

**INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF UNDERPRIVILEGED CHILDHOOD IN A
COMPARED PERSPECTIVE LISBON/PORTUGAL – FLORIANO/PIAÚÍ/BRAZIL
(1834-1890)**

***INSTITUCIONALIZAÇÃO DA INFÂNCIA DESVALIDA EM PERSPECTIVA
COMPARADA LISBOA/PORTUGAL – FLORIANO/PIAÚÍ/BRASIL (1834-1890)***

***INSTITUCIONALIZACIÓN DE LA INFANCIA DISCAPACITADA EN UNA
PERSPECTIVA COMPARTIDA LISBOA / PORTUGAL – FLORIANO/PIAÚÍ/BRASIL
(1834-1890)***

Thatianny Jasmine Castro Martins de CARVALHO¹
Patrícia Helena de Carvalho HOLANDA²

ABSTRACT: This paper aims to identify causal relationships, confluences and divergences between the creation contexts of the asylum institutions; analyze statutes, missions, expenditure budgets and other documentary sources such as letters and reports that show relationships of identity and circulation of ideas on the topic. In order to attend to profound social changes perceived more intensely in the second half of the 19th century, in different contexts, institutions for the care of underprivileged children were established in Portugal and, subsequently, under the influence of the colonizing process and the advance of industrial capitalism and globalization, also in the Brazil. This research intends to weave dialogues and comparative grids between host institutions in Lisbon / Portugal and Floriano / Piauí / Brazil. Partial results reveal differences, approximations and the circulation of ideas about disadvantaged children below and beyond. The study is supported by authors such as Nóvoa (2009), Rizzini (1997), Newitt (2018), Venâncio (1997), among others.

KEYWORDS: Underprivileged Childhood. Portugal. Brazil. Asylum.

RESUMO: *Este trabalho tem como objetivos identificar as relações de causalidade, confluências e divergências entre os contextos de criação das instituições asilares; analisar estatutos, missões, orçamentos das despesas e demais fontes documentais como ofícios e relatórios, que evidenciem os vínculos de identidade e circulação de ideias sobre o tema. Para atender profundas mudanças sociais percebidas mais intensamente na segunda metade do século XIX, em diferentes contextos, foram implantadas instituições de acolhimento à infância desvalida em Portugal e, em seguida, sob influência do processo colonizador e avanço do capitalismo industrial e da globalização, também no Brasil. Esta pesquisa pretende tecer diálogos entre instituições de acolhimento de Lisboa/Portugal e Floriano/Piauí/Brasil. Resultados parciais revelam diferenças, aproximações e a circulação*

¹ Federal University of Piauí (UFPI), Picos – PI – Brazil. Assistant Professor linked to the Coordination of Pedagogy. Doctoral student in the Postgraduate Program in Brazilian Education (UFC). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3375-8366>. E-mail: jasmine-14_4@hotmail.com

² Federal University of Ceará (UFC), Fortaleza – CE – Brazil. Full Professor linked to the Department of Fundamentals of Education. Doctorate in Education (UFC). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8233-1190>. E-mail: profa.patriciaholanda@gmail.com

de ideias sobre a infância desvalida aquém e além-mar. O estudo apoia-se em autores como Nóvoa (2009), Rizzini (1997), Newitt (2018), Venâncio (1997), entre outros.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Infância desvalida. Portugal. Brasil. Asilo.*

RESUMEN: *Este trabajo pretende identificar las relaciones de causalidad, las confluencias y las divergencias entre los contextos de creación de las instituciones de asilo; analizar los estatutos, las misiones, los presupuestos de gastos y otras fuentes documentales como cartas e informes, que muestran los vínculos de identidad y circulación de ideas sobre el tema. Para hacer frente a los profundos cambios sociales percibidos con mayor intensidad en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, se crearon, en diferentes contextos, instituciones para acoger a los niños desfavorecidos en Portugal y luego, bajo la influencia del proceso colonizador y el avance del capitalismo industrial y la globalización, también en Brasil. Esta investigación pretende tejer diálogos entre instituciones de acogida en Lisboa/Portugal y Floriano/Piauí/Brasil. Los resultados parciales revelan diferencias, aproximaciones y la circulación de ideas sobre los niños desfavorecidos aquí y en el extranjero. El estudio se basa en autores como Nóvoa (2009), Rizzini (1997), Newitt (2018), Venâncio (1997), entre otros.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Infancia desfavorecida. Portugal. Brasil. Asilo.*

