



## Education and slavery in the captaincy of Sergipe Del Rey in the second half of the eighteenth century

Vera Maria dos Santos\*, Simone Silveira Amorim e Ester Fraga Vilas-Boas Carvalho do Nascimento

*Tiradentes University, 300, Murilo Dantas Ave, 49032-490, Farolândia, Aracaju, Sergipe, Brazil. \*Author for correspondence. E-mail: veramstos@yahoo.com.br*

**ABSTRACT.** This paper aimed to discuss the relationship between education and slavery in the Captaincy of Sergipe del Rey, as well as investigate the executrix Anna Paes Telles (1771) to evidence her profile in the seventeenth century society. To understand the legal order that governed the colonial society, we consulted the Philippines Laws (1870), First Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia. (2010). Through these documentary sources, it was possible to go through the 18th century and analyze it under different perspectives. The authors who support this analysis are: Costa (1999), Freyre (1986-1990), Faria (1998), Silva (2008), among others.

**Keywords:** education, slavery, 18th century, Captaincy of Sergipe del Rey.

### Instrução e escravidão na capitania de Sergipe Del Rey na segunda metade do século XVIII

**RESUMO.** O presente texto tem como objetivos discutir a relação instrução e escravidão na Capitania de Sergipe Del Rey, bem como investigar sobre a testamenteira Anna Paes Telles (1771), de modo a evidenciar o seu perfil na sociedade setecentista. Compondo o quadro das fontes, para entender a ordem legal que regeu a sociedade colonial, consultamos as Ordenações Filipinas (1870), as Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia (2010). Por meio dessas fontes documentais, foi possível percorrer o século XVIII e olhá-lo sob as diferentes lentes. Os autores que embasam a referida análise são Costa (1999), Freyre (1986), Faria (1998), as Ordenações Filipinas (1870), Silva (2008), entre outros.

**Palavras-chave:** instrução, escravidão, século XVIII, Capitania de Sergipe Del Rey.

### Instrucción y esclavitud en la capitanía de Sergipe Del Rey en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII

**RESUMEN.** El presente texto tiene como objetivos discutir la relación instrucción y esclavitud en la Capitanía de Sergipe Del Rey, así como investigar sobre la albacea Anna Paes Telles (1771), a fin de evidenciar su perfil en la sociedad setecentista. Componiendo el cuadro de las fuentes, para entender el orden legal que guió la sociedad colonial, consultamos las Ordenaciones Filipinas (1870); las Constituciones Primeras del Arzobispado de Bahia (2010). Por medio de estas fuentes documentales, fue posible recorrer el siglo XVIII y mirarlo bajo las diferentes lentes. Los autores que basan el referido análisis son Costa (1999), Freyre (1986-1990) Faria (1998), las Ordenaciones Filipinas (1870), Silva (2008), entre otros.

**Palabras clave:** instrucción, esclavitud, siglo XVIII, Capitanía de Sergipe Del Rey.

#### Introduction

While scanning the 87 judicial inventories for a research on orphans in the eighteenth century, in the Captaincy of Sergipe Del Rey, the Book of wills was found in which was recorded, among other facts, the instruction of slaves, such as Dona Anna Paes Telles' will. However, prior to any understanding, the document was shared with

researchers from the Postgraduate Program in Education of Tiradentes University.

The situation that has been announced has drawn us to the point where we have to look at that source and investigate the subject from the following question: What led Dona Anna to instruct her slaves? Thus understood, the present text aims to get to know, at the first moment, who was the executor Anna Paes

Telles, evidencing this character in the context of the eighteenth century in Sergipe society by means of transcription and analysis of her will, in order to evidence her profile as well how, in the second moment, to discuss the relation between education and slavery in the Captaincy of Sergipe Del Rey.

In fact, the words instruction and slavery present us a contradictory proposal, since in the eighteenth century they were dissonant, in other words, they are unfeasible due to the current legal order. But in the Captaincy of Sergipe Del Rey we find the record of the existence of the instruction of slaves and it was based on this register that we decided to investigate to understand what happened outside the law, constituting this investigation in a debate that is inserted in the field of History of Education.

When composing the source table, we consulted the *Philippine Ordinances* (1870) and the *First Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia* (Jancsó & Puntoni, 2010) to understand the legal order that ruled colonial society. We also used the Bluteau dictionary (1712-1728). From these documentary sources it was possible to go through the eighteenth century and look at it under different lenses.

This analysis is based on the studies of Costa (1999), Freyre (1986), Faria (1998), Silva (2008), among others. To compile this history, we follow in the footsteps of Ginzburg (1989), because, through the indicia method, this author supports the idea of using obscure clues in a speculative way to construct an epistemological model. It is therefore necessary to look for the clues, to perceive what is in between the lines of the document, to inquire about the invisible structures within past is articulated to analyze not only the final results, but also the path that has been taken to arrive at an understanding of the facts. It was from this understanding that we collected and analyzed the data in the will of Dona Anna Paes Telles (1771).

