

José Eduardo Franco,
Luiz Eduardo Oliveira
and Christine Vogel
(Coordinators)

BETWEEN NERO AND PROMETHEUS

*The Marquis of Pombal and the emergence of Party History
(18th-21st centuries)*



VECHTA – LISBOA – ARACAJU

MARQUIS OF POMBAL, HERALD OF THE SECOND (BRAZILIAN) EMPIRE?

JEAN PIERRE CHAUVIN⁴⁵⁵

Putting people of distinction in these villages has given me great care

(Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado)⁴⁵⁶

*It would be a big mistake to all the principles of pragmatic Historiography
if the forces of indigenous peoples and imported blacks were despised*

(Karl von Martius)⁴⁵⁷

REAR PROJECTION

The Brazil we assume we know is also the result of a set of discourse(s). The history of the country goes beyond thinking about the territory, which was the Island of Vera Cruz, Land of Santa Cruz, and the name of a commodity. Since the beginning of the 16th century, this past is indelibly marked by the occupation of different places under diverse modalities by native peoples, deceived by foreigners specialized in the plundering of lands first denominated “Parts” of Brazil. Later they were named “States” of the Portuguese Crown, “Homeland” and, finally, “Nation” – in theory, modern, sovereign, and independent.

Fortunately, the studies of Alan Manchester⁴⁵⁸, Nelson Werneck Sodré⁴⁵⁹, and H. E. S. Fisher⁴⁶⁰ revealed, with plenty of evidence, the information which part of Brazilian historiography still does not know or pretends it is not important. The political independence,

⁴⁵⁵ School of Communications and Arts, and College of Philosophy, Letters, and Human Sciences, Federal University of São Paulo, Brazil.

⁴⁵⁶ Letter from the Governor and Captain-General of the Grão-Pará and Maranhão state to the Secretary of D. José I on November 22, 1755, M. C. de Mendonça, *A Amazônia na Era Pombalina*, tome III, Brasília, Edições do Senado Federal, 2005, p. 54, translated from Portuguese. Original version of the quote: “O pôr gente de distinção nestas vilas me tem dado um grandíssimo cuidado”.

⁴⁵⁷ From the work “Como se deve escrever a História do Brasil”, *Revista de História de América*, n.º 42, 1956, p. 442, translated from Portuguese. I am very grateful to Patrícia Valim for recommending the reading of this essay by Karl von Martius – discussed below. Original version of the quote: “Seria um grande erro para com todos os princípios da Historiografia pragmática, se se desprezassem as forças dos indígenas e negros importados”.

⁴⁵⁸ A. K. Manchester, *Preeminência Inglesa no Brasil*, translation Janaína Amado, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1973.

⁴⁵⁹ N. W. Sodré, *As Razões da Independência*, 2nd ed., Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 1969.

⁴⁶⁰ H. E. S. Fisher, *De Methuen a Pombal: O Comércio Anglo-Português de 1700 a 1770*, translation Joaquim Duarte Peixoto, Lisboa, Gradiva, 1984.

proclaimed in 1822, is a controversial issue and would require careful reflection, as it also concerns ambivalence found in historiography about a country that, until very recently, was discussing a Brazilian identity (or its projection, depending on stakeholders). In this regard, a notable inflection point can be seen in *Brasil: mito Fundador e Sociedade Autoritária* [Brazil: founding myth and authoritarian society], an authentic counterpoint to the celebration of five hundred years of the country's history. Its author, Marilena Chaui (translated from Portuguese), observes that:

From the 18th century onwards, given the North American, Dutch, and French revolutions, “homeland” came to mean the territory whose master is the people organized as an independent State. Therefore, in the independence uprisings that took place in Brazil at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, the insurgents spoke of “Minas homeland”, “Pernambuco homeland”, and “American homeland”. Finally, with the Patriarch of Independence, José Bonifácio, people started talking about the “Brazilian homeland”. During all this time, “nation” was used only for Indians, blacks, and Jews⁴⁶¹.

Areas of knowledge such as languages and literature, history, and geography have been activated since the 1830s to provide credibility to the discursive constitution of national memory. A prelude of this scenario happened in 1826, when Ferdinand Denis wrote his history of Brazilian literature, and Almeida Garrett defended the replacement of European models with a hero who would represent the spirit and coloring of the New World. Hence the election of the indigenous person as an apparent national symbol, both through literature and history.

As it is widely known, Denis' and Garrett's recommendations had a significant impact on the first ideologues of the Brazilian Nation. In 1836, a group of young people edited two issues of the *Revista Niterói*. Gonçalves de Magalhães and Araújo Porto Alegre, who had been circulating in Paris for some years, led this movement. They published a series of works, such as *Suspiros Poéticos e Saudades* [Poetic Sighs and Longings], which, among other things, thematized the virtues of indigenous people and linked their image to the composition of poetry with nationalizing content.

These (theoretically patriotic) gestures celebrated in Paris precede a series of measures the representatives of the Brazilian Regency and Empire adopted. The aim of these un-

⁴⁶¹ “A partir do século XVIII, com as revoluções norte-americana, holandesa e francesa, ‘pátria’ passa a significar o território cujo senhor é o povo organizado sob a forma de Estado independente. Eis por que, nas revoltas de independência, ocorridas no Brasil nos finais do século XVIII e início do século XIX, os revoltosos falavam em ‘pátria mineira’, ‘pátria pernambucana’, ‘pátria americana’; finalmente, com o Patriarca da Independência, José Bonifácio, passou-se a falar em ‘pátria brasileira’. Durante todo esse tempo, ‘nação’ continuava usada apenas para os índios, os negros e os judeus”, Marilena Chaui, *Brasil: Mito Fundador e Sociedade Autoritária*, Fundação Perseu Abramo, s.l., 2000, p. 16.

dertakings was to manufacture a memory of what came to be a positive version of Brazilian history, designed to give consistency to the civilizing project⁴⁶². In 1972, Maria de Lourdes Haidar carried out one of the first studies to rescue such episodes underlying the national memory. She recalled that:

Through the Decree of December 2, 1837, the Saint Joachim Seminary, the former Saint Peter Orphans Seminary, was converted into the model secondary school which was named after *Pedro II* as a tribute to the future emperor. The Saint Peter Orphans College dated back to colonial times (translated)⁴⁶³.