Introduction

Understanding as worthless those with disabilities, it was under this name that the first asylum homes for children were opened. As the name suggests, these were worthless, so it was not necessary to make a significant effort in their education and formation, it was enough to give them food (not always the best, in quality and quantity) and take them off the streets, trying to hide their existence. It was necessary to remove them from socializing with other citizens (Franco, 2018, p. 75, our translation).

This investigation originates from broader research, a doctoral theme on Institutions for *Underprivileged Children in a Brazil-Portugal-Angola Comparative Perspective*, with a broader time frame. This production, which is situated in the context of the approximation of the two spatialities Lisbon/Portugal and Floriano/Piauí/Brazil, between the years 1834 and 1890, aims to identify causal relationships, confluences and divergences between the contexts of creation of nursing homes; analyze statutes, missions, expense budgets and other documentary sources such as official letters and reports, which show identity relationships and circulation of ideas on the subject.

Asylum institutions were established in Portugal at the end of the 18th century, during the reign of D. Maria I, and, similarly, other asylums and colonies were installed in most Brazilian states, at the beginning of the First Republic, at the turn of the 19th and 20th,

showing a strongly charitable character, while other initiatives of a state nature began to take shape, albeit timidly in the face of social assistance needs.

Based on observational and explanatory characteristics of the patterns and logics of local history and sociability, this investigation intends to reveal conceptions and trajectories that may come to be similar or different, within a logic of assistance placed in a complex web of interinstitutional relations, cultural practices and republican construction policies modeled on the European experience.

The research is characterized as qualitative, articulating approaches and methods of comparative research to historical/historiographic and sociological research. The Bereday (1964) model will be used to conduct comparative studies, with specific stages of description (observable data), interpretation (data evolution), juxtaposition (establishing similarities and differences) and comparison (hypotheses). As a methodological framework for Comparative Education, we rely on Cavalcante (2008), Bray, Adamson and Mason (2015), Nóvoa (2009), among others.

About the Portuguese institutions, we selected documental sources acquired in research at the National Library of Portugal, during the month of November 2019. About the asylum institutions that attended to the Underprivileged Childhood in the aforementioned period, called: a) “*Mappa Demonstrativo da Receita e Despeza* (Income and Expenditure Statement Map), and of the *Movimento e Frequência dos Alunos Matriculados nas Casas de Asylo da Infância Desvalida de Lisboa* (Movement and Frequency of Students Enrolled in the Asylum Homes of the Underprivileged Childhood in Lisbon) – from its foundation in 1834 to 31 December 1871”; b) “*Notícia sobre a instituição das casas de asylo da infância desvalida de Lisboa: seu progressivo desenvolvimento e estado atual* (News about the institution of asylum homes for underprivileged children in Lisbon: their progressive development and current status)”, published by the National Press in 1875; c) “*Conta da Receita e Despeza da Sociedade das Casas de Asylo da Infância Desvalida de Lisboa* (Income and Expenditure Account of the Society of Asylo Homes for the Underprivileged Children of Lisbon)”, for the year 1889; “*Regulamentos, Relatório e Contas da Sociedade de Beneficência para as Casas de Asilo da Primeira Infância Desvalida no anno de 1834* (Regulations, Report and Accounts of the Beneficence Society for the Asylum Homes of the Underprivileged Early Childhood in the year 1834)”.