It is important to emphasize that, in legal terms, the slave was not considered a person, but he/she was an indispensable element to the operation of the colonial life, he/she was also a valuable asset and showed economic power. In the face of the understanding presented, the slave did not have space to be instructed, according to the current legislation. It is significant to mention that we do not intend to discuss the notion of slavery in a broad way, but rather to show what it was like to be a slave in the eighteenth century, towards the understanding of the time, besides showing what was happening outside the law.

We emphasize that the elementary education in the mentioned period was allowed to the children of

families that had goods, that is, it was provided according to the economic power of each one. This is because the children of families who had assets, in the future, would be the bosses or should be able to take over the command positions in society. Thus, the fact that the children of these families learned to read and write was not only a necessity, but a legal imposition, as determined by the Philippine Ordinances (1870).

However, in between the lines of everyday life, many issues flouted the established legal order. With that in mind, we turn to the aforementioned will to better compose the framework of Sergipe instruction in the colonial period and reveal the palpitation of human relations in the seventeenth-century of Sergipe Del Rey captaincy.

### Who was Anna Paes Telles?

In 1771, already sick and fearing death, but standing and in her right mind, Anna Paes Telles asked firstly Antonio Carvalho de Assumpção, secondly to her nephew, Captain Jose Suterio de Menezes, and thirdly, to Captain Manoel Carvalho Carregoza, to be her executors<sup>1</sup>. In this document, Mrs Telles recorded her wishes and her requests, but also made some statements.

In the first request, she made clear the aura that involved the strong religious feeling, incorporated into the society of that time. Thus, she asked that her body should be buried in the Our Lady of Mercy, Mother Church in the Village of Lagarto, all shrouded in the Seraphic habit<sup>2</sup> of Father San Francisco.

In the Parish of Nossa Senhora da Piedade do Lagarto, as observed by Souza (2005), there was another record of religious teaching: when the archbishop's governors announced the creation of Villa de Lagarto on December 11, 1679, the mother church was named Nossa Senhora da Piedade in 1698. Its priest taught the inhabitants about gospel morality, with word and example, on the basis of the 'holy maxims of Christianity'.

However, in relation to the teaching of reading and writing, in Villa de Lagarto, Souza (2005, p. 54) drew attention to the fact that, "[...] throughout this term, there is no public teacher who taught reading and writing, arithmetic and the principles of religious conduct and God-fearing."

This author also highlighted the difficulty of the residents of Villa de Lagarto in leaving their children

<sup>1</sup> The one who is in charge of executing the will of the testator; He can not buy himself or others the goods that belonged to the deceased (Bluteau, 1728, p. 132).

<sup>2</sup> "Adj. of Seraphim. *The Seraphic order*. A de S. Francisco" (Silva, 1789, p. 691).

to “[...] learn the first elements of letters at such long distances” (Souza, 2005, p. 55). Otherwise in Villa de Santo Amaro, which was the most prosperous and closest village to Villa de Lagarto, there was no public teaching of reading and writing. Still, according to this author, there were masters of Latin grammar and first letters in the provincial capital and in the Village of Santa Luzia. These places were distant, making difficult the primary education access for many interested people of Villa de Lagarto.

Resuming the analysis of the testator, Mrs Telles declared that she belonged to the Brotherhood<sup>3</sup> of the Souls. Belonging to a brotherhood in Portuguese America was to conform to the principles of civility in vogue in the eighteenth century. In fact, it was one of the mechanisms used by the Portuguese kingdom of social control<sup>4</sup>. According to Fonseca (2009), to be part of an association, its members should

[...] be free from addictions and bad manners, habits considered deviant by the Church, whether scandalous or not. As they could lead to vagrancy, a practice that led to the configuration of the bad subject, his abstinence was necessary for the good progress and growth of the brotherhood and, consequently, of the whole society (Fonseca, 2009, p. 148).

Those interested in joining an association should introduce themselves to it, and those brothers who knew them should be accountable for them and their lives. It would be accepted that individual that fit the determinations presented in the Books of Commitments:

In this Brotherhood one will not accept any person of either sex, who is not knowingly God-fearing, and His Majesty's Justices, of good manners, ability, and good conduct, in which the Bureau must have great vigilance, so that do not be allowed to accept and to accept people of bad habits, as they are Misleadars, evil sayers, proud, sowers of cizanias, and disagreements, given to steal, and drinks that make them lose judgement, and other vices that make them incapable to Communicat of the good; whose individuals must separate from, so that they do not get perverted (Fonseca, 2009, p. 148).

