

EDUCATION AND WORK; RACE AND CLASS IN THE THINKING OF A BLACK INTELLECTUAL: MANUEL QUERINO - BAHIA (1870-1920)

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EDUCACIÓN Y TRABAJO; RAZA Y CLASE EN EL PENSAMIENTO DE UN INTELLECTUAL NEGRO:
MANUEL QUERINO - BAHÍA (1870-1920)

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Abstract: From the perspective of the social history of education, taking the trajectories of black intellectuals and educators as a methodological path, I discuss the themes of education and work present in the work of the Afro-Bahian intellectual and educator Manuel Querino (1851-1923). His books *As artes na Bahia and artistas bahianos*, published in 1909, and other documentary collections are used as sources, from which I present and list, in a diachronic manner, his reflections on the detours to schooling adopted by public powers for the popular classes, in the contexts of the last two decades of the slave monarchy and post-abolition, which resulted in the exclusion of Black and mixed-race talents from productive and school environments, with repercussions reaching the present day

Keywords: intellectual trajectory; professional education; republic and post-abolition; popular classes.

Resumo: Na perspectiva da história social da educação, tomando as trajetórias de intelectuais e educadores negros como percurso metodológico, discuto os temas da educação e do trabalho presentes na obra do intelectual e educador afro-baiano Manuel Querino (1851-1923). Os seus livros *As artes na Bahia e artistas bahianos*, publicados em 1909, e outros acervos documentais são utilizados como fontes deste estudo, a partir dos quais apresento e relaciono, de forma diacrônica, as suas reflexões sobre os des-caminhos de escolarização adotados pelos poderes públicos para as classes populares, nos contextos das duas últimas décadas da monarquia escravista e do pós-abolição, que resultaram na exclusão de talentos negros e mestiços dos meios escolares e produtivos, cujos reflexos alcançam o tempo presente.

Palavras-chave: trajetória intelectual; educação profissional; república e pós-abolição; classes populares.

Resumen: Desde la perspectiva de la historia social de la educación, tomando las trayectorias de los intelectuales y educadores negros como un camino metodológico, discuto los temas de la educación y el trabajo presentes en el trabajo del intelectual y educador afro bahiano Manuel Querino (1851-1923). Sus libros *As artes na Bahia e artistas bahianos*, publicados en 1909, y otras colecciones documentales se utilizan como fuentes de este estudio, del cual presento y enumero, de manera diacrónica, sus reflexiones sobre los caminos escolares adoptados por poderes públicos para las clases populares, en el contexto de las últimas dos décadas de la esclavitud y la monarquía y posterior abolición, lo que resultó en la exclusión de los talentos negros y mestizos de la escuela y los medios productivos, cuyos reflejos alcanzan el tiempo presente.

Palabras clave: trayectoria intelectual; educación profesional; república y post-abolición; clases populares.

INTRODUCTION

From the perspective of the social history of education, based on the trajectories of Black intellectuals and educators, I discuss the themes of education and work present in the work of the Black intellectual and educator Manuel Querino (1851-1923)¹, presenting what he thought, criticized and suggested regarding the educational and social destinies of Blacks and mixed-race people in the contexts of the last two decades of the monarchy (1870-1880) and of post-abolition, during the first three decades of the Republic in Brazil and Bahia (1890-1920). His books *Arts in Bahia* and *Bahian artists*, published in 1909, and other documentary collections are used as sources for this study², from which I list, in a diachronic way, his reflections on the defense of popular education, as a political-social strategy of emancipation for the working population, in the context of the time in which he lived. Thus, the criticisms that he elaborated about the detours to schooling of the popular classes adopted by public authorities are highlighted, which resulted in the exclusion of Black and mixed-race talents from school and productive environments, with the consequent expansion of poverty, with repercussions reaching the present moment.

Trajectories of intellectuals and social thought are fields of study that are linked to the areas of history and the history of education and have, in recent years, become a line of consolidated investigation, with significant research that reveals strong dynamics and changing perspectives. They are the results of methodological and theoretical incursions of the last 30 years, in which new problems, new sources, methodologies and narratives have stimulated the expansion of historiographic experimentation and reflection on the territories and displacements of the New Social and Cultural History, under the influence of theses of authors such as Hobsbawm (1987, 1998, 2000), E. Thompson (1981, 1987), Le Goff (1986), C. Ginzburg (1989a, 1987), F. Dosse (1994), C. Geertz (1978) and P. Burke (1992). From the perspective of the so-called 'history seen from below' and in the manner of Italian micro-history, new approaches and themes favor the trajectories of 'ordinary people' in their experiences, through the dialogue between conceptualization and empirical confrontation (Thompson, 1981). For Thompson, rescuing the barefoot poor, the weaver from the 'obsolete' hand loom, the 'utopian' craftsman

¹ Manuel Raymundo Querino, Afro-Bahian, born in Santo Amaro da Purificação on July 28, 1851, manual worker, artist, draftsman, civil servant, teacher, researcher and writer, was an outstanding leader of workers in the Monarchy, when he fought for labor, creating the Bahian Workers' League, and, in the Republic, founding the Workers' Party, which led him to the Municipal Council, where he assumed the position of Counselor for two legislatures (1891-1892 and 1897-1899). He cut himself off from party politics and initiated more activism by dedicating himself to teaching and producing historiographical, ethnographic, anthropological, and political work. For his intellectual work, Querino consolidated himself in Bahian society, guaranteeing prestige in the intellectual and working environment. He died in Salvador on February 14, 1923. On the biography of Manuel Querino (Leal, 2009).

