



**BRAZILIAN WOMEN AND SOCIAL
REFORM IN NÍSIA FLORESTA'S
*OPÚSCULO HUMANITÁRIO***

Em meados do século XIX destacam-se as atividades literárias, jornalísticas e pedagógicas de Nísia Floresta Brasileira Augusta, precursora do moderno movimento feminista no Brasil. A rio-grandense-do-norte publica suas idéias em português, francês e italiano, e é também responsável pela divulgação das idéias liberais da inglesa Mary Wallstonecraft no Brasil. O *Opúsculo humanitário*, coleção de 62 ensaios, trata da reestruturação educacional da mulher brasileira. A autora penetra na realidade do contexto histórico-social através da ótica feminina, o que confere a especificidade de sua obra. O feminismo de Nísia Floresta caracteriza-se pela influência das idéias iluministas, românticas, positivas e utilitaristas. Não obstante seus contrastes, essas quatro correntes se harmonizam na obra da autora.

A glaring case of selective omission of female writers from the literary canon is Nísia Floresta. This is the shortened version of Nísia Floresta Brasileira Augusta, a pseudonym which is composed of the following elements: Nísia, the ending of the name Dionísia; Floresta, the author's birthplace in Rio Grande do Norte; Brasileira, in honor of the nationality of a woman who lived twenty-eight years of her life in Europe; and Augusta, in memory of her second husband, Manuel Augusto de Faria Rocha, who died suddenly in 1833 at 25 years of age. Sometimes referred to as the precursor of the modern Brazilian feminist movement, Nísia Floresta's political, sociological and literary contributions as an educator and writer have been only superficially recognized by critics. Aside from an occasional footnote in selected literary histories or reference books on Brazilian intellectual history, she has been almost completely forgotten.¹ However, the specificity of Nísia Floresta's feminist discourse, which is just as much the result of her scholarship as it is of the experience of a woman in a man's world, penetrates the social reality posed from the historical experience of female subjectivity. In this sense, Floresta's work is an example of the rarest of literary contributions to the project of uncovering women's past history in that as a source she does not represent the broad mass of women's attitudes and therefore cannot be taken as the norm for her time.

Nísia Floresta was the first Brazilian woman to publish and disseminate her revolutionary ideas, both in Brazil and in Europe, in three languages: Portuguese, French and Italian. A closer look at her work, as an educational theorist, as a writer, and as a woman working and writing within the tradition of liberal feminism, will demonstrate her significance as a revolutionary figure in nineteenth-century Brazilian society, as well as her importance as the precursor of the modern Brazilian feminist movement. Floresta's work is characterized by an amalgam of ideas originating in Enlightened, Romantic, Positivist and Utilitarian sources. In this paper, I propose a closer look at one of her earlier

works, *Opúsculo humanitário* (1853) in order to reveal and describe this amalgam and subsequently to observe how it functions as an organizing principle in her work.

It should not come as any surprise that this early Brazilian feminist should uncover and translate the major feminist treatise of her time, Mary Wallstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Translating not from the original English version but from a French edition, Floresta brought out her Portuguese translation of Wallstonecraft's ideas in Recife in 1832. Two later editions of her *Direitos de Mulher* appeared in 1833 and 1839. Aside from the significant achievement of disseminating Wallstonecraft's ideas in the Portuguese-speaking world, Floresta's intellectual affiliation with the utilitarian ideas espoused by Wallstonecraft and later taken up by John Stuart Mill, places her squarely within the tradition of liberal feminism. Paradoxically, her intellectual formation was received through the tradition of such French Enlightenment philosophers as Rousseau, Fénelon, Montesquieu, and Tocqueville. Furthermore, her familiarity and close friendship later in life with the French philosopher/sociologist Auguste Comte serves to complicate even further the multitude of influences and intellectual traditions underlying Floresta's work. The resulting tension between the principles of these philosophical approaches becomes the predominant characteristic of Nísia Floresta's particular brand of feminism, always present and fertile, yet difficult to reconcile. Encased in emotive Romantic language, this tension is especially visible in *Opúsculo humanitário*, a 1853 publication of 62 essays on the education of women in which she calls for the moral and intellectual rehabilitation of her Brazilian sisters to be carried out through a restructuring of the education of women.

