated by emotions and concerns about future generations. These phenomena align with and are connected to the main trends in global family change, particularly those observed in Europe. In this sense, the concept of family, which until then could include ritual relatives (godchildren and compadres, for example), more distant relatives, in-laws, friends, servants, and slaves in both Europe and the Americas, is clearly characterized by benefits bequeathed in wills. Therefore, the family phenomenon in the regions we emphasize—the cities of the Americas—involved uniting diverse figures by a sense of belonging permeated by emotional experiences. In a context of consensual unions, these emotional experiences were fundamental to the education and upbringing of future generations, as we have demonstrated.

Sources and References

Charts

Figure 1a: LOZANO, Cristóbal (attributed). *Mulatto Woman. With a Spaniard. A Mulatto Woman. A Quarter-Blood Mulatto*. 1751–1800. Oil on canvas, 97 × 122 cm. Available at: <https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>. Accessed June 4, 2024.

Figure 1b: MAGÓN, José Joaquim. *From a Spaniard and a Black Woman Comes a Mulatto*. 1751–1800. Oil painting. 112 × 136 × 4.20 cm. Available at: <https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>. Accessed June 4, 2024.

Figure 1c: MAGÓN, Jose Joaquim. *From a Mulatto and a Mestiza, a Cuarterón is Born*. 1751–1800. Oil painting. 112x136 cm. Available at: <https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>. Accessed on: June 4, 2024.

Figure 1d: GUIOL, Buenaventura José. *From a Chinese Woman and a Black Man, Genisara Is Born*. 1777. Oil on canvas. 62.3x55.2 cm. In: MATA, Ana Zabía de La. *Five Casta Paintings by Buenaventura José Guiol, a New Discovery*. No. 4. Jaime Eguiguren/Eduardo Cohen Studies, 2018. Available at: https://jaimeeguiguren.com/usr/library/documents/main/cat_castas.pdf. Accessed on: June 4, 2024.

Figure 2a: CABRERA, Miguel. *De Español y mulata, morisca*. 1763. Oil on canvas. Available at: https://pt.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Cabrera_Pintura_de_Castas.jpg. Accessed June 4, 2024.

Figure 2b: CABRERA, Miguel. *De indio y barsina, zambayga*. 1763. Oil on canvas. 196x114x4.80 cm. Available at: <https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>. Accessed on: June 4, 2024.

Figure 2c: MAGÓN, Jose Joaquim. *From a Spaniard and an Indian Woman, a Mestizo Is Born*. 1751–1800. Oil painting. 196 x 136 x 4.10 cm. Available at: <https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>. Accessed June 4, 2024.

Figure 2d: MAGÓN, Jose Joaquim. *A Mulatto and an Indian Woman Give Birth to a Calpamulato*. 1751–1800. Oil painting. 196 × 136 cm. Available at: <https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>. Accessed June 4, 2024.

Figure 3a: GUIOL, Buenaventura José. *From a Spaniard and a Moorish Woman, Albina Is Born*. 1777. Oil on canvas. 62.3x55.2 cm. In: MATA, Ana Zabía de La. *Five Casta Paintings by Buenaventura José Guiol, a New Discovery*. No. 4. Jaime Eguiguren/Eduardo Cohen Studies, 2018. Available at: https://jaimeeguiguren.com/usr/library/documents/main/cat_castas.pdf. Accessed June 4, 2024.

Figure 3b: ISLAS, Andrés de. [Untitled]. 1774. Oil on canvas. 75x54m. Available at: <https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>. Accessed June 4, 2024.

Figure 3c: LOZANO, Cristóbal (attributed). *Mulata. Civilized Mountain Indians Paying Tribute*. 1751–1800. Oil painting. 97.2x123 cm. Available at: <https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>. Accessed: June 4, 2024.

Figure 3d: MAGÓN, Jose Joaquim. *El Mestizo*. [n.d.]. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_Joaqu%C3%ADn_Mag%C3%B3n#/media/File:Jos%C3%A9_Joaqu%C3%ADn_Mag%C3%B3n_-_El_Mestizo.jpg. Accessed on: June 24, 2024.