² For the use of sources in historical research, see Pinsky (2005); Pinsky and Luca (2009).

(Thompson, 1987), means removing the mass of the population from the ghetto and including it in the national memory, considering the experiences of people who lived their situations and productive relationships determined by needs, interests and antagonisms, and treated this experience in consciousness and culture in a complex and more or less autonomous fashion.

On the other hand, using the method of microhistory, whose lenses of observation focus on vertical analysis, by reducing the scale to the level of the details about a discrete and information-rich unit, previously invisible in macroanalysis (Ginzburg, 1989b, 2006), the trajectories of individuals, from the perspective of the biographical method, are paths that produce significant results for the revision of parameters relating to intellectuals in history. Especially when it comes to historical studies of Black intellectuals as thinkers and producers of knowledge coming from their class and race origins, this lacuna is still present in the studies of the history and history of education of Black populations in Brazil and Bahia³.

The Black intellectual and educator, an analytical category adopted to understand Manuel Querino in the field of the trajectory of intellectuals and of social and educational thinking, is characterized in an analytical key that considers, based on his Black experience, his political engagement and performance in different sociability networks. As a researcher attentive to the transformations he experienced during the debates and struggles for the end of slavery and monarchy, he developed knowledge and mediated debates on topics he chose to discuss and disseminate knowledge in the fields of African ethnography, anthropology, politics, society, culture, history, art, cuisine, religion and education, through critical thinking about the society of his time in Bahia⁴.

Also, considering the historical impact of Manuel Querino, his importance as an educator constitutes one of the facets to be known, raising questions about citizen inclusion and social emancipation of Black populations through schooling in the context of post-abolition, present in his work. This, in its turn, is used here as a source for the studies of the history of education, for example, because it is considered the elaboration of a critical thought that deserves to be seen, given that he is an intellectual still unknown in the historiography of education⁵.

With the purpose of discussing the topic of education, the questions he raised about public debates related to popular education are presented, wherein Querino

³ Regarding intellectual history and Black intellectuals in Brazil and Bahia, among other references, see: Foucault (1979); Carvalho (2006); Silva (2010); Rocha and Flores (2015); Santos (2011).

⁴ Recent studies, products of research, dissertations and theses, that discuss Manuel Querino's intellectual perspective, are available at: Guimarães (2004); Leal (2009); Freire (2010); Schueler (2013); Gledhill (2014); Pereira (2016).

⁵ Some reflections were presented by Schuler (2013).

associates the situation of hardship suffered by artists and workers with the institutional contempt for investment in local Black and mixed-race talent. He strongly criticized the policies related to the educational formation of Black and poor populations, which made up the great part of the working and popular classes, due to the lack of means of access to public education. After all, the discussions about public education and popular education have been present since the implantation of independence in Brazil and extended to republican speeches, without practical solutions. For Querino, the school should be the main instrument for the emancipation and qualification for workers. Yet the State's lack of interest in guaranteeing school for all was found to be the main factor leading to the difficulty of these populations entering the job market, resulting in the growing process of impoverishment, as well as the lack of recognition of their talents and intelligence. That is, these factors impeded the populations who had experienced the contexts of slavery and the republican promise from effectively entering the 'kingdom of freedom', in the world of 'civilization' and 'progress'.

As an artist and Black intellectual, he was committed to the cultural and political values of the artistic and working classes, defined as those composed of Black and poor manual workers. This category included both artists who worked in the fine arts, and those linked to the production of arts of labor that required greater physical effort. Thus they were called craftsmen, artisans or laborers, characterized as working people and classified among the 'less favored classes of fortune', or popular classes⁶.

Therefore, Querino's concern for artists and workers of his generation is linked to the skilled worker from the time of slavery, who combined perfection, creation and skill in the craft he performed. Thus, post-abolition in Bahia, located in the newly implanted Republic, presented, for the author, a threat to local talents, especially due to the lack of educational opportunities that would enhance the merits of so many workers who contributed to the construction of the nation.

The Bahian Manuel Querino reveals this experience of Blacks of working-class origin and of those who managed to attain the role of intellectual, through perfecting their talents and cultivating their arts. He connected with the universes of popular culture, in the daily struggles established in the streets, in the spaces of *candomblé*, in the artistic and worker associations, in taverns, and of erudite culture, in the spaces of political institutions – parties and the Municipal Council – and in the literate circles – academies, the Geographic and Historical Institute of

⁶ According to the researched documentation related to Salvador in the 19th century, the denominations of artist and worker were used and were confused in a single concept: manual workers and manual laborers working in manual crafts related to carpentry, civil construction, shipbuilding, etc. See Leal (1996); Silva (1998). According to some lexicographers, the craftsman is a worker or officer who exercises some manual craft or mechanical art. *Grande enciclopedia portuguesa e brasileira* (n.d.); Corona and Lemos (1972).

Bahia, and colleges. He graduated as a draftsman at the then Academy of Fine Arts and worked in two related areas: in teaching, as a drawing teacher for the popular classes, and in civil service, in the former Public Works Department. In addition to his profession as an artist, he developed intellectual activities at the Geographical and Historical Institute of Bahia, from which he disseminated his work on cultural traditions of colonial, imperial and republican Bahia, and Africans and descendants as protagonists in the formation of Brazilian identity.