Another decisive study to better understand the establishment of the nationalist discourse from the late 1830s is that of Lucia Maria Paschoal Guimarães (*Debaixo da imediata proteção imperial* [Under the immediate imperial protection]). It is the result of her doctoral dissertation, published by *Revista do IHGB* in 1995. The researcher stressed that:

Amid many institutional crises and news of uprisings that shook the country, the Court of Rio de Janeiro witnessed the installation of two important National Memory centers during 1838. The first, the Public Archive, was created on January 2 of that year by act of the Minister Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcellos. The second, the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute, was created months later, on October 21. It was a private enterprise sponsored by the Helping Society [*Sociedade Auxiliadora*, in Portuguese], due to Marshal Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos and the Canon Januário da Cunha Barbosa. They both justified the new institution on the grounds

⁴⁶² “In their effort to maintain Order and spread Civilization, the imperial rulers forged institutions, copied others, created a body of laws, endeavored to spread the Enlightenment. Like the ‘Civilized Nations’, they emphasized the organization of Public Instruction [...] The first regulation of the College [Pedro II], published in 1838, followed the French model, determining simultaneous and serial studies, because until then the Secondary education in the Court was organized in separate classes” (translated), S. R. de Mattos, *O Brasil em Lições: A História como Disciplina Escolar em Joaquim Manuel de Macedo*, Rio de Janeiro, Access, 2000, pp. 33 e 43. “The teaching of Brazilian History is closely related to Pedro II College, an institution created as an official secondary education establishment to meet the training needs of a social elite, to which the Empire’s civilizing project was especially directed. [...] The discipline of History had an important role in the consolidation of the National State by contributing to forge a Brazilian nationality” (translated), B. B. M. dos Santos, *O Currículo da Disciplina Escolar História no Colégio Pedro II – A Década de 1970 – Entre a Tradição Acadêmica e a Tradição Pedagógica: A História e os Estudos Sociais*, Rio de Janeiro, Mauad/Faperj, 2011, p. 51.

⁴⁶³ “Por Decreto de 2 de dezembro de 1837, converteu-se o Seminário de São Joaquim, antigo Seminário dos Órfãos de São Pedro, no modelar colégio de instrução secundária que, numa homenagem ao futuro imperador, recebeu o nome de Pedro II. O Colégio dos Órfãos de São Pedro datava dos tempos coloniais”, Maria de Lourdes Mariotto Haidar, **O Ensino Secundário no Brasil Império**, 2nd ed., São Paulo, Edusp, 2008 [1972], p. 96.

of its pedagogical character, given that it sought to “provide great assistance to public administration and the enlightenment of every Brazilian” (translated)⁴⁶⁴.

If one accepts the hypothesis that the conception of Brazil was linked to the biased reconstitution of its past, one should remember that certain historiography obeys specific perspectives and resorts to methods of persuasion to sensitize the readers. In our case, a conglomerate of intellectuals undertook the task, supporting the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (IHGB) ideologically and financially. Valdei Lopes de Araújo points out that:

Despite admitting that it was a collective task, Cunha Barbosa did not hesitate to establish, from the beginning, the writing of a General History as one of the central objectives of the IHGB. Like the “Reborn Academics Society” [*Sociedade dos Acadêmicos Renascidos*, in Portuguese], it was a collective and coordinated enterprise, more than a gesture of individual authorship. Given the division of Brazil’s history into periods, it would be easier to coordinate the work of the different members. Therefore, the initial effort was to define the limits of each period and the main facts to be reported. The main point was that the program of a General History presupposed a historical totality (translated)⁴⁶⁵.

POMBALISM

The 5th revised and updated edition of *História do Brasil*, by José Francisco de Rocha Pombo (1857-1933), published in 1948, contains an unidentified “Preface” that praises the author’s “work”, “modesty”, and his “love for the truth”. At a certain point, the reader

⁴⁶⁴ “Em meio a tantas crises institucionais e às notícias de revoltas que agitavam o país, a Corte do Rio de Janeiro assistiu, no decorrer de 1838, à instalação de dois importantes centros da Memória Nacional. O primeiro, o Arquivo Público, criado em 2 de janeiro daquele ano, por ato do Ministro Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcellos. O segundo, o Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, constituído meses mais tarde, em 21 de outubro, tratava-se de um empreendimento de caráter privado, que contava com o patrocínio da Sociedade Auxiliadora, por iniciativa do Marechal Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos e o Cônego Januário da Cunha Barbosa, que justificavam a nova instituição alegando o seu caráter pedagógico, posto que se destinava a “ministrar grandes auxílios à administração pública e ao esclarecimento de todos os brasileiros”, L. M. P. Guimarães, *Debaixo da Imediata Proteção Imperial: Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (1838-1889)*, 2nd ed., São Paulo, Annablume, 2011, p. 33.