Manuscript sources

In the Ecclesiastical Archive of the Parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Antônio Dias de Ouro Preto (AEPNSCADOP):

AEPNSCADOP - Codex 6.12.1 - Will of Father Bernardo Madeira, June 5, 1756.

At the Brazilian Institute of Museums/Museum of the Inconfidência/Casa do Pilar Historical Archive (IBRAM/MI/AHCP):

IBRAM/Museum of the Inconfidência/Casa do Pilar - LT - 0010 - Will of Antonio da Silva Maya, Aug. 5, 1785.

IBRAM/Museum of the Inconfidência/Casa do Pilar - LT - 0010 - Will of Colonel Feliciano José da Câmara, April 8, 1778.

IBRAM/Museum of the Inconfidência/Casa do Pilar - LT - 0010 - Will of Roza Gomes, a freed Black woman, May 15, 1790.

IBRAM/Inconfidência Museum/Casa do Pilar - LT - 0001 - Will of Joze Felix de Magalhaens e Faria, May 28, 1788.

References

- ANGELO, Fabrício Vinhas Manini. *Herdeiros: O papel da família na educação dos seus descendentes em Minas setecentista*. Jundiaí: Paco Editorial, 2021a.
- ANGELO, Fabrício Vinhas Manini. “*Pelo muito amor que lhe tenho*”: a família, as vivências afetivas e as mestiçagens em Minas no Século XVIII. Jundiaí: Paco Editorial, 2021b.
- ARIÈS, Philippe. *História social da criança e da família*. Rio de Janeiro: Guanabara, 1986.
- ARIÈS, Philippe. *O homem diante da morte*. Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1982.
- ARIÈS, Philippe; BÉJIN, André (Orgs.). *Sexualidades ocidentais: contribuição para a história e a sociologia da sexualidade*. São Paulo: brasiliense, 1985.
- BERNAND, Carmen; GRUZINSKI, Serge. *História do Novo Mundo: da descoberta à conquista*. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1997.
- BERNAND, Carmen; GRUZINSKI, Serge. *História do Novo Mundo 2: as mestiçagens*. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2006.
- BOTO, Carlota. *A escola do homem novo: entre o Iluminismo e a Revolução Francesa*. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade Estadual Paulista, 1996. (Encyclopaideia).
- BOTO, Carlota. O curso de medicina da universidade pombalina: ciência e pedagogia no Iluminismo português. In: FONSECA, Thais. N. L. E.(Org). *As Reformas Pombalinas no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Mazza Edições, 2011.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre; PASSERON, Jean-Claude. *A reprodução: elementos para uma teoria do sistema de ensino*. Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1975.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Razões práticas: sobre a Teoria da Ação*. Campinas: Papirus editora, 1996.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. *A economia das trocas simbólicas*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2007a. (Coleção Estudos)
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. *O poder simbólico*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2007b.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. *O senso prático*. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 2013a.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. *A distinção: crítica social do julgamento*. Porto Alegre, RS: Zouk, 2013b.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre; PASSERON, Jean-Claude. *Herdeiros: os estudantes e sua cultura*. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC, 2014.
- CAMPOS, Adalgisa Arantes. *A terceira devoção dos setecentos mineiros: o culto a São Miguel e Almas*. São Paulo: FFLCH/USP, 1994. (Tese, doutorado).

CARVALHO, Rômulo de. *Apontamento sobre Martinho de Mendoça de Pina e de Proença*. Ocidente, Lisboa, v. 65, 1963.

CARVALHO, Rômulo de. *História do ensino em Portugal desde a fundação da nacionalidade até o fim do regime de Salazar-Caetano*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1986.

CARVALHO, Laerte Ramos de. *As reformas pombalinas da instrução pública*. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, Saraiva S/A. 1978.

CERCEAU NETTO, Rangel. *Um em casa de outro*. São Paulo: Annablume; Belo Horizonte: PPGH/UFGM, 2008. (Coleção Olhares).