In the field of arts, Querino, in addition to carrying out decorative painting works and, probably, easel painting, prepared the study 'Models of school houses adapted to the climate of Brazil' for the Pedagogical Congress of Rio de Janeiro in 1883 and produced two didactic studies for teaching drawing. They were the first intellectual elaborations that he dedicated to art in Bahia⁷. Others followed him in the historical perspective, guaranteeing his place as a pioneer in the historiography of art. As an art historian (Nunes, 2007), he recorded his testimony in articles, later collected in two books, *Arts in Bahia* and *Bahian artists*⁸. Based on memory, studies and empirical research, in addition to using orality, Querino bequeathed a work that is still an important source of information for scholars and people interested in art.

Committed to the destinies of Black populations, he dedicated his work to the defense of art and of artists and workers buried in the republican memory. In the Prologue of *Artistas bahianos*, Torquato Bahia⁹ wrote about the persistence and "[...] independence of the spirit of the author [...]", validating the work produced by those who did not conform to the lamentable state of the arts in Bahia, since the book was a "[...] repository of truthful information [...]", which expressed his struggle for an ideal (Querino, 1909a, p. I / IV).

His experience as a worker, an artist and an educator guaranteed Manuel Querino indisputable qualifications to deal, in his writing, with the situation of the arts, of education and of the artists and workers in the new regime that sought civilization and progress. On the other hand, the professional practice of a teacher

⁷ The first, *Desenho linear das classes elementares* (1903), and the second, *Elementos de desenho geométrico – compreendendo noções de perspectiva linear, teoria da sombra e da luz, projeções e arquitetura* (1911/1912). About the two didactic works he produced for his students, Athayde Pereira informed that they were "[...] approved by the Municipal Education Council and taken to the National Exhibition in Rio in 1908, obtaining merit rewards for all of them". See Pereira (1932, p. 5).

⁸ *As artes na Bahia (escorço de uma contribuição histórica)* had its first edition in 1909 and the second in 1913. The first collected articles published in the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* between 1908 and 1909 under the title *Contribuição para a História das Artes na Bahia*. Its second edition was expanded and published in 1913 by *Officinas do Diário da Bahia*, in which the same articles as the previous one were added together with others published in the *Jornal de Notícias* during the years 1908-1909. *Artistas bahianos: indicações biográficas*, also had its first edition in 1909, published by the *Imprensa Nacional*, and the second in 1911 by the *Officina da Empresa 'A Bahia'*.

⁹ He was a Portuguese teacher, president of the Congregation, president of the Assembly and a well-deserved partner at the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts of Bahia.

from the popular classes contributed to his reflections on education in imperial and republican Bahia. He taught industrial design at the São Joaquim Orphans College, founded in 1799, and at the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts of Bahia (1872)¹⁰, the main centers for the dissemination of artistic and professional knowledge for the poor, which produced didactic works on linear and geometric drawing (*Desenho linear das classes elementares: manual didático* - 1903 and *Elementos de desenho geométrico* - 1911). These works can be considered precursors of what we currently know as *design*.

POPULAR EDUCATION: A HORIZON OF WAITING FOR 'CIVILIZATION' AND 'PROGRESS'

Due to the crisis that took place between 1870 and 1880 regarding imperial policy, slave labor, the sugar economy and its political and social consequences, especially among the working classes, there was a motivation to adopt liberal measures based on new conceptions, about which progress, technique and capital permeated the idea of national salvation.

Liberal and scientific ideas, defended by the literate elite, with a progressive vision, influenced, in some way, the search for alternatives that included Bahia in the modernization project already started in southeastern Brazil. In that environment, the poor, Black and vulnerable strata of society, integrated into the world of urban work, dedicated specifically to manual professions and the provision of separate services, experienced moments of expectation around the possibility of reversing the situation of oppression, submission and exclusion, insofar as the State opened space for popular participation in institutions previously intended exclusively for white elites, such as school¹¹.

In the wake of abolitionism and republicanism, the idea of a 'popular education' permeated public and political discourses. For Kulesza (2000, p. 1), "[...] the widespread use of the term popular education as education of the people

¹⁰ On the history of Casa Pia see Matta (1999). In an article on the São Joaquim College, Querino describes his role not only to serve underprivileged children, but to serve external students through a modest contribution, as candidates for higher education courses until the foundation of the old Provincial High School in 1832. Many who they passed through Colégio São Joaquim and went to study in Portugal or France with degrees in medicine, letters, legal sciences and started to exercise high social functions such as the barons of Pirajá, Alagoinhas and Santiago, among others (Querino, 1946). On the history of the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts of Bahia, see Leal (1996).

¹¹ In chapter 23 of the first Brazilian Constitution granted in 1824 by Dom Pedro I, the increase of free primary education for all citizens was planned, a project which foresaw the creation of schools of first letters in the cities of the country. Excluding slaves, free Blacks could attend school. However, throughout the monarchical period, the access and permanence of Black people in school became impediments due to the situation of poverty in which they lived, with access to letters remaining a distinguishing factor in relation to whites. See Nunes (1999) and Barros (2005).

marched *pari passu* with the consolidation of the republic in Brazil, already from 1870 [...] and marked the ideology of Brazilian education at least until the 1940s of our century”. Barros (2005), when studying the presence of the Black population in schools in São Paulo between the 19th and 20th centuries, finds that, although some of the Blacks accessed schooling, difficulties in entering and staying were part of the daily life of this group, given the increasing demands imposed by school institutions such as “[...] having to prove that they were free, during the term of slavery [...], lack of 'appropriate clothing', absence of a responsible adult to perform the enrollment, difficulties to acquire school supplies and lunches” (Barros, 2005, p. 85). Such obstacles remained in force in the 20th century, while the importance of expanding popular education was discussed, with an emphasis on training citizens for discipline, order and progress.