Still expressing the strength of her religiosity, Mrs Telles left the record that she had several religious

pieces in her home: an oratory with images of the Crucified Lord, the Seraphic Father Saint Francis, the Child Jesus, Our Lady of Protection and San Francisco. This amount of images reflects the importance of religion in colonial society, so much that it is not surprising to know that “[...] even before dawn, when they awoke between one sleep and another, it was a part of Catholic piety to take advantage of the dead of night to raise up the soul with God” (Mott 1977, p. 165).

All this religious material was part of the domestic habits of the families of that time, when devout men and women decorated their rooms with rosaries, images and oratories of all types and sizes. In addition, they did the daily prayers at home, fulfilling the rituals and the canonical hours. The house was constituted as the *locus*<sup>5</sup> of prayers to the devout saints, being religiosity<sup>6</sup> a very present element in the lives of the people, a *habitus* cultivated from the young age.

Among the objects that made up the home environment of Mrs Telles there were the following items, as described in her will, as shown in Figure 1, followed by her transcription: a large bench and a large cedar wood table with its drawer and a copper pot.

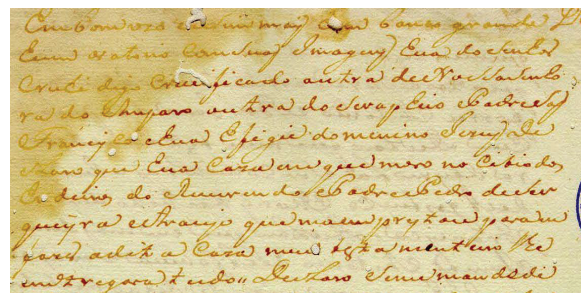


Figure 1. Part of Mrs Telles' list of goods -1771.

Source: Santos (2011)

[Unreadable] large bank and an oratory with its images of the crucified Lord and another of the Seraphic Father Sam Francisco and a [unreadable] of the Child Jesus. I declare that there is a house that

<sup>3</sup> “[...] Society of people, who by virtue of a compromise, under the invocation of some Saint, are obliged to do some spiritual exercises” (Bluteau, 1789, p. 200).

<sup>4</sup> Regarding the brotherhoods, Fonseca (2009) tells us that they were a type of male, female, or mixed congregation that reunited believers around the same devotion, without necessarily detaching themselves from worldly life or vowing chastity or closure. “In Portuguese America they were classified according to ethnic, social and professional criteria, but the insertion in one or more brotherhood was allowed, except in the case of the Third Orders, where it was necessary, at least theoretically, to choose between that of St. Francis of Assis and Nossa Senhora do Carmo” (Fonseca, 2009, p. 146).

<sup>5</sup> Acc. Mott (1977, p. 165) “... the house where people lived was the privileged *locus* for the exercise of the private religiosity of the Catholics”. “In the walls of many colonial houses, leaving the room, there were the paintings to be venerated and hailed, the “records” of the saints of the greatest devotion of the owners of the house” (Mott, 1977, p. 164, Italics by the author). Mott also added that “[...] in colonial Brazil, following the Portuguese tradition, since the awakening, the Christian was surrounded by memories of the Kingdom of Heaven. On the wall next to the bed there was always some visible symbol of the Christian faith: a picture-frame or sash with the engraving of the holy guardian angel or the onomastic saint; A small shell with holy water; The rosary hanging from the head of the bed. Before rising from the bed, the mat, or the net, every Christian should immediately do the full sign of the cross, reciting the prayer: “By the sign of the holy cross, God our Lord rids us from our enemies. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen”. The most devout, kneeling on the floor, recited at least the basic of the popular devotional: the Ave-Maria, Our Father, the creed and the Queen's salve” (Mott, 1977, p.167).

<sup>6</sup> In this society “[...] the good Catholic was expected to be baptized, to marry and die with the participation of the church, to fulfill the paschal obligation of confession and communion, to attend mass on Sundays and holy days” (Silva, 2008, p. 180).

I live in the citiated heirs of the Reverend Father Pedro de Serqueira and Araujo, who lent me to [unreadable] the mentioned house my executor gave him everything [...].<sup>7</sup>

It should be noted that the study carried out by Santos (2011) demonstrated what it was like to have furniture to make up the domestic environment in the 18th century in captaincy of Sergipe Del Rey, because, when analyzing the eighty seven Sergipe inventories, it was possible to find out that three widows of possessions had sitting chairs.

The reality of Mrs Telles' domestic environment reflects that of most of the Sergipe colonial households, whose modesty and scarcity of widows' furniture were commonplace<sup>8</sup>. The precariousness of the domestic furniture causes surprise to the contemporary look, but such a situation can be justified by the fact that, in the early days of the colony, there was a great lack of craftsmen to perform this type of service and, moreover, it was very expensive.