Regarding Piauí, we selected primary sources acquired in research in the Executive Power Room (SPE) of the Public Archives of Piauí, during the month of October 2019. On nursing homes that assisted the Deprived Childhood during the 19th century, we will use this

analysis: “*Orçamento das Despesas do Estabelecimento Rural de São Pedro de Alcântara, para o trimestre de outubro a dezembro deste anno, exercício de 1876-1877* (Budget of Expenses of the Rural Establishment of São Pedro de Alcântara, for the quarter from October to December of this year, fiscal year 1876-1877)”; “*Mappa dos Alunos que frequentaram a escola de Primeiras Lettras do Estabelecimento Rural de São Pedro de Alcântara* (Map of Students who attended the School of First Letters of the Rural Establishment of São Pedro de Alcântara)”, from August 1874 to December 1875; “*Serviços em andamento no Estabelecimento Rural de São Pedro de Alcântara* (Services in progress at the Rural Establishment of São Pedro de Alcântara)”, in the year 1876; *Ofícios n° 9 e n° 299* (Official Letters n. 9 and n. 299), of the months of April and September, respectively, of the year 1876; *Carta datada de 31 de agosto de 1876* (Letter dated 31 August 1876) with a mother's request to the establishment to return her “national freed” daughter; and, finally, the *Ofício n° 67 de 20 de março de 1876* (Official Letter n. 67 of 20 March 1876), signed by the President of the Province and forwarded to the Director of the Establishment.

It is imperative to highlight that this research is under construction, with partial results and still no conclusions, considering that, for this production, the first approximations of the sources in the two spatialities were made, with the necessary care of proportionality and precise comparative criteria, but with a view to further analytical deepening.

This work is divided into four sections, namely: a) *Institutions for Underprivileged Childhood in Portugal-Brazil*, in which there is an outline of the contextualization and historicity of nursing homes, initially in Portugal, with emphasis on the circulation of ideas and influence of Portuguese colonialism in the implantation of these institutions in Brazil; b) Rural Establishment São Pedro de Alcântara, municipality of Floriano/Piauí/Brazil: Piauí agricultural formation asylum; c) House Pia de Lisboa: birth of the institutionalization of underprivileged childhood in Portugal; d) Partial comparative results.

Underprivileged Childhood Institutions in Portugal-Brazil

“The logical solution is to prevent 'this mud in the cities' from forming, it is disciplinary, directing the concentration of people in urban centers, through prohibitive measures to install those who do not have a steady job, or not providing necessary work. [...] Assistance to abandoned or underprivileged children should be done in order to promote their settlement in the rural environment, moving them away from cities where the concentration of humble people is enormous, with no facility to raise livelihoods.” (Garrett, 1940, p. 357, our translation).

Almeida Garrett, in addition to being a romantic writer and playwright, was an honorary Portuguese minister and secretary of state and chaired the General Board of the District of Porto, which, at the time of publication of the above excerpt, was called the Douro Coast Province Board. At the time of his administration of the General Board, it was responsible for maintaining, supervising and managing nine underprivileged children's homes. The first of them was the Maternal Asylum, which received children under one year of age in a situation of breastfeeding; then, they were transferred to a Asylum-House, when they could already have a mixed meal, until they reached school age, being sent to other institutions – such as boarding schools and industrial and agricultural colonies, for example – that showed them special aptitudes for given professional teaching or instruction.

These institutions that, since the end of the 18th century, grew in Portugal – the first installed in Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra and Braga – and, until the middle of the 19th century, throughout the country, had the mission of offering protection, family living and to complement the function of the wheels and hospices. Regarding the philanthropy of "underprivileged childhood", it is important to consider that this name was initially used by the first shelter and asylum institutions, of the prison type, which received and designated delinquents, vagrants, disobedient, incorrigible, abandoned, illegitimate children or from spouses separated or without a fixed income. "Underprivileged" because "worthless", in a context of growing urbanization and social and economic transformations that led to the begging and abandonment of children. These institutions intended, in general terms, to offer protection, food and basic education that would transform the child into the "great, safe and smiling hope of tomorrow" (GARRETT, 1830, p. 5, our translation). In this regard, Geremek (1995, p. 197) advocates that this policy of great confinement has profoundly marked the evolution of modern societies. This was the policy practiced in welfare homes. Enclosure was the defended reality until this period.