It was up to the elites, through public education, to train the citizens of the new republic recruited from the mass of free men for productive work. With the small technical change in the sphere of production, at least until the end of the First Republic, which continued to be strongly concentrated in the agricultural sector, rather than training rural workers, it was a question of training voters among the urban population (Kulesza, 2000, p. 3).

According to Menezes (2002, p. 1), the vast literature on “[...] access to education as a marker of racial inequality in Brazil [...]” allows us to understand what Querino saw in his time. In his article, Menezes analyzes, based on the Demographic Censuses of 1872, 1940 and 1950, the “[...] dimension of the exclusion and of the slowness of the process of inclusion of Blacks to Brazilian citizenship” (Menezes, 2002, p. 1) in the post-abolition period, by demonstrating “[...] how in Brazil and Bahia, the various population groups were incorporated into schooling and, even more so, citizenship - in view of the choice of literacy as a criterion for voter qualification from 1881 to 1986” (Menezes, 2002, p. 1).

Throughout the second half of the 19th century in Brazil, the discussion on extending schooling to the artistic and working classes became widespread. It was treated as a necessity by the civilizational politics that aimed at modernization and progress. In Bahia, this debate was included in the agenda of the concerns of the then Public Instruction, as demonstrated by this correspondence of the inspector general of the Classes, in which he considered the creation of night schools for adults to be the greatest commitment of the time in the area of instruction.

The country first of all needs a public spirit, what is called opinion, and for this we need to have citizens. The aspiration of the century is the social leveling, the equality of all, making each people a family; and ignorance must always be inferior to knowing in the same way that night is in relation to day.

[...] We will gradually see our fellow citizens become aware of their rights and duties; automatons will disappear, without their own will, unaware of their sovereignty, and alien to the march of public affairs; we will no longer have the village bosses, the feudal lords, who still exercise the most tyrannical arrogance out there today; we will finally be able to achieve men who, if not learned, at least are capable of thinking for themselves, impartially, with discernment, since society cannot expect anything from the illiterate. Hence the appearance of the public spirit, of opinion, from which even today the creatures without imputability are rightly excluded, as the ignorant is equal to the boy unaware of danger as of easy evil and susceptible to being the instrument of the wicked, incapable at last of knowing and cultivating the great qualities of the heart and spirit (Public Archive of the State of Bahia [APEB], 1872).

In order to accompany the ‘march of progress’, the Brazilian Empire developed a policy of creating High Schools of Arts and Crafts in the main capitals, in order to apply industrial education to the artistic and working classes¹². The objective was to instruct workers in the useful arts, in an environment of urbanization linked to the progressive liberation of the slave labor force. Therefore, according to the liberal ideology, it was intended to bring together two important aspects for the social, political and economic order announced by the end of captivity: to compel the free and Black population to work, as a way of repressing idleness, correcting offenders and preventing class struggles, as well as educating them to learn to live in freedom.

[...] man's greatest opponent is ignorance, from which derives bad intentions, crimes, the mistake on the way that must follow in all businesses, whether civil or political, in his country, from the knowledge of his duties as citizen and from all these evils, a great social danger arises (First report by Lyceum of Arts and Crafts of Bahia, 1873, p. 1).

The redemption of work, as a discourse, composed part of the repertoire of political and intellectual elites in order to be accepted and assimilated as a moral quality and prestige for workers, as a disciplinary ideology that would guarantee social order. After all, the free urban labor force became the majority and the question of the fate of productive labor present in the constitution of a society free from the chains of slavery was an issue to be resolved.

Brazil's difficulty in reaching the world of ‘civilization’ and ‘progress’ was justified by the precariousness of the educational system. Through an analogical

¹² In Rio de Janeiro, the first Lyceum of Arts and Crafts was created (1858). This Lyceum was followed, in the 1870s, by those in Salvador, Bahia (1872), and São Paulo (1873). In the 1880s, they were created in Recife (1880), Maceió (1884) and Ouro Preto (1886).

reasoning, the intellectuals believed that Brazilian society would reach the level of urban-industrial nations by adopting quantitative and qualitative changes in the educational system. Rui Barbosa (1882) said that the lack of professional education was the cause of the country's non-industrialization, responsible, in turn, for cultural poverty. Educational recipes for progress developed at a fast pace (Cunha, 2000).

There are countless manifestations about the need to cultivate the artist and his art for work. In Bahia, the *Diário de Notícias* (1875) published a series of articles dedicated to the working classes, in which art was extolled as 'holy and noble', because, through the 'holy hands of the artist', the press and the telegraph had been created¹⁵. After referring to Germany, where education of the working classes was considered a priority of the State, it was stated: "There is a great need for a radical reform in the artistic classes, since the indolence and ineptitude of many workers come from the lack of realization of an idea - the teaching of science" (*Diário de Notícias*, 1875a). Other significant passages express the concern of the elites in 'defending' popular education, as they understand that "[...] the people do what they want, even when they want to do nothing. That is the reason why a nation's delay or advance depends on its moral culture. Thus, we conclude that our public ills were born from our lack of popular education" (*Diário de Notícias*, 1875b).