The tables, cited in some Sergipe inventories, were objects for the few, since during this period there was the habit of eating sitting on the floor or on a mat<sup>9</sup>. The furnishings were generally made of noble woods, such as jacaranda and cedar, but there were those made with wood from their own dwelling place and these were not listed in their will, since they were considered worthless. Only in the early nineteenth century the chairs begin to integrate domestic environments, since they were expensive, rare furniture and linked to institutional power, as Carvalho (2008, p. 201) states:

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the chairs in Brazil were furniture found in public and religious buildings. Apart from this context, which gave the chair a sense of prestige and very clear power, there were portable and foldable chairs, used in travels, well inserted, therefore, in the nomadic tradition of medieval furniture – X-legs, with leather seat and back.

It is noteworthy that in most colonial homes, people used to eat with their bare hands, as there were almost no knives, spoons, plates and glasses.

These elements were found in the homes of the richest widows. The use of these materials will only be widespread in the nineteenth century.

However, these indications do not support us to say that most Sergipe women lived their day by day life without having furniture and utensils for domestic use. We emphasized that it was very common to use the material resources of the place where they lived to compose the space of their house, like the rustic woods to make the few furniture; the clay for the pans, pots, containers and others; the straw for the mats that served to sleep and for the meals; and the vine for the ecaquás baskets. These were considered objects with no monetary value and therefore did not integrate the list of assets of the inventories and wills researched.

It is in this context that the importance of the analysis of the Mrs Teles' will, native of the Parish of Nossa Senhora do Socorro and the legitimate daughter of João Baptista and Maria de Menezes, 'already deceased', is inserted. She was married to Gregório de Araujo Costa, also deceased, whose marriage had no children, thus having no 'forced heirs', according to part of the will we present in Figure 2:

Figure 2. Part of Mrs Telles' list of goods –1771.

Source: Santos (2011)

I declare that I was married in [unreadable] with Gregorio de Araujo Costa, who is already deceased, whose marriage had no children so I have no heir of any forsaken [...].<sup>10</sup>

Within the limits of the individuality of each one, Mrs Telles was not an ordinary person in the colonial society of Sergipe Del Rey, because, in view of the analysis of her will, she belonged to a religious order, was called respectfully as mistress and had goods. These elements say a lot of a person in colonial society, she belonged to a group that held power or to local elites: "[...] groups that by their social position were among the most powerful [...]" (Velasco, 2004, p. 213).

Heinz understood that the concept is broad and descriptive and are "[...] categories or groups that seem

<sup>7</sup> Transcription done by Santos (2011), from the Mrs Telles' will (1771, p. 21), where there is the register of the goods left by her.

<sup>8</sup> This finding parallels with Algranti's (1997, p. 105) study, which showed that "the precariousness of furniture and domestic environments were common to all of colony, except for a few exceptions, such as the homes of certain commanders and some rich farmers". This shortage was also observed by Costa (1999, pp. 85-86), who showed that "[...] furniture and objects of ornamentation were scarce in the colonial residence". As a general reflection, we observe that the furniture of the houses of the Captaincy of Sergipe Del Rey did not differ from that of the Master's house, presented by Costa: "[...] besides the little oratory, with the saint of confidence, beds, chairs, stools, tables and still arks. Trunks and chests to have where to put the whole stuff" (Costa, 1999, p.85). Freyre (1986) also dealt with the scarcity of the Master's house furniture in the colonial period.

<sup>9</sup> The habit of eating on the floor was not exclusive to the colony, for still in "[...] the first half of the 18th century, it was common in the Kingdom houses for wives and children to accompany the head chef's meal from a plate and settle on the floor near the table where he dined" (Algranti, 1997, p. 123-124).

<sup>10</sup> Transcription done by Santos (2011), from the Mrs Telles' will (1771, p. 21), where Mrs Telles made statements about her personal life.=

to occupy the 'edge' of 'authority structures or resource distribution'. For this author, the groups of elites are diverse: "[...] 'the leaders', 'influential people', 'the wealthy', or the 'privileged', and this, in most cases, without another form of justification, since the power of the elite would impose itself and would dispense with further explanations" (Heinz, 2006, p. 8, emphasis added by the author). In addition, "[elites] are defined by the holding of a certain power or as the product of social or intellectual selection [...]" (Heinz, 2006, p. 8). It is considering this precedent that we move to the analysis of the second point of reflection of this text.

### Instruction and Slavery in the Eighteenth Century

Slavery is a very exciting topic, but here, we want to understand its meaning and role in the family in the colonial period. Thus, it is important to mention how the slave is analyzed under different facets. As Costa (1999, p. 94) called it, "the Brazilian machine of living, at the time of the Colony and the Empire, it depended on this mixture of thing, creature and people, who was the slave. [...] it was he who made the house work." Being the slave an indispensable element to the operation of colonial life, it was also a valuable asset and denoted economic power.