⁴⁶⁵ “Mesmo admitindo tratar-se de uma tarefa coletiva, Cunha Barbosa não hesitou em estabelecer, desde o início, a escrita de uma História Geral como um dos objetivos centrais do IHGB. Como na ‘Sociedade dos Acadêmicos Renascidos’, tratava-se de um empreendimento coletivo e coordenado, mais do que um gesto de autoria individual. Dividida a história do Brasil em épocas, ficaria mais fácil coordenar o trabalho dos diversos membros. Por isso, o esforço inicial era definir os limites de cada época e os fatos principais a serem relatados. O fundamental era que o programa de uma História Geral partia do pressuposto da preexistência de uma totalidade histórica”, V. L. de Araújo, *A Experiência do Tempo: Conceitos e Narrativas na Formação Nacional Brasileira (1813-1845)*, São Paulo, Aderaldo & Rothschild, 2008, p. 176.

finds a subchapter entitled “*A obra do Marquês de Pombal*” [The work of the Marquis of Pombal], which includes nearly anecdotal statements: “D. José I was a perfectly mediocre creature, completely incapable of action, and only having a taste for pleasures and shady adventures. He was thankful when he found a man to whom he could give the kingdom” (translated)⁴⁶⁶.

That is to say, the premises announced in the paratext reaffirmed the author’s commitment and the veracity of the book’s content; however, the section dedicated to Pombal repeated a set of questionable hypotheses that trace back to the beginning of the 19th century in the country. Apart from that, the praise for the Prime Minister’s skill and energetic character implied the erasure of the King and attributed to him an at least debatable posture. José I’s supposed lethargy and devotion contrasted with the dynamism and strength of the Secretary of the Kingdom. The latter had supposedly assumed the virtual command of the Crown since he was put to the test on the occasion of the Lisbon earthquake of 1755.

The historian is supported by tradition and affiliated with the *auctoritas* of the genre in which he writes his version of events. Based on the ideas of the English historian Robert Southey, Rocha Pombo maintained that “[Pombal] possessed a high dose of the national pride that distinguishes the Portuguese and had robust faith in his own talents and strength of character” (translated)⁴⁶⁷. The author attenuated the irascible temperament and the despotic character of the Minister’s actions, privileging his deeds and exempting him from the controversies that surrounded his name and jeopardized his image, as if he were a man of stainless steel, pondered in the proceed.

This condescending vision of Sebastião José – titrated Count of Oeiras in 1759 and Marquis of Pombal in 1769 – was the trademark of a conception that guided the textbooks produced in Brazil between the mid-19th century and the second half of the 20th century. This is clearly seen in the *Compêndio da História do Brasil* [Compendium of Brazilian History], by General Abreu e Lima, published in 1843:

Despite what is attributed to Pombal, he was no less susceptible to conceiving great ideas, maturely laying out vast plans, and hastening their completion. He reestablished trade and, in this respect, Portugal owed him real advantages. This Minister, a man of State, did not hesitate to openly attack the shameful treaties concluded with England [...] (translated)⁴⁶⁸.

⁴⁶⁶ F. Rocha Pombo, *História do Brasil (com Muitos Mapas Históricos e Gravuras Explicativas)*, São Paulo, Melhoramentos, 1925, p. 307.

⁴⁶⁷ *Id., Ibid.*, p. 309.

⁴⁶⁸ “Apesar do quanto se imputa a Pombal, não era ele menos suscetível de conceber grandes ideias, de dispor com madureza vastos planos e de apressar a conclusão deles. Restabeleceu o comércio e a este respeito lhe deveu Portugal vantagens reais. Este Ministro, homem de Estado, não hesitou em atacar às

With slight variations, this discourse shaped the manuals published decades later, always validating the decisions at the behest of Pombal. One can observe that in the *Compêndio de História do Brasil* [Compendium Brazilian History], by Father Raphael Galanti, published in 1896, specifically in the opposition between the interests of the Jesuits and the Portuguese Crown:

Later, however, the same authors claim that the ambitious and greedy successors of these apostles [Jesuits] reluctantly began to protect the Indians, going so far as to tell them that the land was theirs! Therefore, they offended the settlers whose interests they harmed, deserving to be expelled in the end by the Marquis of Pombal. Consequently, it seems to us that, to better access the true history, one needs to study with some diligence the life of the first missionaries in our country, pondering their relations with the Indians and the settlers (translated)⁴⁶⁹.

The general praised Pombal's actions to rid the Crown from the English yoke – “Pombal made Brazil flourish through wise regulations and by vivifying commerce” (translated)⁴⁷⁰. Meanwhile, the priest justified the expulsion of the Society of Jesus on the grounds of a supposedly symmetrical alliance between indigenous people and Jesuits. Separated by 53 years, in both publications, historians reiterated that their reports were guided by the truth of the facts. Evidently, they were not exempt manuals, because both filed arguments with the aim of persuading the consultant about the economic benefits and civilizing virtues catalyzed by the Prime Minister of D. José I.

This early boastful trajectory was attributed to the country through textbooks for over a century and a half. It probably crystallized the often positive image of Pombal, who went from being a Portuguese symbol to a kind of anticipated Brazilian patriarch. It would not be too much to remember that Brazil did not exist as a nation⁴⁷¹ before 1822, as several

claras os vergonhosos tratados concluídos com a Inglaterra [...]”, J. I. de Abreu e Lima, *Compêndio da História do Brasil (com Retratos)*, 2 tomes, Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo e Henrique Laemmert, 1843, pp. 234-235.

⁴⁶⁹ “Mais tarde, porém, afirmam os mesmos autores, arrastados, os sucessores desses apóstolos [jesuítas], pela ambição e cobiça, começaram a proteger os índios, chegando até ao excesso de lhes dizer que a terra era deles! Ofenderam deste modo os colonos cujos interesses prejudicavam, merecendo afinal serem expulsos pelo marquês de Pombal. Parece-nos, por conseguinte, do maior alcance para a história verdadeira estudar com alguma diligência a vida dos primeiros missionários do nosso país ponderando suas relações com os índios e os colonos”, R. M. Galanti, *Compêndio de História do Brasil*, 3rd ed., tome I, São Paulo, Typographia da Industrial, 1896.