CORBIN, Alain, COURTINE, Jean-Jacques, VIGARELLO, George. Introdução Geral. In: CORBIN, Alain, COURTINE, Jean-Jacques, VIGARELLO, George. *História das Emoções*: 1. Da Antiguidade às Luzes. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 2020.

CUNHA, Paola Andrezza Bessa. Práticas educativas no século XVIII: as associações religiosas leigas dos homens pardos. In: CONGRESSO LUSO-BRASILEIRO DE HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO. 6., 2006, Uberlândia. Anais... Uberlândia: EDUFU, 2006. p. 1266-1276.

CUNHA, Paola Andrezza Bessa. Educação moral e religiosa nas associações religiosas leigas na Minas colonial. In: CONGRESSO DE PESQUISA E ENSINO DE HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO EM MINAS GERAIS. 4., 2007, Juiz de Fora. Anais... Juiz de Fora: Produtora de Multimeios da UFJF, 2007. p. 12-25.

CUNHA, Paola Andrezza Bessa. Educação Moral e Discurso Pedagógico nas Associações Religiosas Leigas - Minas Gerais, séculos XVIII e XIX. In: VAGO, Tarcísio Mauro; OLIVEIRA, Bernardo Jefferson (org.). *Histórias de Práticas Educativas*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2008. p. 41-57.

DIAS, Maria Odila Silva. Aspectos da ilustração no Brasil. *Revista do Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro*. n. 278. 1968.

DIAS, Maria Odila Silva. A interiorização da Metópole (1808-1853). In: MOTA, Carlos Guilherme (Org.). *1822: Dimensões*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1972.

DOMINGUES, Angela. Para um melhor conhecimento dos domínios coloniais: a constituição de redes de informação no Império português em finais do Setecentos. *História, Ciências, Saúde*. Vol. VIII (suplemento), 2001. pp.823-838. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-59702001000500002>.

FIGUEIREDO, Luciano Raposo de Almeida. *Barrocas famílias: vida familiar em Minas Gerais no século XVIII*. São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1997.

FONSECA, Thais Nívia de Lima; VEIGA, Cynthia Greive (Org.). *História e historiografia da Educação no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2003.

FONSECA, Thais Nívia de Lima e. “Segundo a qualidade de suas pessoas e fazenda”: estratégias educativas na sociedade mineira colonial. *Varia História*, v. 22, p. 175-188, 2006. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-87752006000100010>.

FONSECA, Thais Nívia de Lima e. Instrução e assistência na Capitania de Minas Gerais: das ações das câmaras às escolas para meninos pobres (1750-1814). *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, v. 13, p. 535-544, 2008. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1413-24782008000300009>.

FONSECA, Thais Nívia de Lima e. História da Educação no Brasil: abordagens e tendências de pesquisa. *LPH (UFOP)*, v. 19, p. 08-41, 2009a.

FONSECA, Thais Nívia de Lima e. *Letras, ofícios e bons costumes: civilidade, ordem e sociabilidades na América portuguesa*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2009b.

FURTADO, Júnia Ferreira. *Oráculos da Geografia iluminista: Dom Luís da Cunha e Jean Baptiste Bourguignon D’Anville na construção da cartografia do Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2012.

GENOVESE, Eugene D. *Da Rebelião à Revolução: as revoltas de escravos negros nas Américas*. São Paulo: Global, 1983.

GORGULHO, Talitha Maria Brandão. “*Aos órfãos que ficaram*”: estratégias e práticas educativas dos órfãos de famílias abastadas na Comarca do Rio das Velhas (1750-1800). 2011. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2011.

GORGULHO, Talitha Maria Brandão. *A educação como herança das elites coloniais em três comarcas da capitania de Minas Gerais: Rio das Mortes, Rio das Velhas e Vila Rica (1756-1809)*. 2020. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2020.

GRUZINSKI, Serge. *O pensamento mestiço*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001a.

GRUZINSKI, Serge. Os mundos misturados da monarquia católica e outras connected histories. *Topoi*, Rio de Janeiro, p. 175-195, mar. 2001b. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/2237-101X002002007>.

GRUZINSKI, Serge. *As quatro partes do mundo: história de uma mundialização*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG; São Paulo: Edusp, 2014.