Freyre (1986, p. 489) understood that in the "[...] hierarchy of Brazilian slavery of large farms or sugar mills, the status of the slave ranged from that of almost a person of family or almost animal."

To better understand the situation of the slave at that time, we sought the Bluteau dictionary (1712-1728), which in turn understood the slave as "[...] who was born captive, or was sold & is under the power of the Lord". For Silva (1789), another author for the period, the "[...] slave, captive, who is without freedom, in the state of servitude".

Santos (2011) also expressed the meaning of slave, when seeking the understanding of the term family in the colonial period, making possible to see the importance of him/her for the family at that time. For that researcher, the family took into account not only inbreeding, but the types of relationships acquired during the course of life. In the composition of the family entered the allies, who were not members of the consanguineous family core, but lived under the same roof as son-in-law, brother-in-law, godchildren and slaves. What is important is to understand that all these residents were subjected to the patria power or patria domain, which characterized the family at that time. Thus, the family in the colonial period involved the consanguine nucleus and the allies that were joining that nucleus, of which the slave was also a member.

In this environment, the relation education/slavery did not exist in terms of the law. Elementary education was intended for orphans with goods in view of the fact that they would be the bosses in future. For them, learning to read and write was not only a necessity, but a legal imposition, as determined by the Philippine Ordinances (1870):

If some orphans are children of such persons, which are not to be given by soldiers, the Judge will order them what was necessary for their food, clothing and footwear, and all else in every human. And he will send them to the inventory, to take into account their Tutor, or Healer. And he will send to teach to read and write those that are for that until the age of twelve years. And henceforth he will command their life and teaching, according to the quality of his people and farm.

In fact, the law required elementary education for orphans of possessions and even the possibility of increasing and following other studies. For them, knowing how to read, write and count was a primary condition for maintaining and efficiently managing inherited assets in the future. In fact, the orphans who had goods could not be placed to receive welded, by their origin.

Along with this discussion, we emphasize that Sergipe Del Rey Captaincy, in the second half of the eighteenth century, ascended economically, at the time when commercial transactions expanded, requiring elementary education to transit and become part of this growing market.

Yet, what was this set of knowledge that would integrate elementary education in the Captaincy of Sergipe Del Rey in the eighteenth century, more specifically in 1771? Santos (2011), in her study, detected, through judicial inventories, that in 1771 some Sergipe inhabitants learned Christian doctrine, good customs, besides reading, writing and counting. We note that the following year "[...] a broad reform of Primary Education took place, unleashed by Pombal, in 1772, a 'Master of Elementary Education' was presented in our Captaincy, from Portugal, named José de Sousa" (Santos, 2011, p. 238, emphasis added).

This year was a milestone in our history, since it modified the hiring process of the teacher and the teacher of Reading and Writing, at the time when the disciplinary norms were defined for the performance of the new state employees. Elementary education became a subject of state responsibility, whose new proposal was to standardize behaviors aimed at progress and civilization of the entire Portuguese nation (Santos, 2011, p. 238).



It was also important, for Santos (2011), to define the model of elementary education for the Captaincy of Sergipe Del Rey in the seventies to continue with this analysis:

[...] a set of religiously based educational practices which, at first, provided a common basis for men and women who learned the Christian Doctrine and Good Customs. In a second moment, the education was different from the sex, and for men, it meant the apprehension of the first learning or elementary knowledge (reading, writing and counting) and for the women it was destined to seizure of crafts (Bake, spin, make lace and embroider). These practices were apprehended from childhood and extended into adulthood; they could be scholarly or non-scholarly and aimed at reaching, preferably, those individuals with possessions (Santos, 2011, p. 239).

It is important to understand the meaning of education for the Portuguese society that understood that education<sup>11</sup>, as mentioned by Fernandes (1994), had to take into account the position occupied socially by the child, which determined the professional destination of the child.

Silva (2008, p. 4) emphasized the Portuguese society's understanding of education by highlighting Figueiredo's defense as early as 1772, "[...] advocated an education that could make the children of the privileged segments of the Portuguese society, to occupy the administration of houses and bureaucracy."

What Silva (2008) points out from Figueiredo is important, because in the discussion about the instruction posed by the intellectuals of the time he announced the restrictive factor of instruction, while adding that "[...] school education had its social limits in the quantitative and popular extension, even of the degrees of instruction" (Silva, 2008, p. 4). Access to education was therefore not guaranteed for all, given the practical impossibility of providing access to the general population. According to Silva (2008), the intellectuals still had the concern that if all decided to study, they would reduce the useful arms to the rustic and factory offices. Thus, it was not for the children of the poor to have any training other than that for the work.