Since the end of the 19th century, with the constitution of the Nation-State model, despite the socioeconomic, political and ethnic transformations leveraged by globalization and by the world phenomenon of consolidation of capitalism and the consequent reorganization of urban spaces in the face of new cultural needs, Portugal and Brazil - because they belong to the same linguistic community, have long-term historical and cultural relationships, share cultural identities through the colonizing process - give rise to and encourage the development of historical-comparative studies on educational institutions and the circulation of ideas of protection, assistance and education for those who are on the margins of social evolution, so often forgotten by official history. As for these comparative purposes, Nóvoa (2000, p. 127,

our translation) recommends:

[...] all communities are imagined and distinguished, not because of an eventual falsehood/authenticity, but precisely because of the ways in which they imagine themselves. This is what drives comparativeism to turn to new realities that do not fit into national geographies.

These boarding-school-type institutions were characterized into two types: 1) Educational (or school) when they meant specific formation or direction of studies, such as boarding schools, military institutes, seminaries, academies, among others; 2) Protection and reception assistance, such as institutes, social solidarity institutions, orphanages, nursing homes, shelters, etc. However, through the documentary sources under analysis, it is clear that asylum-type homes name a large number of underprivileged childcare institutions, where these assume the role of protection, assistance, reception and education.

In Brazil Colony, in order to solve the problem of abandoning orphans, poor children, far from the path of salvation, the Jesuits, aiming to rescue souls with behavior deviating from Christian values, created boys' schools, "institutions designed to shelter legions of fatherless *indians*" (DEL PRIORE, 1991, p. 27, our translation).

The colonial period showed different growth rates and, in the first two centuries, with the accelerated growth of cities and the consequent social and structural changes, the rate of abandoned or homeless children increased. Some "cleaner ones" ended up being adopted as "raised children" or added by structured families (VENÂNCIO, 1997, p. 190).

It was determined to Antônio Paes Sandi, Governor of the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro, through a royal charter of 1693, that those exposed should be created with the funding of the public power. It was only in 1738 that the *Roda dos Expostos* was created in Rio de Janeiro, with the donation of Romão de Mattos Duarte, with the aim of supporting abandoned newborns. "*Casa de Expostos*", "*Depósito de Expostos*" and "*Casa de Roda*" were some of the names given to institutions that used the *roda* to receive poor abandoned children and adolescents (PAVÃO, 2011).

Until the end of the Empire, measures to protect poor children in Brazil assumed a religious character, linked, in most cases, to the Catholic Church. The first institutions to care for the underprivileged appeared in Brazil in the second half of the 19th century, such as the Imperial Institute of Blind Boys (1854), the Imperial Institute of Deaf Children (1855), the School of Apprentice of Sailor (1873), the Asylum of Underprivileged Boys, School Fifteen of November (1889), among others.

These first institutions had the purpose of helping underprivileged children and guiding motherhood with the principles of childcare, in a process of civilizing development and strengthening of generations and the human race. With the advancement of medical science, especially as a result of the concern with the causes of infant mortality and the advance of infectious and contagious diseases, articulated with the processes of urban reform, hygienist and eugenic medical practices, they were at the forefront of institution building, influencing care policies to poor childhood in Brazil. This thought was aimed at preventing disorder, crime and madness.

The first institutions articulated social medicine, philanthropy and governmental actions and were recognized as *Roda de Expostos*, Hospitals, Reception Houses and Schools for Orphans, often with private administration and financial assistance from the provincial government.

Rural Establishment São Pedro de Alcântara, municipality of Floriano/Piauí/Brazil: Piauí asylum for agricultural formation

Founded in 1873, in the province of Piauí, by decree n. 5,392 of 10 September 1873, as a school of practical agriculture, with official name Establishment of the National Farms of Piauí, the Rural Establishment São Pedro de Alcântara, in the municipality of Floriano, was one of the first nursing homes to provide care to children in need in the Piauí. Currently, it is called São Pedro de Alcântara Rural School, located on Avenida Esmeraldo de Freitas, s/n, Floriano, Piauí.