The emergence of the social question posed with the end of slavery and the mobilization of workers became a public interest debate. Despite not having working experience similar to that of industrialized countries, the Brazilian reality pointed towards the disorganization of a centuries-old system, accommodated in slave relations of production, and the organization of another, in which the working masses exploded in freedom. This transition was feared by the elites, due to the existing lack of control and disorientation. Referring to the United States, the respective article reproduced American thinking about education: "Education, that is, the lights and virtues that it spreads among all members of society, is the essential condition for preserving the freedom of the people" (*Diário da Bahia*, 1881).

And it observed:

Furthermore, in the United States, multiplying schools is both a political and a social principle. And in almost all the states of the great republic, education of children has been mandatory for many years, which is of great benefit to public morality and the country's wealth (*Diário da Bahia*, 1881).

¹⁵ Note the two related denominations - artists and workers. These are concepts that are formulated in the context of paradigm shifts related to manual arts or manual crafts.

Manuel Querino also commented on the advantages of the United States, especially those that benefited Blacks out of slavery, through the dissemination of education. Ironically, he addressed “[...] the worshipers of the progress of the United States of North America [...]” accusing them of not knowing “[...] to imitate the useful lessons of the aggrandizement of that country” (Querino, 1909b, p. 50). He also emphasized the positive aspect related to the support of the public authorities in the defense of popular education.

There, the public authorities disseminated the instruction so that the enslaved entered the sharing advantageously, as they took advantage not only of the professional skills of the refugees, but also, and at the same time, they brought from Europe artists of merit to form educational centers, the result of which is what we know of the wonderful artistic and industrial prosperity, under conditions of competence with the nations of the old world (Querino, 1909b, p. 50).

Without taking into account the violent social and political paths adopted by the United States towards the Black population, Querino appropriated this information and used it in his speech to argue about the historical importance of workers for the formation of the Brazilian State, which meant investment in public and popular education is essential to guarantee material and intellectual advances for Brazil and the working population, respectively. In this way, he articulated the importance that should be given to the local worker, especially those out of slavery and others in need of education, to invest in their educational improvement. For the intellectual, Brazil could also, in this sense, imitate the United States and become a powerful nation capable of guaranteeing the glories of progress and civilization. Therefore, the inclusion of workers in this ‘sharing’ would be the result of the talent and commitment to produce the wealth necessary for the country and guarantee its access to the ‘banquet of civilization’, in other words, to social sharing and emancipation, making work the real center of civilization and progress.

The old aversion to all kinds of practical (professional) teaching was transformed into enthusiasm present in the discourse of the elites and appropriated by the popular classes as an opportunity for real social and political emancipation. For workers, who since the end of the 19th century resented their lack of schooling, it was an advance of their aspirations. This would be one of the mechanisms that would enable them to ensure the rights of citizens, such as, for example, participating in politics, with the right to vote and to comprise the staff of parliamentarians, whose possibilities were outlined with the establishment of the Republic¹⁴.

¹⁴ In the First Republic (1889-1930), electoral elections became the center of political life. Decree No. 6, of November 19, 1889, inaugurated the electoral reforms with the elimination of the census vote,

Despite the residual experiences of schooling of the working classes and the presence of speeches in favor of popular education, hopes were transformed into disappointment and bitterness in the new regime, according to Querino's perception:

In the time of the empire, centralization and personal power brought responsibility for the country's backwardness, although there are very marked signs of relative progress, in all branches of knowledge. Well then: the republic came and unfurled the federation flag. The old provinces became autonomous states with their own lives.

And what has been done? The semi-arid regions barbarized by the lack of mutual respect, the laws without value, except in the case of revenge; politics does not instruct, does not guide, and has completely lost its objective end.

And the people, like Laocoön of the fable, concentrate their forces to get rid of the vigorous rings of the serpent that ensnares them. With primary education, some money is spent, but the result is almost negative; secondary education is happening as time allows; superior, arrogant, is devoid of correct guidance; technical, however, tends to disappear (Querino, 1913, p. 47-48).

It was necessary to transform the culture of work, which was still rooted in principles of slavery. The workers, Black and mixed-race, of African and slave origin, composing the profile of the socially excluded, remained without access to education and to political decision-making spaces and suffered all sorts of discrimination due to their color and class.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the social division of labor became more pronounced and teaching was established as a hierarchical distribution channel. The aristocracy, entering humanistic, propaedeutic secondary education, preparatory to higher education courses that trained liberal professionals (lawyers, doctors and engineers), continued to control the direction of society, ensuring it literate and intellectual *status*. The popular classes, in turn, far from educational institutions, continued to feed the school access project.

Regarding teaching in Bahia, in the early years of the Republic, the crisis deepened. Discouragement and lack of support for instruction became more acute. Illiteracy was a growing trend. According to the analysis of illiteracy in Brazil, from the Census of 1872 and 1890, Ferraro and Kreidlow (2004, p. 182) conclude that:

considering “[...] voters for the general, provincial and municipal chambers all Brazilian citizens in the enjoyment of their rights civil and political”. However, it maintained the so-called ‘literary census’, which excluded the illiterate from the right to vote, which was maintained in the Constitution of the Republic, on February 24, 1891.