A closer look at the four political philosophies and their implications regarding women which so profoundly influenced Floresta's thinking — Enlightenment philosophy, Romanticism, Positivism and Utilitarianism — reveals the cultural ambience in which Floresta was writing. Representing an Enlightened philosophy which influenced later Romantic thought, Rousseau was concerned in his model of citizenship with equality of rights. However, he was also clearly uninterested in creating a space for women to participate in the public sphere.² Growing, in turn, out of Enlightenment philosophy, the view of the Romantic ideal of independent womanhood saw in the powers of love a paradigm for political and social reform. Societal reform would originate in the centers of private life and radiate outwards from relations in which individuals had

attained a new self-understanding³. Consequently, the notion of women assuming an active political stance in society did not rank especially high within Romantic values. Only later, with the development of Utilitarianism, would the political sphere again become the object of interest.

Prior to the development of Utilitarianism, between 1820 and 1826, Auguste Comte's *Opuscles*, which represent the first stage of his major works, had appeared. It is unlikely that the repetition of the term "opuscule" in the title of Floresta's *Opúsculo humanitário* is a mere coincidence. In fact, Floresta's familiarity with Comte had already been established by 1851, when, during her first three year sojourn in Paris, she attended one of his lectures on the "General History of Humanity" in Paris. In 1856, upon Floresta's return to Europe, she presented Comte with a copy of her *Opúsculo humanitário*, which had been published three years earlier in Rio de Janeiro. Comte's impressions of the book were expressed in a letter to Pierre Laffitte dated September 30, 1856:

Desde que fiquei inteiramente livre, fiz as leituras excepcionais que espontaneamente prometera. O opúsculo em português, além de revelar-me que eu sabia indiretamente mais uma língua, inspira-me sólidas razões para esperar se torne a nobre dama, sua autora, dentro em breve, uma digna positivista, susceptível de alta eficácia para a nossa propaganda feminina e meridional.⁴

Although Floresta did fulfill Comte's expectations of her disseminating his doctrines in Brazil, only in her later career did she come more fully under the sway of Comte's thought. Her earlier works suggest that she was already inclining toward this tendency, but they are still colored by earlier philosophical trends.

Comte's *Opuscles*, a description and analysis of a moment in European history, conclude that neither revolution nor science could bring about the reorganization of society. These more profound changes would occur only through a synthesis of the sciences and the creation of positive politics.⁵ Comte saw the spread of scientific thinking and industrial activity as a contradiction to the theological and military thinking of the past; consequently, the only way to end crisis was to create a new social order which valorized scientific thinking. He then set out to provide a system of scientific ideas to preside over the reorganization of society.

Comte's ideas on the reorganization of society place an emphasis upon the equality of family relations: a relation of veneration between children and parents; a complex relation of authority or obedience between man and wife.⁶ In an idealization of the spiritual realm, Comte sees man's authority as inferior because it is one of activity and intelligence, whereas woman's spiritual power is central to the family and, therefore, far more noble. In keeping with this structure, the woman's position as subservient wife and dutiful mother allows her to reach a state of moral superiority and the cultivation of this position within the family eventually developed into a positivistic religion celebrating the virtuosity of the female. This view of equality is based in the radical differentiation of functions and natures. As Raymond Aron points out: "[I]n the family, it is men who have the experience of historical continuity, who learn what is the condition of civilization, who control the transmission of civilization from generation to generation."⁷

On the other hand, the utilitarian view of equal political rights, as set forth by Wallstonecraft, Mill and Bentham, emphasized the concept that the differences between the sexes are not natural but societal, and therefore are subject to change by the reform of society. Closely associated with this view is the realization on the part of the utilitarians that women not be able to realize their capacities in intimate personal relationship as long as they were not recognized as equal persons in the public sphere.⁸

Nísia Floresta's outlook on women and the possible reform of Brazilian society would appear to eclectically assimilate elements of these four currents of thought. Although parts of all four are visible in one form or another in most of Floresta's works, the *Opúsculo humanitário* reflects a basic tension between two pairs of philosophies. On the one hand, Floresta was locked into certain traditional patterns of thought inherited from the Enlightenment and Romanticism; on the other hand, she was attempting to break out of these more traditional thought paradigms by espousing the newer, more liberal philosophies of Utilitarianism and Positivism that were penetrating the air of the mid-nineteenth century. The father of Positivism himself perceived this ambiguity and conflict at the very core of Floresta's being. In a letter dated March 29, 1857 to Dr. Audiffrent, Comte comments on the suitability of Floresta and her twenty-two-year-old daughter as disciples of his doctrine and as potential participants of the positivist salon he hopes to establish:

Ambas são eminentes pelo coração e suficientes quanto ao espírito. Acha-se, contudo, a mãe de tal modo imbuída dos hábitos do século dezoito, que pouco devemos esperar da plenitude de sua conversão, embora as suas simpatias remontem ao meu curso de 1851, cuja influência ela não pôde, entretanto, receber senão através de uma única das sessões . . . Sua filha, porém, comporta uma incorporação completa, que a mãe secundará sem rivalidade disfarçada.⁹

The tension that Comte perceives would remain with Floresta as she evolved toward a fuller acceptance of the liberal doctrines of Comte's philosophy.

According to Alison Jaggar's critique of Western epistemologies, the fundamental moral values of such liberal philosophies are predicated on the assumption that all individuals have an equal potentiality for reason.¹⁰ This seemingly simple statement, which does not seem polemical from our twentieth-century perspective, was indeed revolutionary in Floresta's era if one considers that the lack of ability to reason on the part of women was taken for granted. This notion can be traced in Western philosophy as far back as Aristotle's idea that women are incomplete and damaged human beings who belong to an entirely different order than men. Thus, the subordination of women had come to be seen as "natural", hence invisible. This concept and its coupling with the devaluation of women in relation to the divine makes up the founding metaphor on which Western civilization was built.¹¹ According to the tradition established by Western thought, we see the fundamental assumptions concerning women contained within the following four statements: first, women's biological nature dictates and justifies her lack of political status; second, women's psychological nature is gentle, submissive, emotional and irrational; third, women are to be confined to the hearth and home; and fourth, women are suited to rearing citizens but not to being citizens themselves.¹² Therefore, the idea inherent in liberal philosophy that all human beings are rational agents, regardless of sex, is indeed revolutionary in Floresta's time.

In this liberal conception of human nature, rationality is taken first to be a "mental" capacity, one conceived of as a property of individuals rather than of groups, and one that is possessed in approximately equal measure, at least by all persons.¹³ Defining the capacity to reason is a challenge of a different nature. As Jaggar points out, liberal theorists, generally look to the classical conception of reason as the

guide to morality and values. Although this definition has changed and evolved somewhat over time, it is still acceptable today. However, defining what universal values and morality are is somewhat problematic. According to Jaggard, although a variety of individual spheres can be stipulated, the one more or less universal desire is for maximization of one's own utility. Hence, individuals who fail to develop their capacity for reason, and consequently their usefulness, are considered deficient because they have failed to fulfill their uniquely human potential. Although ahistorical in nature, this concept of human nature does acknowledge certain psychological differences between individuals and accepts that those differences may result from different social experiences.¹⁴

Floresta's literary analyses address the concerns of the potential and utility of Brazilian women in society, especially in relation to the reformulation of a national consciousness in which individual autonomy would be valued. From Positivism and Utilitarianism come certain currents of thought which Floresta incorporates in her critique: for example, the ideas of utility, of women's nature being the same as that of man's, of women performing in the public arena as well as in the private sphere, and of women's intellectual abilities being put to fuller use in order to build a better society and strengthen family relations. In fact, such ideas form the ideological basis, the very structural foundation of the proposed changes for Brazilian society put forth in the *Opúsculo humanitário*. Consequently, Floresta was considered by her conservative Brazilian critics as an abolitionist, a republican, an Indianist and a feminist. Setting the record straight, in retrospect, in the 1940's, Adauto da Câmara identifies Floresta's true goals:

"Floresta tinha o mérito de ser desinteressada no seu feminismo: não tinha empregos em mira, não pretendia prestígio político visando arranjos para os parentes: não se batia pela elevação social da mulher como um pretexto para se fazer notar, para obter gordas comissões na Europa, ou cadeira de deputado. Era verdadeiramente um idealismo são que lhe inspirava a luta pela educação da mulher e pela extinção de sua inferioridade."¹⁵

Instead of personal aggrandisement, Floresta was genuinely interested in presenting suggestions for sweeping societal reforms which valorized individual rights and autonomy based on the philosophical assumption that gender was merely a cultural construct and that women and men ultimately shared the same human nature.