⁴⁷⁰ J. I. de Abreu e Lima, *Op. Cit.*, p. 236.

⁴⁷¹ “The constitution of this biography [of the nation] is a generational task, in such a way that, over time, by dint of constant repetition from the first letters to the university benches, with varying degrees of acuity and sophistication, certain stereotypes and themes are construct and reinforced until they are strong enough to give consistency to a body that just did not exist. Gradually, hypotheses, suppositions and affirmations are overcome, and the colony is placed as an antecedent of the nation. National histo-

historians point out. In a recently published chapter, Vera Lucia Queiroz Andrade highlights the fact that:

During the Empire, since the beginning of the construction of the Brazilian nationality, the monarchy's legitimization discourse led politicians/intellectuals to formulate a civilizing project of Nation, committed to the white-European and Christian identity profile idealized for the tropics [...] Education in monarchical Brazil had its place demarcated in the civilizing project of the Empire of State/Nation consolidation, being conceived as a social instrument for moralization, guarantee of order, and path to progress (translated)⁴⁷².

From this point of view, there would be no reason to attribute to Sebastião José de Carvalho Melo administrative or political roles that did not fit him, especially since he exclusively represented the interests of the Portuguese Crown. Interestingly, the performance of the Minister of D. José I was often described as the augury of the Brazilian Empire. Linked to national historiography, Pombal was wrongly portrayed as the herald of the post-independence Brazil: a kind of historical step that would have accelerated the pace of Portugal, putting it in sync with other civilizations in Europe.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, this positive ideology of the Pombaline Reforms was reproduced in several *Brazilian History* manuals. This is when the efforts of less frivolous (and more responsible) researchers helped to critically review the extensive documentation on the captaincy of Minas Gerais, in the second half of the Portuguese-Brazilian 18th century. The examination of such works proves that the favorable image of Pombal started to be questioned by Brazilian researchers specially from 1970s, despite laudable exceptions.

In these cases, the studies carried out in the country often reverberated the serious work (and devoid of pseudo-nationalist ballast) of foreign historians. The latter induced local researchers to review the limits of Comte's ideas and the contradiction between economic liberalism and the slave regime, without adopting the formulas that praise the

ries are constructed and a 'general history' involves a summation of these national histories. From this perspective, the colonial era loses its historicity and becomes a 'moment' in national history", R. F. da Silva, *Colônia e Nativismo: A História como "Biografia da Nação"*, São Paulo, Hucitec, 1997, p. 14.

⁴⁷² "Durante o Império, desde o início da tarefa de construção da nacionalidade brasileira, o discurso de legitimação da monarquia levou políticos/intelectuais a formularem um projeto civilizatório de Nação, comprometido com o perfil identitário branco-europeu e cristão idealizado para os trópicos [...] A educação no Brasil monárquico teve seu lugar demarcado no projeto civilizatório do Império de consolidação do Estado/Nação, sendo concebida como instrumento social de moralização dos indivíduos, garantia da ordem e caminho para o progresso", V. L. C. de Q. Andrade, "Colégio Pedro II – Patrimônio e lugar de memória da educação brasileira", in Arlette Medeiros Gasparello and Heloísa de Oliveira Santos Villela (org.), *Educação na História: Intelectuais, Saberes e Ações Instituintes*, Rio de Janeiro, Mauad, 2016, pp. 101-116, pp. 102 e 104.

“advances” in teaching, in commerce, and in law, attributed to the commands of the Portuguese statesman⁴⁷³.

In order to discuss the image of Pombal, repeated throughout the 19th century in Brazil, didactic manuals are covered. Their content is directly related to actors described in a grandiloquent way being transformed into protagonists leading episodes of overestimated scope. Certain men and events began to adorn the History of Brazil with great deeds, despite the authors’ claims of commitment to fact fidelity and to the “spirit” of industrious and theoretically convinced men, religiously and politically.

It seems symptomatic that, in these manuals, the historians reverberate the discourse of the epics that circulated in the Brazilian states, Maranhão and Grão-Pará, between the 17th and 18th centuries. This datum corroborates the need to reread the works with extra attention to reveal artifices the authors employ – theoretically, aiming to convey sincere intentions to the querent. Let us see what and how the novelist Joaquim Manuel de Macedo wrote in 1860, when he took over the chair of *History of Brazil*, at the Pedro II College:

The Dutch, despite their bad fortune in 1625, did not lose sight of Brazil [...] the audacious admiral Pieter Hayn entered the port of Bahia twice: first in 1627 and then in 1628. In the occasions, he took many merchant ships and, that last year, advanced to Recôncavo, where, in Peitinga, the brave captain Padilha died fighting against him (translated)⁴⁷⁴.

In assuming the persona of historian, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo resorts to adjectives and adverbs, both to praise the invader’s vice (“audacious admiral”) and to highlight the virtue of the Portuguese defender (“brave captain”). The intercalation of sentences in the paragraph allows the author to accumulate information that he considers relevant (dates and names of the actors involved). The aim is not only to instruct the school’s pupils, but

⁴⁷³ Among the most important early works, which adopted a critical perspective in relation to the Pombaline period, *As Reformas Pombalinas da Instrução Pública* [The Pombaline Public Instruction Reforms], by Laerte Ramos de Carvalho, 1952 (São Paulo, Edusp/Saraiva, 1978), stands out. More recently, one can highlight the following: *A Época Pombalina no Mundo Luso-brasileiro* [The Pombaline Period in the Portuguese-Brazilian World] – a collection organized by Francisco Falcon and Claudia Rodrigues (Rio de Janeiro, FGV, 2015) – and the compilation *Jesuítas e Ilustração: Rupturas e Continuidades* [Jesuits and Illustration: Ruptures and Continuities], edited by José Eduardo Franco, Karl Heinz Arenz, Luiz Eduardo Oliveira and Maria Regina Barcelos Bettiol (São Leopoldo, Editora Unisinos, 2019) – which brings together several researchers from Portugal and Brazil that seek to re-discuss the role and performance of the powerful Portuguese minister.