In that year (1872), the illiteracy rate for the country as a whole is 82.3% for people aged 5 and over [...], a situation that remains unchanged at least until the second Census, carried out in 1890 (82.6%), already in the beginning of the Republic. Such rates earned Brazil, at the time, the title of world champion of illiteracy.

The working classes trusted the new regime, believing that it would be able to remove 'the legion of workers' from its usual ostracism, offering it nobility, glory and immortality (First report of the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts of Bahia, 1873). However, the contradictions created by the new regime deepened and workers continued to demand work, guarantees, dignity, and citizenship.

SCHOOL: A BANQUET FOR FEW

In the context of the socio-political debates concerning the working classes, Manuel Querino produced his work between the years from 1908 and 1922, developing a vast analysis of the situation in which new social forces were being organized around the republican regime that was being inaugurated. Spectator and participant of the political, social and cultural changes observed in the period, he interpreted the paths and detours experienced by the working population.

Querino recorded his dissatisfaction with the directions taken by the Republic of 'civilization', 'order' and 'progress' in what was of interest to the productive and school development of the artistic and working classes. He criticized the lack of investment in the arts by the public authorities, which he considered 'lack of patriotism'. His preoccupation with democratizing access to education would have been one of the factors that motivated him to believe in the new regime, since education represented the main way for the country to enter the world of civilization and progress and, therefore, to include the working population in the 'banquet of civilization'.

The framework that was designed did not meet his expectations and, therefore, he began to develop criticism of the new regime. One of these criticisms, insistently repeated, was about stimulating imported products to the detriment of national production and local workers. Aiming to argue in favor of local workers, he recorded in his work the productive trajectory of several artists and workers who contributed to the growth of arts and crafts in Bahia. His intention was to value local production and demonstrate the capacity and quality of many workers whose work was at least as good as any foreign production.

In this manner, the need to offer educational opportunities to the national worker was discussed. Thus, financial support was demanded for schools dedicated to teaching the arts and crafts to the popular classes, such as the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts and the School of Fine Arts, as well as encouraging access to school for poor

children¹⁵. The government should be responsible for its dissemination, especially to the popular classes, since it could provide social, intellectual and professional advancement, understood to be a right of all people.

However, this was when illiteracy and the restriction the popular classes' access to schools proliferated, as they could not pay tuition fees of 30\$000 (thirty thousand réis) or 240\$000 (two hundred and forty thousand réis) per year, in private classes. Admission was open to anyone, as long as he could pay¹⁶. Thus the teaching monopoly was proven and Querino questioned: "Now, the poor class, being unable to spend this amount, is unable to receive the bread of the spirit, from which one concludes that the public power, favoring the monopoly, is evidently contrary to the development of instruction" (Querino, 1913, p. 35). Since this was a bad sign for the popular classes, he once again denounced the Republic.

It is the asphyxiation of the less favored classes of fortune, due to prejudice in antagonism with the republican regime. Under any pretext a public school is closed. The lack of attendance may be due to the poor placement of the school, outside the most populous center or due to the teacher's disdain. Well, there is no attempt to remove the difficulty; the school is closed, the master is available, earning not to work.

Children, however, lose because they are abandoned to the practice of addiction or to the work of street vendors selling sweets and lottery tickets (Querino, 1913, p. 35)¹⁷.

The republican State did not include in its budget any subsidies to arts institutes, lyrical or dramatic companies. Teachers withdrew from the state and even from the country, abandoning teaching. The military factors had been closed and, therefore, smaller apprentices, the future workers, were abandoned 'to the practice of addiction', according to Querino. Faced with such a situation, it was considered a 'sordid speculating convenience', which resulted in the transfer of the

¹⁵ All of Manuel Querino's writings discuss directly or indirectly the development and importance of arts, liberal and manual, for the country's progress, according to the principle of nationalization of production and defense of the national worker. In the period, there was a movement against Chinese immigration, which meant the defense by the national worker, when the Bahian Society against Chinese Immigration was founded by the former abolitionist and republican Eduardo Carigé, with the support of several citizens of all classes and people linked to former imperial organizations such as the Abolitionist Clubs Luiz Gama and Carigé de Cachoeira, of the Bahian Liberating Society, whose objective was to "[...] fight, by all means, the introduction of Chinese in this State, a proposal that was approved" (O Pequeno Jornal, 1891).

¹⁶ For Azevedo (1963, p. 349), "The Empire was the time of the splendor of private schools in Brazil". On the history of education in Bahia, see the works of Dick (2001); Nunes (2003); Conceição (2007); Salvador (2017).

¹⁷ For popular schools in Bahia, see Paciência (2019).

work for the army and the navy to a Rio de Janeiro firm ‘Lage & Companhia’, to exploit them, according to ‘the greed of the time’. For Querino, these works should have been distributed among the many existing workers in Bahia who completed them at reasonable prices. And so he concluded:

It is through this process that perversity flaunts and scoffs at the unfortunate heroes of work, abandoning true artistic vocations. Without official favor or the powerful aid of private munificence, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the obscure artist to honor his country. The genius Carlos Gomes would not go beyond a skilled composer and applauded instrumentalist, without the protection that Mr. Pedro II had given him (Querino, 1913, p. 29).