The question of education as a solution to the problem of gender as a cultural construct is the main focus of interest in Floresta's *Opúsculo humanitário*. The sixty-two essays which make up this volume originally appeared as articles in the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* and in *O Liberal*, a political newspaper published by Silva Lima.¹⁶ Although showing no external structural divisions, the book has an internal thematic organization built around the following themes: the universal conditions of women throughout history, the superiority of the education of European women, the situation of women in Brazil, recommendations for changing the latter, and finally, an expression of hope for the future.

The first seventeen essays of *Opúsculo humanitário* trace the evolution of conditions for women from the most remote times in Egypt, Persia, India, Babylonia, Greece and Rome down to the nineteenth century in Germany, France, England and the United States. Floresta then takes up the place of women in Brazilian society. She sees European women as useful members of society, superb educators of the young both in the home and in the schools, as well as intelligent companions to their husbands. By contrast, Brazilian women cannot compare in strength of character and morality to their northern European or North American sisters because, equipped only for procreation, women in Brazil were victims of prejudice and oppression, of cloistered existences, as well as illiteracy. In the words of a past President of the province of Minas cited in her essay: "Deve-se ensinar às meninas tudo quanto convém que saiba uma mulher, que tem de ser criada de si e de seu marido."¹⁷

After denouncing the prevailing conditions of Brazilian women, Floresta then moves on to specific recommendations. A sweeping educational reform in the public and private spheres is the Brazilian author's *sine qua non* for the restructuring of Brazilian society. Here, we are reminded of Comte's view that intellectual reform is a prerequisite to social reform. Agreeing with Comte, Floresta insists: "É partindo desta experiência, que tiramos a conclusão de que, no Brasil não se poderá educar bem a mocidade em quanto o systema de nossa educação, quer doméstica, quer pública, não fôr radicalmente reformado." Floresta recognizes that women's oppression is both created by men for their own benefit and that it is then used to reinforce and perpetuate itself. In other words, women are denied access to education and then they are excluded from participation in the public sphere owing to their lack of education. The justification of such oppression comes from the tradition of ancient philosophy which describes women as particularistic, emotional, intuitive, as opposed to universal, rational, and reflective.

Women are assigned to the negative side of this dichotomy since they are slave to their emotions, naturally subservient and submissive.

Since Floresta considered northern European culture and societies as superior to their Brazilian counterparts, she advocated the study and emulation of those cultures and of the habits of their women. She admires British culture for its spirit of order, its conviction of the individual's rights and the subsequent inclusion of women in the definition of individuality. In comparison to other European nations, English women are more distinguished: "Gravando-se-lhe no espírito, quasi logo ao sair do berço, a consciência da sua própria dignidade, ela compreende muito cedo, a nobreza do sexo a que pertence, a importância do cumprimento dos seus deveres" (p. 22). Brazilians had inherited from the Portuguese the Moorish habit of locking women up, surrounding them with slaves and leaving them idle and ignorant. English women did not have to endure the humiliation of having their purity ensured through the custom of vigilantism in the absence of fathers and spouses. Floresta attributes a distinction to the nature of the religious-moral component of English education for its concern with allowing women the opportunity to breathe the atmosphere of sincerity, freedom and independence which characterize the spirit of the British nation as a whole.

Floresta saw in the religious-moral component of the English system the basic principles upon which the Brazilian educational reform should be constructed. If religion and morality were made the focus of education, women would be instructed in the cultivation of true virtue from an early age. A religious-moral education is thus seen as the indestructible chain linking woman to her duties. Religion reinforces the natural feminine qualities; it sustains and consoles a woman in the most difficult circumstances of her life, it is a reliable compass that guides woman in her duties and leads her to their fulfillment. In contrast, Brazilian religious education comes under attack by Floresta, for she views the lax morality of the Brazilian clergy, its depraved behavior and lazy habits as representative of the general state of decadence found in mid-nineteenth century.