⁴⁷⁴ “Os holandeses, apesar da má fortuna que tinham experimentado em 1625, não perdiam de vista o Brasil [...] entrou o audacioso almirante Pieter Hayn duas vezes no porto da Bahia, primeiro em 1627 e depois em 1628, tomando muitos navios mercantes, e naquele último ano, avançando para o recôncavo, onde em Peitinga, o valente capitão Padilha morreu combatendo contra ele”, J. M. De Macedo, *Lições de História do Brasil para Uso das Escolas de Instrução Primária*, Rio de Janeiro, H. Garnier, 1898, p. 154.

also to persuade them of the validity and truthfulness of data. As for Pombal, the teacher attributes an obvious role to him to endorse his achievements:

When D. João V died on July 31, 1750, his son, D. José I, succeeded him on the throne of Portugal, who called to his council the famous Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, later Count of Oeiras and Marquis of Pombal (grandson of a Brazilian), notable statesman, whose name will never be forgotten (translated)⁴⁷⁵.

Furthermore, on the one hand, if the positive image of Pombal served the nationalist purpose of D. Pedro II to suggest that the independent Brazilian State continued the march towards evolution the minister of D. José I initiated; on the other hand, it concealed the tension between the authoritarian spirit of the statesman and the first so-called “libertarian” (or credited as “revolutionary”) gestures in Brazil, half a century before the territory came to be effectively constituted as a nation.

The first misconception of many history manuals was to consider the State of Brazil as “national” decades before the official emancipation of the former Portuguese colony, thanks to the strong English thrust – as per Alan K. Manchester in *Preeminência inglesa no Brasil* [English Preeminence in Brazil]; Nelson Werneck Sodré, with *As razões da Independência* [The Reasons for Independence]; and H. E. S. Fisher, in his *De Methuen a Pombal* [From Methuen to Pombal]⁴⁷⁶. The second methodological lapse was in expressing (if not reproducing) impressions about the Portuguese statesman without, at least, consulting the vast documentation he signed.

⁴⁷⁵ “Falecendo D. João V a 31 de julho de 1750, sucedeu-lhe no trono de Portugal, D. José I, seu filho, que chamou ao seu conselho o célebre Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, ulteriormente conde de Oeiras e marquês de Pombal (neto de uma brasileira), notável estadista, cujo nome jamais será esquecido”, *Id.*, *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁴⁷⁶ “In 1580, Philip II submitted Portugal to Spanish rule, but in 1640 the Duke of Bragança started an uprising to free his country from Spanish control. Lisbon, struggling for independence and disturbed by Dutch attacks on the rich plunder coming from the colonies, asked England for assistance and sent a commission to London to negotiate a treaty recognizing the newly proclaimed [Portuguese]” (translated). Alan Manchester, *Op. Cit.*, p. 18. “Since the date it had been signed, [the Treaty of Methuen] was also opposed. In Portugal, the people of the time did not spare those who had been involved in the negotiations. Suspicions of bribery were publicized. [...] The treaty deserved severe criticism, even in official documents, when it was signed. Among them, one can highlight the one the Portuguese representative in London, D. Luís da Cunha, made. Heir to the ideas of the Count of Ericeira, supporter of Colbert’s opinions, D. Luís da Cunha expressed his opposition to the facilities granted to the entry of the English cloth into Portugal, where they would jeopardize the development of the corresponding national industries” (translated), N. W. Sodré, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 8-9. “Historians have been equally neglecting Brazil’s contribution to the English ‘commercial revolution’. This oversight results not only from superficial indications of its importance but also from English trade statistics, which do not record any businesses with Brazil nor show the importance of Portuguese-Brazilian trade for transactions between Portugal and England” (translated), H. E. S. Fisher, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 22-23.

REVISION

Of humble and uncertain origin⁴⁷⁷, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699-1782) was raised to gentleman (and later, nobleman) by maneuver of the family, as his biographers highlight. While Pombal is invariably portrayed as a promoter of the monarchy in larger and more extensive manuals, in small history books, he is summarily figured like an upside-down caricature, given his representation as a positive sign. Similar to the manuals of literary historiography, the country was portrayed as an economically, politically, culturally, and socially thriving nation, aimed at overcoming the “medieval” stage and breaking with the affiliation to the old Portuguese matrix, in an upward direction towards the future of order and progress.

It is common ground in critical historiography that the composition of *Histórias do Brasil* [Histories of Brazil] coincides chronologically with the foundation of the IHGB. It also adheres ideologically to the Empire’s commitment to attribute a nationalist character to the speech of a handful of partners and other protégés interested in passing on both imperial propaganda and the Catholic creed; in addition to giving importance to certain protagonists of national historiography. Just as Brazilian literature invents the 19th century, suggesting revolutionary ideas and patriotic feelings ahead of time – experienced by a handful of actors of Portuguese origin and mentality –, the Brazilian history manuals helped to forge a debatable temporal and ideological continuum, in which relatively serious episodes were considered disruptive milestones and indices of people’s evolution.