GUIMARÃES, Carlos Magno. Quilombos e brecha camponesa. *Revistas do Departamento de História*, Belo Horizonte, n. 8, p. 28-37, 1989.

GUIMARÃES, Carlos Magno. Mineração, Quilombos e Palmares. In: REIS, João José; GOMES, Flavio dos Santos. *Liberdade por um fio*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996. p. 154-173.

HANSEN, João Adolfo. Civilização pela Palavra. In: Lopes, Eliane Marta Teixeira; FARIA FILHO, Luciano Mendes de; VEIGA, Cynthia Greive. *500 anos de educação no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2000. (Coleção Historial, 6). pp. 43-60.

JULIO, Kelly Lislie. Os espaços de sociabilidade como importante ambiente onde se aprende e ensina através das indumentárias e adereços (1808 -1840). In: VAGO, Tarcísio Mauro; OLIVEIRA, Bernardo Jefferson de (org.). *História de Práticas Educativas*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2008. p. 58-80.

JULIO, Kelly Lislie. “*Os tem tratado e educado*”: as mulheres e suas ações para a manutenção da família e a educação de menores no Termo de Vila Rica, MG (1770-1822). 2017. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2017.

LOTT, Mirian Moura. *Na forma do ritual romano: casamento e família em Vila Rica (1804-1839)*. São Paulo: Annablume; Belo Horizonte: PPGH/UFMG, 2008.

MARQUES, Nelian Karolina Belico. *Educando e criando órfãos e expostas em Vila Rica e seu termo (1750-1800)*. 2020. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2020.

MORAIS, Christiani Cardoso. Ler e escrever: habilidades de escravos e forros? (Comarca do Rio das Mortes, Minas Gerais, 1731-1850). *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, v. 12, p. 493-504, 2007. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1413-24782007000300008>.

MORAIS, Christiani Cardoso. Livros de uso escolar nas aulas públicas de Portugal e ultramar durante o período de atuação da Diretoria-geral de estudos (1759-1771). In: FONSECA, Thais Nivia de Lima e. (Org). *As Reformas Pombalinas no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Mazza Edições, 2011.

NOGUEIRA, Maria Alice; CATANI, Afrânio. (Org.). *Pierre Bourdieu, Escritos de Educação*. 13. ed. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2012.

PAIVA, Eduardo França. *Escravidão e universo Cultural na Colônia*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2001.

PAIVA, Eduardo França. Trânsito e mobilidade entre mundos: Escravidão globalizada comércio e práticas culturais. In: FURTADO, Júnia Ferreira (Org.). *Sons, formas, cores e movimentos na modernidade atlântica: Europa América e África*. São Paulo: Annablume; Belo Horizonte: Fapemig; PPGH/UFMG, 2008. (Coleção Olhares).

PAIVA, Eduardo França. *Escravos e libertos nas Minas Gerais do século XVIII – Estratégias de resistências através dos testamentos*. São Paulo: Annablume, 2009.

PAIVA, Eduardo França, *Dar nome ao novo: uma história lexical da Ibero-América entre os séculos XVI e XVIII (as dinâmicas de mestiçagem e o mundo do trabalho)*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica Editora, 2015a.

PAIVA, Eduardo França. “Usos e costumes da terra”: o viver e o sentir nos relatos testamentais e nos inventários *post-mortem* das Minas Gerais setecentistas. In: GUEDES, Roberto; RODRIGUES, Cláudia; WANDERLEY, Marcelo da Rocha (Orgs.). *Últimas vontades: testamento, sociedade e cultura na América Ibérica (século XVII e XVIII)*. Rio de Janeiro: Mauad X, 2015b. p. 335-360.