Referring to the great effort spent by Africans in the process of building Brazilian nationality, especially that referring to work under the yoke of slavery, Querino stressed that it was that circumstance that prevented the revelation of talents in the most diverse professions. Outraged at the ‘contemptuous and unfair way’ Africans were treated, seeking to ‘depress the African, constantly accusing him of being silly and rude’, he justified this situation by the tyranny in which they were treated without any retribution. Faced with all the struggle of the African for the conquest of freedom and everything he had done for the benefit of the country, he concluded in another book *A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia*:

[...] only the lack of education destroyed the value of the African. In spite of this, observation has shown that ‘among us’, the descendants of the Black race have held high-profile positions in all branches of human knowledge, reaffirming their individual honorability in observing the most staunch virtues (Querino, 1988a, p 23, emphasis added)¹⁸.

From the comparative analysis, Querino revealed that only the ‘lack of education’ made it impossible to fully prove the value of the African, as occurred with the natives of the island of Cape Verde, explained by Father Vieira: “There are clergy and canons so black here like jet, but so composed, so authorized, so learned,

¹⁸ In 1916, Querino published *A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia*, where he highlighted, from the slave’s trajectory in Brazil, the value of the African in the formation of Brazilian society through his work and the customs brought from Africa. *Raça africana* had its 2nd edition published in 1917 and in 1938 it was included in the collection *Costumes africanos no Brasil*, organized and prefaced by Artur Ramos. It was published again in a 3rd edition in 1955 and finally, in the 2nd edition of *Costumes africanos* in 1988, organized, prefaced and with notes by Raul Lody and presentation by Thales de Azevedo, on the occasion of the celebrations of 100 years of abolition. I am using the reference published in 1988.

so great musicians, so discreet and well-tempered that they are the envy of those we see there in our cathedrals” (Querino, 1988, p. 23)¹⁹.

Brazil had been formed by the ‘coexistence and collaboration of the races’, which, for Querino, had resulted in the composition of a mixed-race population, of all shades. In this way, he exalted the role of mixed-race people, descendants of the cross between European and African, which had resulted in “[...] illustrious plethora of men of talent who, in general, represented the most select in the affirmations of knowledge, true glories of the nation [...]”, as he explained in his 1918 publication, *O colono preto como fator de civilização brasileira* (Querino, 1988b, p. 123)²⁰.

He concluded his reflection by highlighting the two main greatnesses of Brazil – “[...] the fertility of the soil and the talent of mixed-race people”. He began to mention several personalities who stood out in the Brazilian intellectual, political and artistic scene, such as the viscount of Jequitinhonha, Caetano Lopes de Moura, the Rebouças family, Gonçalves Dias, Machado de Assis, Cruz e Souza and José do Patrocínio, among others (Querino, 1988b, p. 123). In order to record the importance of so many Black and mixed-race people who contributed to the enrichment of Brazilian culture, Manuel Querino dedicated biographical entries to some of them in the book *Artistas bahianos: indicações biográficas* by gathering 216 records of sculptors, painters, musicians, carvers, marble workers, surveyors and architects²¹.

Referring to the decay of the arts and the agonizing situation of the artistic and working classes, Querino expressed his concern:

We are not lacking in talent and application, however, we are left with calculated indifferentism, coupled with the contempt of public authorities for the most beautiful manifestation of the human spirit. However, since all is not completely lost, it is quite possible that a man will appear to whom he is reserved, in the future, to cover himself with the laurels of benevolence, reviving the lost glories in Bahia (Querino, 1909b, p. 49).

¹⁹ Here, Querino claims the legitimate compensation that the public authorities owed to the Afro-Brazilian population, whose public policies of social, political, and school inclusion took place over 130 years after the abolition of slavery in Brazil. Considered a pioneer in Brazil and implanted by the first Black dean, Ivete Sacramento, to lead a university in the country, since 2002 the State University of Bahia implemented the policy of inclusion in university education through the quota system reserved for Blacks, in undergraduate and graduate courses.

²⁰ In 1918 Querino published *O colono preto como fator de civilização brasileira*, wherein he discussed the importance of Black Africans for Brazilian civilization, referring to the practice of Portuguese colonization by the white settler and by indigenous and African slavery. In its 2nd edition it took the title of *O africano como colonizador* (1954). In 1938 and 1988, it was incorporated into the collection *Costumes africanos no Brasil*.

²¹ The book *Artistas bahianos* was published in 1909 and the second edition was expanded in 1911.

Comparing Bahia, the ‘former Brazilian Athens’, to other countries, and even to the English possessions of Africa, such as Lagos and Sierra Leone, he pointed out that it was of interest to the governors of those places to create educational institutes where the ‘son of the people’ was prepared “[...] for any liberal, mechanical, industrial or public office” (Querino, 1909b, p. 49). In Bahia, the opposite was observed: “There is a great number of children, of both sexes, who roam the streets, condemned, in the near or remote future, to the degeneration of character and to debauchery” (Querino, 1909b, p. 49).

But the public authorities were averse to valuing the people, workers, artists and workers ‘disinherited’ by their own country and their opinions and concerns remained met with contempt, which fueled his indignation:

The School of Fine Arts, which has already counted its days of splendor, with beautiful exhibitions, and which still has the glory of having given the small number of liberal artists who do the honors of today, with no income other than the grant, this withdrawn, will disappear fatally. The Lyceum of Arts and Crafts, capriciously, still shows signs of life, maintaining its classes with the known deficiency of means. To the military factories of the navy and of war, whose glorious traditions are not challenged, notably during the Paraguayan war, our ‘paternal’ federal government was pleased to bring its ‘patriotism’ to the point of closing them, leaving hundreds of families helpless, in misery, throwing into the streets the disinherited children of the people, who saw in those learning centers their future guaranteed by the application to the mechanical arts, - a strong element of the great nations (Querino, 1913, p. 48).