In other words, what could be understood as a contradiction of Portuguese history during the reign of D. José I (1750-1777) came to represent meritorious actions that would reflect the transition between the colonial and emancipated stages. The history manuals presented a kind of “acclimatization” of the minister, if not his ambivalent incorporation into Brazil’s prehistory – an anachronism allegedly justified by the events that took place half a century later.

In general, the Portuguese statesman was part of the historiography of the Second Empire mediated by the survival of the indigenous people, now catapulted to the condition of a national symbol. All Brazilian History manuals that circulated in the 19th century cite The Treaty of Madrid, signed in 1750, as one can observe in *Episódios de História* [Episodes of History], by J. C. Fernandes Pinheiro, first published in 1859:

⁴⁷⁷ J. L. De Azevedo, *O Marquês de Pombal e a Sua Época*, 2nd ed., Lisboa, Clássica Editora, 1990; A. Besa-Luís, *Sebastião José*, Rio de Janeiro, Nova Fronteira, 1990; K. Maxwell, *Marquês de Pombal, Paradoxo do Iluminismo*, 2nd ed., translation Antônio de Pádua Danesi, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1996; C. C., *Perfil do Marquês de Pombal*, Lisboa, Plátano Editora, 2014; J. P. Chauvin, “Marquês de Pombal: Retrato sem moldura”, *Revista de Estudos de Cultura*, n.º 4, 2016, pp. 53-73.

The Jesuits' behavior caused a deep sensation in the offices of Lisbon and Madrid. Its influence on the spirit of the Indians was undeniable, and there was evident proof that the initiative and direction of the revolt came from them alone. D. José I was seated at that time in the Portuguese palace, and the energetic and enlightened minister Marquis of Pombal guided the monarchy's fate. He had long yearned to overthrow the dominance of the Society, which he deeply hated. As an able politician, the powerful minister took advantage of the Jesuits' opposition to the 1750 treaty to, adding it to other causes, decree the suppression of the Society and their conquests in Portugal through the charter of September 3, 1759 (translated)⁴⁷⁸.

Overlooked by D. João V, according to his biographers, Sebastião José would be requested as Secretary of the Kingdom by D. José I. This datum appears in several manuals aimed at formal education. Interestingly, the following excerpts suggest that pieces of information were replicated in most of them, perhaps mirroring the content taught at Pedro II College – a paradigmatic teaching institution. Here is how Américo Brasiliense portrays the arrival of Sebastião José:

When D. João V died, D. José I ascended the throne. His reign became notable for the acts of his minister, the Marquis of Pombal. This statesman animated commerce, forming companies rival to the English monopoly; he attacked the treaties with England, enacted salutary measures, removed Portugal from British influence. He entrusted the division of Southern Brazil to Freire de Andrade and that of the North to his brother (translated)⁴⁷⁹.

Published in 1854, the *História Geral do Brasil* [General History of Brazil], by Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen⁴⁸⁰, may have inspired the terms that appeared in other manuals:

⁴⁷⁸ “Profunda sensação causou nos gabinetes de Lisboa e de Madrid a conduta dos jesuítas. Incontestável era a sua influência sobre o espírito dos índios, e evidentes provas se haviam colhido que só deles partira a iniciativa e a direção da revolta. Sentava-se n’essa época no sólio lusitano D. José I, e guiava o baixel da monarquia o enérgico e ilustrado ministro marquês de Pombal, que de há muito anelava por abater o predomínio da Companhia, votando-lhe profundo ódio. Como hábil político, aproveitou-se o poderoso ministro da oposição dos jesuítas ao tratado de 1750 para, adicionando-a a outras causas, fazer decretar a supressão da ordem em Portugal e suas conquistas pelo alvará de 3 de setembro de 1759”, J. C. F. Pinheiro, *Episódios da História Pátria Contados à Infância*, 4th ed., Rio de Janeiro, Garnier, 1866, p. 167.

⁴⁷⁹ “Morto D. João V, subiu ao trono D. José I. Seu reinado tornou-se notável pelos atos do seu ministro o marquês de Pombal. Foi este estadista que animou o comércio, formando companhias, rivais do monopólio inglês; atacou os tratados com a Inglaterra, promulgou medidas salutaras, subtraiu Portugal à influência britânica. Confiou a repartição do sul do Brasil a Freire de Andrade, e a do norte a seu irmão”, A. Brasiliense, *Lições de História Pátria*, São Paulo, Typographia da Província, 1876, p. 118.

⁴⁸⁰ “Varnhagen’s work can today be seen as a search for a nation in mid-19th-century Brazil. However, unlike France, England, or even in the United States, here the State existed, but the Nation was not yet organized. Some factors delayed the constitution of a nation in the modern sense of the word, name-

And when King D. José ascended to the throne after the death of his father D. João V, months after the treaty was ratified, [...] he [called] the famous minister Carvalho (who was in Lisbon back from his missions in London and Vienna) for his advice, he became better known by the title he later held of Marquis de Pombal (translated)⁴⁸¹.

Varnhagen's formulation seemed to reverberate in Antônio Alves Coruja's manual:

On the death of D. João V in 1750, his son, D. José I, succeeded him, whose reign was made memorable by the administration of the Marquis of Pombal, whom the King endowed with great powers, trusting his actions completely. Portugal owes much to him, and especially the city of Lisbon, for his energetic measures on the occasion of the earthquake of which it was a victim on November 1, 1755; Brazil owes him no less for the animation he has given to its commerce, navigation, industry, and agriculture; above all, for the orders and decrees he issued in favor of the freedom of the Indians, their emancipation, and the maintenance of their property (translated)⁴⁸².