The instruction thus understood, we saw that the poor, let alone the slaves, had no room for instruction. In this sense, Fernandes (1994) cited an example, which occurred in 1797, which illustrates the relationship between the poor orphans, the settlers and the work:

[...] as a condition for the purchasing of a cotton cloth factory, located in one of the suburbs of Lisbon, with 40 looms, competent carding and spinning mills and other tools, it was established that the buyer was obliged to keep 43 orphans and those exposed who are in the same factory, as apprentices, until they complete their time (Fernandes, 1994, p. 32).

Fonseca (2009, p. 109-110) reinforced the understanding, noting that, "[...] for the poor, education turned primarily to the learning of mechanical trades, although eventually they were also led to learn to read, write and count".

The education of slaves was not an element present in the eighteenth-century legal order, so much so that the Philippine Ordinances do not mention such possibility. Instruction at the time was not for everyone, but we observed that, between the lines of daily life, many facts went beyond the limits of the normative structure.

We found evidence of slave instruction in Freyre (1986) when he mentioned that, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, "when the first railroads came, the boys' custom in the mills was to make the [first] studies at home, with the chaplain or private teacher" (Freyre 1986, p. 430). Freyre (1986) also added that the existence of classrooms in the Master's houses was very common, it was where the boys and, often, the 'kids and brats', met to learn to read and to write, to count and to pray.

In the dictionary of Silva (1789) the meaning of calf [cria] refers to an animal that still suckles, but we believe that Freyre (1986), when using the term calf, did not refer to the meaning treated in that dictionary, but to the servants of the house. Silva (1789) expressed the meaning of the term 'muléques' as black boy, short black one.

In Sergipe Del Rey we find an indication of the elementary education of slaves in the testament of Mrs Telles, dated 1771, Figure 3, followed by its transcription. She stated that she had no 'forced heirs', but she had two Creole slaves, one named João and one named Lourença, as shown in the following document:



Figure 3. Part of Mrs Telles' list of goods –1771.

Source: Santos (2011)

<sup>11</sup> "The education of a child began at the knees of his/her mother, traditionally responsible for teaching children to make the sign of the cross, kneeling during prayers and saying basic prayers such as the Creed and the Our Father. In the seventeenth century, the future Louis XIII learned moral lessons from his preceptor, as others would do from their mothers, by repeating various maxims and proverbs. Popular stories that have passed from generation to generation may also have helped children, as well as adults, deal with the world around them. Members of the educated elite could begin to learn to read and write informally, around 4 or 5 years of age" (Heywood, 2004, p. 124).

I declare that I have two slaves, I say slaves both Creoles namely one named Joao and one named Antonio and the other named Barbara Luciana, both female daughters of my slave Luciana by the way Lourença, who find themselves with their Manumission letters written in the Book of Notes of the Registry of this Villa de Lagarto whose short black [mulatinho] Antonio is learning to read and the craft of shoemaker with Francisco de Araujo to which person I ask to have in his power until the end of teaching and he has capacity of Instruction and slavery in Sergipe to do and the short black [mulatinha] girl I ask to Rosa Maria wife of Manoel Guedes Soares for the love of God and for making me deserve to want to have in her power giving her *the teaching and doctrine as she usually does to her children* until she is said to be able to rule.<sup>12</sup>

Creole, for the Bluteau Dictionary (1712-1728), means “[...] a slave born in the house of the Lord.” In the understanding of Silva (1789), ‘criúlo’ also clarifies the meaning of ‘cria’, used by Freyre (1986), mentioned above: “[...] the slave, born in the Master’s house; The animal, calf that is born in our power” (Silva, 1789).

So, not only were João and Lourença born in the house or under the power of Mrs Telles, but also the two slaves who were still children, Antônio and Barbara Luciana. Dona Anna also revealed that her ‘mulatinhos’ had their letters of manumission written in the Note Book of the Registry of Villa do Lagarto. It is worth mentioning that, even when they are already emancipated, Barbara Luciana and Antônio are always denominated as ‘slaves’ or ‘mulatinhos’. To better understand the words of Mrs Telles, we sought the understanding of what the mulatto would be for the time: “Son, or daughter in black with white, or backwards or mulatto with white to a certain degree; Son of a horse or a donkey” (Silva, 1789).

Even though it is not a case contemplated by the Philippine Ordinances, but in the midst of everyday relations, the Captaincy of Sergipe Del Rey felt the sentiment of Mrs Telles by her mulattoes have spoken louder. The fact that she has had no children and had seen the slaves born under her roof were elements to be considered, for she did not leave the two slaves forsaken.

The ‘mulatinho’ Antônio should learn to read and the shoemaker’s office with Francisco de Araujo, who was responsible for him, until he could rule himself, that is, when Antônio reached legal age, which was 25 years old, like Mrs Telles prayed in her request.