One of the primary objectives of a superior religious-moral education is to train women to take over their natural duties of motherhood and training of the young. Floresta believes that this is woman's primary contribution to the private sphere, especially in light of the deplorable conditions found in Brazilian schools: "... Uma mãe bem educada e sufficientemente instruída para dirigir a educação de sua filha obterá

sempre maiores vantagens, applicando-se com terna solicitude a inspirar-lhe como emulação o sentimento da própria dignidade, que qualquer directora não conseguiria obter de suas educandas" (p. 97).

I would be erroneous however to think that Floresta's platform is only for the benefit of upper-class women. She addresses the concerns of the working classes, the growing middle class, the African slave, and the Indian woman as well:

"É por tanto em favor de todas as mulheres brasileiras, que escrevemos, é a sua geral prosperidade o alvo de nossos anhelos, quando os elementos dessa prosperidade se acham ainda tão confusamente marulhados no labyrintho de inveterados costumes e arriscadas innovações" (p. 144).

The working class woman is shown to be the truly oppressed of society owing to her lack of any recourse to education or academic degrees which result in her total disadvantage in the market place. Floresta sees the growth of the working class as an important step toward women's economic independence: "Se se instituísse uma classe pública de operárias em toda a sorte de trabalhos, offerecer-se-hia a uma parte das famílias desvalidas do Brasil não somente um meio seguro de as livrar da miséria, mas ainda de habilitar-as para um futuro, que não está longe" (p. 146).

The urban working class woman's rural counterpart, the "cabocla" or Indian woman, is defined as: "[d]essa interessante e infeliz porção da humanidade que se tem de mais em mais entranhado em nossas florestas, ou vive aqui e ali disseminada em mesquinhas e desorganizadas aldeias!" (p. 158) However, Floresta regards the customs of Indian women as a lesson in humility for Brazilian society. Although untouched by the morality of religious education, Indian women had been models of virtue and heroism in times of peace and war. Faithful and submissive companions to their husbands, never wanting in spontaneity, these women toiled inside and outside the home. Floresta eulogizes them also as mothers:

"Ide vê-las, . . . no estado intermediário do selvagem e do civilizado, ligadas, dia e noite, a seus filhinhos, por mais fortes vínculos de natural afeição do que muitas mães da nossa sociedade, não os deixando, como muitas destas, em seio estranho, alguma vez mesmo enfermos, para irem tomar parte nos prazeres do mundo, ou *satisfazerem uma etiqueta* da sociedade" (p. 164).

Nor did the Indian women practice the upper class custom of denying breast milk to their young, subsequently allowing their newborn babies to drink "leite impuro, . . . que . . . vai contaminando o físico como o moral" (p. 99). Floresta even comments on the practice of conjugal fidelity among the Indians, holding them up as moral models, while citing the lack of adultery in the tribal cultures.

In contrast to Indian women, the typical Brazilian woman appears vain, idle, lazy, and immoral. If, however, as Floresta observes, "a intelligencia [que] não tem sexo"; if a woman's physical weakness is not proper justification for prohibiting her from receiving equal educational opportunities, then, given appropriate conditions, women would soon become more useful to society. Floresta does set limitations on her theory however, in that she rejects the idea that all humankind shares the same potential:

"Não compartilhando a doutrina de Helvécio sobre a igualdade da intelligencia em todos os homens, sabemos que todas as mulheres não podem ser igualmente instruídas, ainda mesmo quando a todas se proporcionasse os meios de cultivar o seu espírito: o que pretendemos, é possível, justo e de rigorosa necessidade, isto é: que todas sejam bem educadas, em suas respectivas situações" (p. 65-66).

Keeping these limitations in mind, Floresta invokes the following advice for women: "melhor educação, destino mais digno d'ellas" (p. 174).

Young Brazilian children grew up exposed to the double decadent influences of a system of slavery in which they learned by example to imitate the negative behavior not only of the masters but of the slaves themselves. Owing to the abject conditions in which the slaves lived and the ignorance in which society left them, they were often forced to resort to criminal activities to survive. Floresta recommends that young girls from families of means be sent to the best schools where their studies would be regulated to specific hours and where they would avoid witnessing the evils inherent in the slavery system.