With a slight change in the composition of Pombal's portrayal, João Pedro Xavier Pinheiro found another way to refer to the event:

In the early days of D. José's reign, the Marquis of Pombal was called to direct public affairs. This statesman was famous for his eminent talents and even more for his fervent desire to improve his country and lift it out of the despondency in which it

ly: the specificity of Portuguese colonization, the sparse presence of immigration from family groups (which would only begin to grow in the end of the 19th century), the continuation of slave labor, and the absence of significant internal trade. On the other hand, Brazil's political emancipation took place in a very particular way, given that the son of Portuguese King led the movement with his consent in 1822. A transition without change, typical of a country that does not reform, rather, it reconciles" (translated), Jaime Pinsky, "Nação e ensino de história no Brasil", in Jaime Pinsky *et al.* (org.), *O Ensino de História e a Criação do Fato*, 14th ed., 3rd reprint, São Paulo, Contexto, 2017, pp. 11-26, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁸¹ "E havendo El-Rei D. José, por morte de seu pai D. João V, subido ao trono, meses depois de ratificar-se o tratado, [...] [chamou] a seus conselhos o célebre ministro Carvalho (que se achava em Lisboa de volta das suas missões em Londres e em Vienna), mais conhecido pelo título que depois teve de marquês de Pombal", F. A. de Varnhagen, *História Geral do Brasil antes de sua Separação e Independência de Portugal*, 2nd ed., tome 2, Rio de Janeiro, Laemmert, 1877, p. 915.

⁴⁸² "Por morte de D. João V em 1750, lhe sucedeu seu filho D. José I, cujo reinado se tornou memorável pela administração do Marquês de Pombal, a quem El-Rei muniu de grandes poderes, prestando absoluta confiança a seus atos. Se muito lhe deve Portugal, e especialmente a cidade de Lisboa pelas suas enérgicas providências por ocasião do terremoto de que foi vítima em 1^o de novembro de 1755; não menos lhe deve o Brasil pela animação que deu ao seu comércio, navegação, indústria e agricultura; e sobretudo pelas ordens e decretos que expediu em favor da liberdade dos índios, sua emancipação e manutenção de seus bens", A. A. P. Coruja, *Lições da História do Brasil Adaptadas à Leitura das Escolas*, Rio de Janeiro, Typographia do Figaro, de Aguiar e Vellozo, 1877, p. 133.

laid. After acting and proving his high ability, he considered convenient and even necessary to wage war against the Jesuits, who looked upon him as an obstacle to their purposes (translated)⁴⁸³.

In turn, Luís Queirós de Mattoso Maia seemed to echo Varnhagen's terms:

D. João V, who died on July 31, 1750, was succeeded by his son D. José I, whose reign constitutes one of the most important epochs in the history of Portugal, due to the administration of the famous minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, Count of Oeiras (June 1759) and Marquis of Pombal (September 17, 1770). In the same way that Louis XIII in France had resolutely trusted the political and administrative acumen of Cardinal Richelieu, so D. José I, after having recognized the governmental gifts of his minister Carvalho e Mello, entrusted him with the public administration (translated)⁴⁸⁴.

Almost the same can be said of Villa-Lobos, whose manual appeared a few years later.

After D. João V died on July 31, 1750, D. José I succeeded his father on the throne of Portugal. Except for his brilliant idea to call the notable politician Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, Count of Oeiras and later Marquis of Pombal, to be part of the Portuguese administration, this country would have plunged into the abyss towards which it was striding before completing the 26 years of its reign (translated)⁴⁸⁵.

As mentioned, the initial records on the History of Brazil were articles published in *Revista do IHGB* (Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute), in the end of the 1830s.

⁴⁸³ “Nos primeiros tempos do reinado de D. José foi o marquês de Pombal chamado à direção dos negócios públicos. Este estadista, famoso por eminentes talentos e ainda mais pelo fervoroso desejo de melhorar o seu país e tirá-lo do abatimento em que jazia, depois de atos em que provou sua alta capacidade, teve por conveniente e até necessário guerrear os jesuítas, os quais lhe antolhavam como um obstáculo aos seus desígnios”, J. P. X. Pinheiro, *Epítome da História do Brasil desde o Seu Descobrimento até a Conclusão da Guerra do Paraguay*, 7th ed., Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo & Henrique Laemmert, 1880, pp. 277-278.

⁴⁸⁴ “A D. João V, falecido em 31 de julho de 1750, sucedeu seu filho D. José I, cujo reinado constitui uma das épocas mais importantes da história de Portugal, por causa da administração do célebre ministro Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, Conde de Oeiras (junho de 1759), e Marquês de Pombal (17 de setembro de 1770). Da mesma forma que Luís XIII em França tinha-se resolutamente confiado no tino político e administrativo do Cardeal Richelieu, assim D. José I, depois de ter reconhecido os dotes governamentais do seu ministro Carvalho e Mello, entregou-lhe a direção da administração pública”, L. de Q. M. Maia, *Lições de História do Brasil Proferidas no Internato do Gymnasio Nacional*, 3rd ed., Rio de Janeiro, B. L. Garnier, 1891, p. 216.

⁴⁸⁵ “D. José I sucedeu no trono de Portugal a seu pai D. João V, falecido a 31 de julho de 1750. A não ser sua luminosa ideia chamando o notável político Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, conde de Oeiras e depois marquês de Pombal, para fazer parte da administração de Portugal, ter-se-ia este país, antes de completar os 26 anos do seu reinado, despenhado no abismo para onde a passos largos caminhava”, R. Villa-Lobos, *História do Brasil (Resumo Didático)*, 4th ed., Rio de Janeiro, Laemmert, 1896, p. 106.

In general, they were guided by the praise of the Empire, in fidelity to the Holy Catholic Church and the forge of the Nation, super indebted and newly independent.