The São Pedro de Alcântara Rural Establishment (ERSA) can be considered a nursing home, considering that, according to the report of the Secretary of State for Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works, presented to the Legislative General Assembly, the contract would have two main advantages : it would relieve the State of expenses with the maintenance of farms, which produced little due to the lack of knowledge of their administrators, and would facilitate the employment of freed slaves and the education of their children (BRASIL, 1874, p. 16).

Such concern refers to the enactment of the Free Womb Law, enacted in 1871, which freed the unborn, regulated the manumission of captives and assigned the State the obligation to take care of the ingenuous after the age of eight. Thus, the creation of institutions to shelter the freed became a policy of the imperial government (LIMA, 1988, p. 120).

With the current use of the Social Assistance Reference Center, the São Pedro de Alcântara Rural Establishment and the Dairy Factory belonged to the former National Farms of Piauí, which were originally large tracts of land donated to the first explorers, in Colonia Brazil. Later, they belonged to the Society of Jesus and, when the Jesuits were expelled by Marquês de Pombal, in 1759, the lands were incorporated into the Portuguese Crown until the end of the imperial period. With the Republic, the National Farms were in the power of the Union, which leased or sold part of the land, which gave rise to several municipalities in the current state of Piauí.

The Rural Establishment São Pedro de Alcântara, in Floriano, is an important testimony to the occupation of the interior of Brazil during the 18th and 19th centuries. With a recent image of the institution, it is possible to view its external architecture characteristics:

Figure 1 – Recent facade of the building where the São Pedro de Alcântara Rural Establishment functioned



Source: Google images³

In the documentary sources that support this work, the *official letter n. 13 of 27 June 1876*, sent to the President of the Province of Piauí and signed by the Institution's Interim Director, Dr. Antônio Rodrigues da Silveira, informs that he assumed the directorship of the establishment, due to the death of the former director Dr. Francisco Parente, which took place on the 16th of the current month in the city of Amarante. As its clerk and in the absence of a deputy director, Dr. Antônio Rodrigues da Silveira assumed the management of the

³ Available: <http://www.ipatrimonio.org/floriano-estabelecimento-rural-sao-pedro-de-alcantara/#!/map=38329&loc=-23.529838338920804,-406.65764808654785,13> Access: 02 May 2020.

institution, informing, in this letter, the conservation and progress of the services already sent by the former director, such as the construction of the building of residence.

In *official letter n. 135 of 17 October 1876*, the Fiscal Prosecutor Bolivar Mendes wrote to the ERSPA Inspector (unnamed, in the aforementioned document) mentioning that he thought it convenient that the Interim Director of “São Pedro de Alcântara Colony” should take steps in relation to the freedmen who were to reside on the lands of the farms subject to its administration, as to those who were to reside in those "under the immediate administration of this treasury", which should be "subject to the conditions already imposed or deemed useful to establish, or they will not be admitted as aggregates of said farms” (our translation).

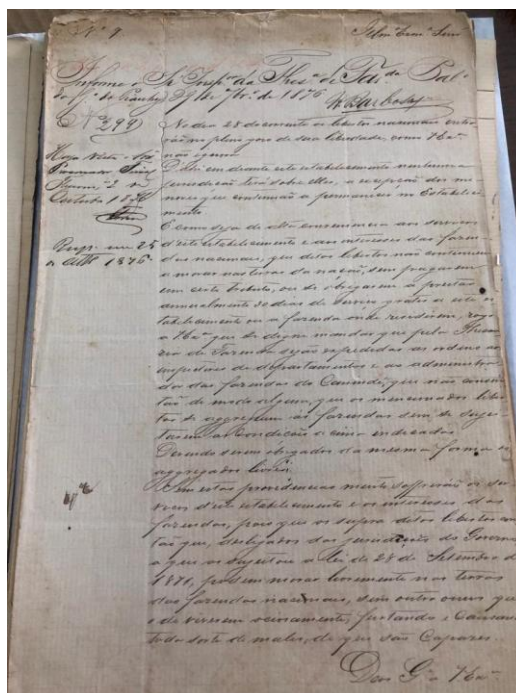
It is understood from this scripture that there are clear rules and conditions for admission of national freedmen, in a context where the boundaries between freedom and slavery are blurred in the nineteenth-century slave society, making the experiences of slave workers, freedmen and free poor people ambiguous.