- PAIVA, Eduardo França; ANASTASIA, Carla Maria Junho (Orgs.). *O trabalho mestiço; maneiras de pensar e formas de viver, séculos XVI a XIX*. São Paulo/Belo Horizonte: Annablume/PPGH-UFMG, 2002.
- PAIVA, Eduardo França; IVO, Isnara Pereira (Orgs.). *Escravidão, mestiçagem e histórias comparadas*. São Paulo: Annablume; Belo Horizonte: PPGH/UFMG, 2006.
- PAIVA, Eduardo França; IVO, Isnara Pereira. (Orgs.). *Escravidão, mestiçagem e história comparadas*. São Paulo: Annablume; Belo Horizonte: PPGH/UFMG; Vitória da Conquista: Edunesb, 2008. (Coleção Olhares).
- PAIVA, Eduardo França; IVO, Isnara Pereira; MARTINS, Ilton Cesar. *Escravidão, mestiçagens, populações e identidades culturais*. São Paulo: Annablume; Belo Horizonte: PPGH/UFMG; Vitória da Conquista: Edições Uesb, 2010. (Coleção Olhares).
- PAIVA, Eduardo França; CERCEAU NETTO, Rangel. Uma mamaluca poderosa entre Itú e Pitangui no início do século XVIII. In: CATÃO, Leandro. (Org.). *Pitangui colonial. História & Memória*. 1. ed. Pitangui: Arquivo de Pitangui, 2011, v. 1, p. 133-154.
- PAIVA, José Maria de. A educação jesuítica no Brasil Colonial. In: LOPES, Eliane Marta Teixeira; FARIA FILHO, Luciano Mendes de; VEIGA, Cynthia Greive. *500 anos de educação no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2000. (Coleção Historial, 6). pp. 19-42
- PAULA, Leandro Silva de. *O papel dos tutores na educação e na inserção social de órfãos no Termo de Mariana (1790-1822)*. 2016. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2016.
- ROSENWEIN, Bárbara Herstein. *História das Emoções: problemas e métodos*, São Paulo: Letra e Voz, 2011.
- RUSSELL, Bertrand. *História da Filosofia Ocidental*. v.3. São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1977.
- SANTELLI, Ricardo Leme. Representações de mestiços nos quadros de mestiçagem hispano-americanos do século XVIII. *Revista Ars Historica*, Rio de Janeiro, n. 12, p. 83-103, jan./ jun. 2016. Disponível em: <https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/ars/article/view/45555>. Acesso em: 28 maio 2024.
- SILVA, Solange Maria da. *Estratégias e práticas educativas dos negros na Comarca do Rio das Velhas, século XVIII*. 2011. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Faculdade de Educação, Belo Horizonte, 2011.
- SOUZA, Laura de Mello e. *Desclassificados do ouro: a pobreza mineira no século XVIII*. Rio de Janeiro: Edições Graal, 2004.
- SUBRAHMANYAM, Sanjay. Connected histories: notes towards a reconfiguration of early Modern Eurasia. *Modern Asian Studies*, v.31, n.3, p.735-762, 1997. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00017133>.

SUBRAHMANYAM, Sanjay. [Entrevista cedida a Ângela Barreto Xavier e Catarina Madeira Santos]. 10 out. 2013. Disponível em <https://journals.openedition.org/cultura/904#quotation>. Acesso em: 04 maio 2019.

VEIGA, Cynthia Greive. *Subalternidade e opressão sociorracial: questões para a historiografia da educação latino-americana*. São Paulo: Editora Unesp/SBHE, 2022. (Coleção Diálogos em História da Educação).

VILLALTA, Luiz Carlos. O que se fala e o que se lê: língua, instrução e leitura. In: SOUZA, Laura de Mello e. (Org.). *História da vida privada no Brasil: cotidiano e vida privada na América portuguesa*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997, v. 1, p. 331-385.

VILLALTA, Luiz Carlos. A reforma pombalina na universidade de coimbra. In. FONSECA, Thais. N. L. E.(Org). *As Reformas Pombalinas no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Mazza Edições, 2011.

VILLALTA, Luiz Carlos; MORAIS, Chistiani Cardoso.; MARTINS, João Paulo. As Reformas Pombalinas e a Instrução (1759-1777). In. FALCON, Francisco; RODRIGUES, Cláudia. (Orgs.). *A “Época Pombalina” no mundo luso-brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2015. pp.453-498.

ZUBIRI, Xavier. *História da filosofia*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2004.