Except for some caveat, which Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen recorded in the first edition of his *História Geral do Brasil* [General History of Brazil], in 1854, this set of essays seems to have influenced the authors who produced manuals in the country, in line with Karl von Martius' prescription⁴⁸⁶. In Patricia Valim's summary:

Political centralization [...] became the main objective for the Conservative Regress; therefore, fundamental institutions were established to "correct" the decentralizing orientation of the regency period. This endeavor led to the creation of institutions, such as: the Pedro II College, the Public Archive of the Empire, and the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute in 1838 [...] both national literature and historiography, forged from Rio de Janeiro, are part of the same process, according to which men of letters use the culture for practical objectives: to organize the hegemony of the Brazilian State and to promote the material progress of the nation without, however, touching the issue of slavery (translated)⁴⁸⁷.

Today scholars know that the authors' conception was based on the ideologies of the Empire and replicated by the members of the IHGB under the benevolent gaze of D. Pedro II. Similar to what happened in literature, historiography propagated the government's ideals⁴⁸⁸. Therefore, regarding the writing of a national history, if our intention is to locate the figure of Pombal with the greatest possible precision, it would be essential to carry out a double movement.

⁴⁸⁶"In the main points, the history of Brazil will always be the history of a branch of Portuguese people; but if it aspires to be complete and deserves the name of a pragmatic history, its relations to the Ethiopian and Indian races can never be excluded", Karl von Martius, *Op. Cit.*, p. 454.

⁴⁸⁷ "A centralização política [...] passou a ser o objetivo prioritário para o Regresso conservador, estabelecendo-se, assim, instituições fundamentais para 'corrigir' a orientação descentralizadora do período regencial. Nesse empuxo, criaram-se instituições como: o colégio Pedro II, o Arquivo Público do Império e o Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, em 1838 [...] tanto a literatura quanto a historiografia nacional, forjadas a partir do Rio de Janeiro, inserem-se num mesmo processo, segundo o qual os homens de letras procuram usar a cultura com objetivos práticos: organizar a hegemonia do Estado brasileiro e promover o progresso material da nação sem, contudo, tocar na questão do escravismo", P. Valim, *Da Sedição de Mulatos à Conjuração Baiana de 1798: A Construção de Uma Memória Histórica*, Master's dissertation presented to the Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2007, pp. 126-127.

⁴⁸⁸"After the establishment of the association in the Imperial Palace to strengthen the figure of the boy-emperor with pomp and circumstance through imperial Christmas celebrations, the hand-kiss ceremony, among others, the members of the IHGB, under the penalty of its perpetual secretary, Canon Januário, decided to offer a prize of 200\$000rs to whoever presented the best 'plan to write the ancient and modern history of Brazil' [...]. The judging committee decided that the memoir presented by Karl von Martius (1794-1868) would serve as models for future works presented to the IHGB", *Id., Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

On the one hand, researchers would need to revisit the treaties, decrees, letters, and other documents attributed to the Minister of D. José I. On the other hand, they would have to compare the manuals of Brazilian history, which circulated in the country during the Imperial regime, to counterbalance some stereotypes attached to the overrated image of the Portuguese strategist and patron. These and other issues were discussed sparingly. It would be useless to recall the obvious fact that Pombal did not foresee the Independence of colonial Brazil, nor did he adhere to the Portuguese born in the State of Brazil. Neither did the reforms he led prevent remnants of the Portuguese kingdom mentality from persisting in subsequent centuries, in the name of the miter, gold, and the throne. Until mid-18th century, the ways and artifices that conferred discretion on the subjects of the Crown were still considered virtues. As João Adolfo Hansen well observes:

Sharpness, prudence, dissimulation, appearance, and honor constitute discretion. In the absolutist monarchies of the 17th century, especially the Iberian ones, discretion is the core pattern of the court rationality that defines the courtier, proposed to the entire political body of the State as the model of the *uomo universale*, the universal man, as Castiglione said in the 16th century. In the practices of representation, discretion is an intellectual category that classifies or specifies the distinction and superiority of actions and words, appearing linked to the *discrete*, which is a type or a character of the interlocution processes (translated)⁴⁸⁹.

During the 19th century, principles and values that guided the societies of the Old State would be emulated, usually in the form of pastiche, by the incipient Brazilian, landowning, rude, and slaveholding bourgeoisie. To a newly independent country, it seemed fundamental to forge an ennobling and nationalist historiography written by “good men”, mostly white, powerful, and well-regarded by the representatives of the Empire, with whom they maintained utilitarian relations, rarely guided by gestures of discreet nobility.

The analysis of the aforementioned manuals indicates that, in the 19th century, it would be an inglorious task to locate books on the History of Brazil that presented a more impartial image of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo. In most of them, Pombal was not only favored, but also characterized as a statesman who rebuilt Lisbon from the rubble of 1755 and, taking the lead of King D. José I, would have reoriented the history of Brazil, half a century before its (relative) political independence was proclaimed.

⁴⁸⁹ “Agudeza, prudência, dissimulação, aparência e honra constituem a discrição. Nas monarquias absolutistas do século XVII, principalmente nas ibéricas, a discrição é padrão nuclear da racionalidade de corte que define o cortesão, proposto para todo o corpo político do Estado como o modelo do *uomouniversale*, o homem universal, como dizia Castiglione no século XVI. Nas práticas de representação, a discrição é categoria intelectual que classifica ou especifica a distinção e a superioridade de ações e palavras, aparecendo figurada no discreto, que é tipo ou personagem dos processos de interlocução”, J. A. Hansen, “O discreto”, in J. A. Hansen, *Agudezas Seiscentistas e Outros Ensaios*, São Paulo, Edusp, 2019, pp. 97-122, p. 104.