Such rules and conditions announced above are set out in *Official Letter n. 299, of 29 April 1876*, entitled “Inform to Mr. Inspector” on the rules for admission and housing for young freed nationals. As you can see in the excerpt below:

And as it is of high convenience of the services of this establishment, that the so-called freedmen do not continue to live on the lands of the nation without paying a certain tax, or oblige themselves to annually provide 30 days of free service to this establishment or to the farm where they reside. [...]. Free aggregates are likewise obliged (our translation).

It is important to highlight that the institutionalization of children, youth and adults in the São Pedro de Alcântara Rural Establishment has the function of sheltering people outside the jurisdiction of the government, in accordance with the Law of 28 September 1871, which advocates their free housing in the national farms, without any other burden, “without living idly, stealing and causing all sorts of harm they are capable of”, according to the final section of the “Report to Mr. Inspector”:

Figure 2 – Ofício nº 299, de 29 de abril de 1876



Source: Author's archive

In these and other sources of public power on the ERSPA, observed so far, it is clear that work is mandatory as payment for housing and a way out of the marginality resulting from idleness. During this period, in Brazil, as well as in Cuba and the United States, slavery was maintained as a means of labor exploitation, throughout the nineteenth century, in a different way from the previous slavery. Industrial capitalism has consolidated itself as a new system that benefits from this “second slavery”, for example, in the coffee cycle in Brazil.

In this context, charities and philanthropy also assume a role in controlling poverty, so that it is not considered a danger to society. By creating bonds of dependence and control in relation to the other, a symbolic way of maintaining hierarchies and social control is created. Which has a lot to do with a famous phrase by E. P. Thompson: “What from above can be seen as benevolence, from below can also be seen as conquest” (our translation).

This other side of institutions is also revealed in official documents, as can be seen in Official Letter n. 255, a mother's letter to the governor of Piauí Province, on 4 September 1876, when she asked freedom for her daughter Joana, a minor, because she was transferred from ERSPA to Mr. Francisco Martins' house, “providing services that disgust her age and are not reconciled with the education she should receive as the free person that she is”. In the mother's desperate appeal, there is her rejection of the “charitable protection” directed at her

daughter, in which she mentions the institution's role in ensuring the protection of minors and not the worsening of their fortunes, as in the excerpt below:

No one is as competent to handle upbringing and education as her own mother, and her supp. (Joana), who is not entirely miserable, dispenses with the charity that it wants to impose on her in such a unique way, as she has the means to raise her daughter, and she is certain that her cares are more useful to her than this strange office... [...] For the creation and education of these (minors) there is a public establishment in the province, maintained by the Government, the Colony of São Pedro de Alcântara, where they must be collected, as established in the 2nd condition of the contract, by Decree n. 5,392 of 10 September 1873, and when the Government imposed a similar obligation on the contractor of that company, it is evident that it sought to guarantee and not worsen the fate of those minors (our translation).

Then, the governor of the Province of Piauí sent an official letter to the director of ERSPA at the time, Dr. Francisco Parente, informing that the children and young freed nationals would be in the possession of the State for a period of five years, and could not be handed over to their families before this deadline. In this fact, like so many unjust and inhumane political actions towards the poor and destitute of all sorts, it is clear that the history of childhood is full of tragedy and marked by the ills of human perversity, in the most different nuances, from the Portuguese who they recruited boys to work on the boats until the context of the “new slavery”.

House Pia de Lisboa: birth of the institutionalization of underprivileged childhood in Portugal

Created in 1780 by the General Intendant of the Police Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique, at the request of Queen D. Maria I, House Pia de Lisboa has the following social responses: school, temporary shelter/emergency unit, shelter, center family support and parental counselling, residential home and support home.