With the attitude of instructing her slaves, Mrs Telles disregarded the legislation that determined that unfit orphans and rejected ones, from the age of seven, the Judge of the Orphans would throw them into an auction at their place of residence, announcing who had orphans to give sold or salary per service. The orphan would be given to the person who paid the highest salary and practiced the same profession as the father of the orphan. Thus, he would learn a trade according to his class. If he were the son of farmers, he would be delivered to a farmer, according to the Philippine Ordinances (1870, p. 211-212):

Se alguns Orfãos forem filhos de lavradores, e outros lavradores os quizerem para mister da lavoura, não lhes serão tirados tanto por tanto. E se suas mesmas mãis os houverem mister para lavoura, e forem viúvas, e viverem honestamente a ellas se dêem primeiro tanto por tanto e não tendo mais, se seus avós os quizerem para o dito mister, a ellas se dêem. E não tendo avós, se outros parentes tiverem, para o dito mister da lavoura os quizerem, a elles sejam dado, preferindo sempre os parentes mais chegados até o quarto grão. E havendo dous em igual grão, precederá o da parte do pai, que for mais abastado. E o Juiz, que isto não cumprir, pagará ao Órfão toda perda e dano, que por isso lhe causar. E o Juiz, que o filho do lavrador dêr a quem não for lavrador, para outro serviço, achando lavrador que o queira tomar, pagará mil réis: e o Tutor, que em tal dada consentir outros mil, ametade para quem os accusar, e a outra para as obras do Concelho. É não tolhemos aos Lavradores, a que os Orfãos forem dados principalmente para lavrar, servirem-se delles em guardar gados e bestas e outros serviços, quando lhes cumprir, com tanto que os occupem principalmente na lavoura [...]. [...] Se forem filhos de officiaes mechanicos, serão postos para aprender os officios de seus pais, ou outros, para que mais pertencentes sejam, ou mais proveitosos segundo sua disposição e inclinação fazendo scripturas publicas com os mestres, em que se obriguem a os dar ensiandos em aquelles officios em certo tempo arrazoadado, obrigando para isso seus bens.

If some Orphans are the sons of farmers, and other farmers desire them for the purpose of cultivation, they shall not be taken away so much. And if their own maids should have them for cultivation, and be widows, and live honestly to them, give themselves first so much, and having no more, if their grandmothers desire them for the said one, let them be given to them. And having no grandparents, if other relatives have, to the said field of cultivation, if they so desire, be given to them, always preferring the closest relatives to the fourth grain. And if there be two in the same grain, it shall precede that of the father, wherewith he is more prosperous. And the Judge, if this does not comply, will pay the Orphan

<sup>12</sup> Transcription done by Santos (2011), from the Mrs Telles’ will (1771, p. 20), where Mrs Telles made statements about her slaves and her intentions towards them after her death.

any loss and damage, which causes him to do so. And the Judge, that the son of the husbandman give to him who is not a husbandman, to another service, finding a husbandman who wishes to take him, shall pay a thousand reis: and the Guardian, who in such a give another thousand, threatens to accuse them; The other for the works of the Municipality. And let us not restrain the Farmers, let the Orphans be given mainly to plow, to serve them in keeping cattle and beasts and other services, when he fulfills them, so much that they occupy them principally in the fields [...] . [...] If they are the offspring of mechanical officers, they shall be put to learn the offices of their fathers, or others, so that they may be more or more profitable according to their disposition and inclination by making public scriptures with the masters, To give them instruction in those offices in a certain time reasoned, compelling his goods.

We have seen that, by the Philippine Ordinations, the mulatto, slave and/or Creoles had no place in the legislation. Knowing their condition, Mrs Telles, before dying, directed her mulattoes to have a life of their own after her death.

As for the slave Barbara Luciana, she received the 'instruction proper to her sex', which was the instruction for the orphan of possessions in the eighteenth century. This instruction, according to Santos (2011, p. 252), involved the following learning:

[...] the Christian Doctrine and the Good Customs and, in a second moment, the crafts of baking, embroidering and making lace. It should be noted that in the four decades studied here (1752 to 1792), no changes were found in the teachings, intended for orphans under twenty-five years of age.

It was probably this set of learning that Barbara Luciana received. It is important to demonstrate that Mrs Telles made the request to Rosa Maria, wife of Manoel Guedes Soares: "[...] love of God and for making me deserve to want to have in her power giving her the teaching and doctrine as she usually does to her children until she is said to be able to rule"(General Archives of the Judiciary, 1771, p. 20).

When Mrs Telles mentioned the word 'teach', she was probably referring to the set of teachings proposed for the young elite, which was based on Christian doctrine and the crafts of baking, embroidering and making income. Mrs Telles also asked that Rosa Maria stayed with her slave until she could rule herself, so that she would not be out of colonial society. The paper does not report, but we infer that Barbara Luciana probably received her set of learning from a teacher, which was common at the time, according to what the literature points out. Maybe Rosa Maria was a teacher at the time.