In her final appeal to her compatriots, Floresta looks ahead to the future of South America, to the day when women will be fully incorporated into society as true subjects. Floresta now addresses parents, the federal government and her people, asking them to look into their conscience and ask themselves if " . . . a mulher nascida nesta vigorosa terra superabundante de magnificencias naturaes, respirando sob um céu radiante, no meio da poesia de tão admirável natureza, não se pode limitar

ao papel que tem até hoje representado?" (p. 178). Floresta's futuristic entreaty culminates in an emotive plea to educate women in preparation for the march ahead: "Educai para isto a mulher, e com ella marchai avante, na immensa via do progresso, à gloria que leva o renome dos povos à mais remota prosperidade" (p. 178). This note of hope in Floresta's final invocation is reminiscent of the Positivistic phrase, Order and Progress, which forms the motto on the Brazilian flag.

We have seen how Floresta incorporated elements of the four political philosophies of the time into her published thought. The final essays included in the *Opúsculo humanitário* trace Floresta's acceptance of the belief that human nature was determined by *moment* and *milieu*, that is history and environment, the temporal, social and cultural agents shaping mankind. However, she obviously rejected the third factor in determinism's triumvirate, that is *race*, the biological, genetic determiner. Obviously, an individual should not be considered incomplete, imperfect or inferior simply because it falls to one's lot to be born a woman. At the same time, Floresta also saw clearly that the one deterministic factor of the three that could be changed was the *milieu*. Society and the environment could be transformed and improved through proper education, to which all beings should have equal access.

Nísia Floresta's experience as educator and author, as a subject engaged in the production of meaning, representation, and self-representation, can be linked to the project of feminist theory one hundred years later. For feminist theory constitutes itself as "a reflection on practice and experience; an experience to which sexuality must be seen as central in that it determines through gender identification, the social dimension of female subjectivity, one's personal experience of femaleness; and a practice aimed at confronting that experience and changing women's lives concretely, materially, and through consciousness."¹⁸ Viewed from this perspective, Floresta's work theorizes the political practice of a specific social reality and rearticulates that reality from the historical experience of women. Her project is ultimately to intercede for women, to untangle the contradiction by which women live — to help women become *woman*.

NOTES

¹ Since the author's death in 1885, there was no effort to reedit her work until 1941 when Adauto da Câmara, of the *Academia Norte-Riograndense de Letras*, published a biographical study of her life in which segments of some of her essays are reproduced: See *História de Nísia Floresta* (Rio de Janeiro: Irmãos Pongetti, 1941). In addition, the *Revista da Academia de Letras*, N^o 2-3 (Rio de Janeiro) also ran two articles concerning Floresta's work, both submitted by Adauto da Câmara: the first is a reedition of a lengthy poem written by Nísia Floresta and signed by Telesila entitled "A Lágrima de um Caeté"; the second — a short biographical sketch which includes several short segments of some of Floresta's early writings — is entitled "Bibliografia de Nísia Floresta." Two more recent biographical studies have appeared: Socorro Trindad, *Feminino, Feminino* (Natal: Editora Universitária, 1981) and Zélia Maria Bezerra Maria, *Nísia Floresta Brasileira Augusta* (Natal, Editora Universitária, 1982).

² For an interesting discussion of Rousseau's model of citizenship and the possibilities of a feminist reading of his model, see Margaret Canovan, "Rousseau's Two Concepts of Citizenship" in *Women in Western Political Philosophy*, ed. Ellen Keneddy and Susan Mendus (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 78-105.

³ Ursula Vogel, "Humboldt and the Romantics", in *Women in Western Political Philosophy*, 121.

⁴ Ivan Lins, "Nísia Floresta", *História do Positivismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1964), 20.

⁵ Raymond Aron, *Main Currents in Sociological Thought I*. (New York: Doubleday, 1968) 75-80.

⁶ Aron, 110.

⁷ *Main Currents*, 111.

⁸ Vogel, 122.

⁹ Lins, 21.

¹⁰ *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld Publishers, 1983), 33.

¹¹ Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1986) 3.

¹² *Women in Western Political Philosophy*, 10.

¹³ Jaggar, 28-29.

¹⁴ Jaggar, 30-32.

¹⁵ "Bibliografia de Nísia Floresta", 89-90.

¹⁶ Lins, 20.

¹⁷ *Opúsculo humanitário* (Rio de Janeiro Typographia de M.A. Silva Lima, 1853) 86. This edition is signed by B.A. All other citations are from this edition and page numbers are noted in the text.

¹⁸ Teresa de Lauretis. *Alice Doesn't* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 184.