House Pia de Lisboa includes, in addition to forty-five (45) shelters, spread across the city of Lisbon, ten Schools: Pina-Manique (Belém); Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Rato); D. Maria Pia (Xabregas); Nuno Álvares (Ajuda); Santa Clara (Graça); Santa Catarina (São Bento); Jacob Rodrigues Pereira Institute (for deaf students, Restelo); S. Marçal (Príncipe Real); Aurélio da Costa Ferreira Institute (for deaf-blind and mentally impaired students, Alvalade); Rural School Francisco Margiochi (Quinta do Arrife, Torres Vedras); Educational Center for Social Support (Almada); and Six Emergency Temporary Reception Centers to assist children and young people in situations of imminent danger, for forty-eight hours.

This institution has a boarding system, according to the matrix of Law No. 147/99 – Law for the Protection of Children and Young People in Danger – configuring this type of reception of the institution. Since its foundation, House Pia has had the status of a public institute and works under the Ministry of Solidarity, Employment and Social Security.

Table 1 – Institutions integrated to House Pia de Lisboa

Type of institution	Mission	Where
Temporary Care Home/Emergency Unit I (children and young people aged 6-14).	It ensures an urgent and transitory care response aimed at children and young people in situations of current or imminent danger, for their life or physical integrity, and for which there is no immediate response. It requires the application of a measure of promotion and protection of reception in an institution.	CED Santa Catarina.
Shelter Residence I (children and young people aged 6-14)	It provides residential care for children and young people in situations of danger, whose circumstances of the case recommend a care period of more than 6 months. It requires the application of a measure to promote and protect reception in an institution.	CED Santa Catarina. CED Santa Clara.
Family Support and Parental Counseling Center.	A response that provides specialized support to children and young people who transition from CPL foster care to a natural way of life, and which aims to ensure their sustained exit, through the monitoring of them and their families in the community, in a process of progressive autonomy.	CED Santa Clara.
Residential Home I (children and young people aged 6-21).	Response developed in equipment, intended for the accommodation of deafblind children and young adults, who are temporarily or permanently prevented from residing within the family or who need to attend educational institutions and/or rehabilitation at House Pia de Lisboa and who cannot travel daily to your usual residence.	CED António da Costa Ferreira.
Support Home I (children and young people aged 6-21).	Response developed in equipment designed to accommodate deaf children and young people who need to attend educational and/or formative institutions at the House Pia in Lisbon and who are unable to travel daily to their usual residence.	CED Jacob Rodrigues Pereira.

Source: Devised by the authors – adapted from House Pia de Lisboa (s/a)⁴

In the context of the foundation of the first institutions for the assistance and protection of underprivileged children in Portugal, and these include the House Pia de Lisboa, as the first of them and built at the request of Queen Maria Pia (1847-1911) – known as “angel of charity” – Lisbon was full of vagabonds, prostitutes and abandoned children. Still

⁴ Available: http://www.casapia.pt/respostas_sociais.html. Accessm: 10 Oct. 2020.

not recovered from the devastation caused by the earthquake of 1755 and the fire that followed, Lisbon at the time was considered a dangerous city, at least in the eyes of those in power.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Portugal was considered, in the rest of Europe, a backward and incompetent country, considering its situation of economic instability perceived in most indicators. Close to 70% of the population was illiterate and among the 143,000 factory workers, there were 48,000 women and 22,000 children. With most of the population working in the agricultural sector, food imports caused a huge deficit in the balance of trade, convincing republican leaders to create a national unity and safeguard the Portuguese empire if they entered the First World War on the side of the Allies (NEWITT, 2018).

It was in this context that many children were abandoned and/or unprotected, creating the need for urgent measures of institutionalization and control over the social chaos that was established and reflected ugly in the organization of the city. It is also known that religious measures of a charitable and philanthropic nature were at the forefront of public authorities, in an attempt to “save” the soul of these little ones disinherited from luck.

Under analysis, the documental source Internal Regulations for the Asylum of D. Maria Pia, one of the institutions of the House Pia de Lisboa Institute, in chapter I, on Admission and Exclusion of Children, brings in the fifth article information about the admission and selection of these children: “*There will be a registration book, where all admitted children will be registered. Paragraph 1st: This registration will be by term, in which the name, age, parentage, place of birth and date of entry of the children will be mentioned, with reference to the session and minutes of admission*” (LISBOA, 1867, p. 6, our translation).