## Final considerations

As we have seen, Anna Paes Telles had no children, but she cared for her two younger slaves, so much that she sent them to be instructed as though they had been born and born of her own womb. Perhaps the 'slave', Antônio and Barbara Luciana, were children born out of wedlock, because it was common at that time, at the time of death, to support the children.

There are several situations that we can not specify because the document is not intended to make clear the question above. We also know that the will is a religious document, and the time of death is an important time for the person to be redeemed from sin, to do good deeds and to ask God's forgiveness for the sins committed in life.

In her two requests for instruction, Mrs Telles emphasized the care for the slaves, until when they could rule themselves. The girl would learn the instruction of her sex and the boy would learn to read and write and the craft of shoemaker. In both modes of instruction, they would first learn the Christian Doctrine and the Good Customs.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the text is not finished, because we leave a series of questions still unanswered, such as: Who were the actors present in that request? Was Rosa Maria, wife of Manoel Guedes Soares, a teacher who taught the Christian Doctrine to the children of that place? From the literature, we know that it was common for parents to hire someone to teach their children, however, in the documentation analyzed, we find no mention of a teacher, teacher or parish priest. Thus, these questions will continue to wait for new evidences to elucidate the raised questions and, therefore, to better compose the framework of research in the History of Education in the XVIII century in the Captaincy of Sergipe Del Rey.

## Referências

- Algranti, L. M. (1977). Famílias e vida doméstica. In L. M. Souza (Org.), *História da vida privada no Brasil: cotidiano e vida privada na América portuguesa* (p. 84-154). São Paulo, SP: Companhia das Letras.
- Arquivo Geral do Judiciário: livro de testamentos, Sergipe. (1771). *Testamento de Donna Anna Paes Telles* (Cx. 62, Livro 02, p. 18-25).
- Bluteau, R. (1712-1728). *Vocabulário português & latino: aulico, anatomico, architectonico* (8 Vols.). Coimbra, PT: Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus. Recuperado de: <http://www.brasiliana.usp.br/dicionario/edicao/1>
- Carvalho, V. C. (2008). *Gênero e artefato: o sistema doméstico na perspectiva da cultura material - São Paulo, 1870-1920*.



- São Paulo, SP: USP.
- Costa, J. F. (1999). *Ordem médica e norma familiar*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Graal.
- Faria, S. C. (1998). *A colônia em movimento: fortuna e família no cotidiano colonial*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Nova Fronteira.
- Fernandes, R. (1994). *Os caminhos do ABC: sociedade portuguesa e ensino de primeiras letras*. Porto, PT: Porto.
- Fonseca, T. N. L. (2009). *Letras ofícios e bons costumes: civilidade, ordem e sociabilidade na América Portuguesa*. Belo Horizonte, MG: Autêntica.
- Freyre, G. (1986). *Casa-grande e senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal*. São Paulo, SP: José Olympio.
- Ginzburg, C. (1989). *A micro-história e outros ensaios*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Bertrand Brasil.
- Heinz, M. F. (Org.). (2006). *Por outra história das elites*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: FGV.
- Heywoodi, C. (2004). *Uma história da infância: da Idade Média à época contemporânea no Ocidente*. Porto Alegre, RS: Artmed.
- Jancsó, I., & Puntoni, P. (Org.). (2010). *Constituições primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia*. São Paulo, SP: USP.
- Mott, L. R. B. (1977). Cotidiano e vivência religiosa: entre a capela e o calundu. In L. M. Souza (Org.), *História da vida privada no Brasil: cotidiano e vida privada na América portuguesa* (p. 156-220). São Paulo, SP: Companhia das Letras.
- Ordenações Filipinas*. (1870). Coimbra, PT: Universidade de Coimbra. Recuperado de: <http://www.uc.pt/ihti/proj/filipinas/ordenacoes.htm>
- Santos, V. M. (2011). *A mulher de posses e a instrução elementar na Capitania de Sergipe Del Rey nos anos setecentos* (Tese de doutorado). Universidade Federal de Sergipe, São Cristóvão.
- Silva, M. B. N. (2008). *Bahia, a corte da América* (Coleção Brasileira). São Paulo, SP: Companhia da Editora Nacional.
- Silva, A. M. (1789). *Dicionário da língua portuguesa*. Recuperado de: <http://www.brasiliana.usp.br/dicionario/edicao/2>
- Souza, M. A. (2005). *Memória sobre a Capitania de Sergipe, ano 1808*. Aracaju, SE: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura.
- Velasco, I. A. (2004). *As sedução da ordem: violência, criminalidade e administração da Justiça: Minas Gerais - século 19* (Coleção História). São Paulo, SP: Edusc.

Received on April 20, 2016.

Accepted on October 18, 2016.

License information: This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.