With differentiated education for girls and boys, its statute advocates the exclusion of children who become incorrigible, or who, being girls, and having completed ten years of age, do not show success in teaching and education. The asylum seekers received religious, professional and civic training, with intense moral and disciplinary guidance. The children participated in reading classes, the legal system of weights and measures, arithmetic, writing, sacred history. In the counter shift, the boys studied reading, arithmetic and writing, and the girls took classes in stocking and sewing.

According to art. 45 of the Regulation (Ibdem, 1867, p. 21, our translation), “they will not be allowed to be servile to their masters, fellow disciples or protectors, but only profound respect and veneration. [...] They will be made to conceive that honor, virtue and work are of greater value than existence”. It is important to highlight that, in this nursing home that makes

up the framework of institutions managed by House Pia de Lisboa, according to the historical sources consulted, the children received education and work compatible with their intellectual and physical capacities, without any signs of exploitation.

There seemed to be institutional concern with the psychic repercussions of abandonment, neglect and abuse in children and adolescents. More recently, a Portuguese author and childhood and adolescence psychiatrist has discussed this theme, based on the clinical works of Anna Freud and Donald Winnicott, carried out in England, in the 50s and 60s, with children who survived traumas from Monday World War.

It is not known if there were studies of this nature with institutionalized children in Lisbon in this time frame, but the statutes and regulations of the institutions of underprivileged childhood, at the time, reveal evidence of some concern with the psychological, cognitive and emotional consequences of children. There are some sources that claim that the institution is the mother of the child. An idea approached by Makarenko (1998, p. 45) in the 1930s, when he reflects on the “institution that repairs the child's 'I'”.

Below is an illustration of children from the asylums and schools of Lisbon at the end of the 19th century, found in an iconographic exhibition in the Modern Collection of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, in November 2019.

Figure 3 – Children in Lisbon's homes and schools in 1889



Source: Author's archive

Final considerations

With the partial analysis of the sources and the need to be careful not to make common mistakes in this type of research, there are many criteria and possibilities for approaching

realities, as well as numerous aspects to consider in the analysis of sources. First, the process of admission and exclusion of children in each of the institutions, which, based on the documents observed, were carried out in a different way, given the historical context and the economic and political contingencies in which Lisbon and Floriano were immersed.

Then, it is clear that children from the two institutions have different relationships with work. At ERSPA, children work to pay for housing and owe work hours to the State, responsible for protecting them, in agricultural activities or in domestic and rural services on farms that established an agreement with the Government of the Province of Piauí at the time. In another direction, at House Pia de Lisboa the children work with goals of discipline and moral construction, to organize the space they live (dorms, cafeterias), without interfering with classes and other physical and/or professional activities. In this, children are prepared for work, as is the case of girls who learn a trade (sewing, housework), or even boys who need to meet the institutional expectation of revealing some professional aptitude.

There seems to be no divergence regarding the children's ages for admission in the two contexts. By looking at lists of students from ERSPA and House Pia de Lisboa, both receive children and teenagers until early adulthood. However, the admissions criteria are different, as already mentioned.

House Pia de Lisboa, as a model for many other childcare institutions in Portugal and, consequently, for Brazil, in the century following its foundation, reveals itself as a reference institution for protection and shelter for educational purposes, and not merely assistance. It was common for the first nursing homes to provide guidance and preparation for work, a possible direction for this underprivileged stratum of society to have a dignified, if servile, place as they reach adulthood. This preparation for work assumed characteristics of the economic development of the period, as is the case of the agricultural colonies in Portugal and Brazil.

By the way, Floriano's institution is an agricultural school, with an eminently practical function from the very name and function to which it is designated; this also signifies Portuguese influence, when at the end of the 18th century there were asylum institutions in Lisbon with agricultural formation for boys.

Other considerations and findings will be made after a deeper and more careful analysis of the primary sources. This comparative incursion is under construction and expansion of perspectives, for other investigative articulations in progress.

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