Towards of the injustices he saw with the measures of Affonso Penna's government, referring to the regulation of the law on settlement in immigration centers, which favored foreigners over nationals, Querino once again attacked the Republic, in the figure of the then president, and positioned himself:

While the temple of instruction to the natives of the country is closed, the public fortune is wasted with immigration, without result. Rightly I was attending the Baron of Cotegipe, when in discussion in parliament I said to Mr. Taunay: ‘Mr. Senator, this kind of foreignness is ridiculous; I want Brazil for Brazilians’.

After that, in a real period of madness, ‘I am’ led to admit that it is more honorable to be a subject of S. M. Eduardo VII, in Lagos or Sierra Leone, than just a fellow citizen of the councilor Affonso Penna, in Brazil.

It is ‘my’ personal feeling and this ‘I write’ (Querino, 1913, p. 38, emphasis added).

In one of the sessions of the 4th Brazilian Workers' Congress, held in Rio de Janeiro, in November 1912, Ismael Ribeiro, representative of the workers and the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts of Bahia, defended, among so many rights of the working class, limitation of working hours, fixing a minimum salary and greater support for popular schooling. By encouraging primary schools of letters, arts and crafts, technical and professional schools, it was possible to remove themselves from the 'hideous darkness of ignorance' and include the worker in the banquet of civilization (Ribeiro, 1930).

We need a school, because it is the driving force of progress, it is the basis for the regeneration of people; the book drives the aspirations that every man must have in order to be worthy of existence, considering also his mission, elevating his position to the most noble of all positions (Ribeiro, 1930, p. 200).

The hope for the true emancipation of the people and the lack of public commitment to the destiny of the working class pushed Querino to express indignation and belief in a democratic, egalitarian Brazil that respected all talents, regardless of the situation of class and race.

Excluded from social coexistence, it will remain so until the moment when the salutary benefits of careful instruction can, at once, completely crush the block of existing ignorance, placing each one, for their merit, in the place they are entitled, in the land of freedom, full of beauty and enlightened by a starry and magnificent sky (Querino, 1913, p. 51).

As a professor of industrial design, Querino not only commented on the decline of teaching and the losses for the people, but also dealt with the prejudice related to teachers. In the imperial past, according to the author, teachers who taught drawing, music and applied mechanics were classified in the same category as the others, receiving the same salaries, perks and obligations, participating in the congregation and deliberating on matters of teaching. In the Republic, things had changed for the worse.

With the new models, with today's improvised skills, whose merit is confined to selfishness and abominable subservience, they have fueled prejudice of class and races, from whence comes aristocratization of teaching by the division of professors and teachers, resulting in the inferior position in which those who teach drawing and music are placed.

They do not take part in the congregations, they earn half the salary of the others as if they were office porters. This misunderstood distinction between individuals who assume the same responsibilities, tends to destroy emulation, an indispensable object for public instruction (Querino, 1913, p. 39).

It was a complaint, as he himself was one of the victims. Querino felt humiliated and wronged, since prejudice was evident when associating the branch of education with social and racial origins. Using the language of the civil construction artist, he referred to the regulation of October 3, 1904²², resulting from the law on education reform, which would have given

[...] the last ‘coat’ on the subject, leaving more than twenty teachers available, winning salaries and obliged not to work, with prejudice to the learning of youth, counting among these true dedications to teaching (Querino, 1913, p. 40, emphasis added).

He criticized the lack of competence attributed to legislators who arbitrarily voted on issues related to education, showing total unpreparedness on the subject. Observing that “[...] twenty individuals prepared in drawing or music are more useful than two in Greek [...]”, Querino considered it more correct to invest in teaching the arts, considering it unfair that, in the same institution, one teacher would be “[...] deprived of his prerogative which arbitrarily [was] withdrawn, because the law distinguishes between the Latin professor and the music teacher”. Faced with such a mismatch, he demonstrated his indignation: “By proceeding in this way, our legislators show that they are unaware that, from the highest antiquity until today, in cultured countries, the importance and value of fine arts remain fundamental, constituting an integral part of education” (Querino, 1913, p. 40).

He dedicated himself to teaching industrial and geometric design and, therefore, was attentive to the course's destinations, considered in advanced countries as compulsory education. The teaching of geometric design was “[...] the main condition of all progress, in the different branches of the artistic industry, due to the advantages that result from the infinite and precious applications, in the development of the mechanical arts” (Querino, 1913, p. 51). Querino sought the origin of the recommendation for the study of drawing, finding it in Rousseau, as he would have been the one who first understood the teaching of drawing to be “[...] a means capable of producing skilled workers and artists of merit” (Querino, 1913, p. 52).

²² Bahia, Law No. 579, of October 3, 1904. Amends Law No. 117, of August 24, 1895, which organizes public education in the State. The highlight is the fact that the geometry content was removed from the official programs for the primary school. See: D’Esquivel, Sant’ana and Santana (2014).

About the teaching of drawing in Brazil and especially in Bahia, Querino said:

However, among us, where cheeks fill up and claim to be a civilized country, design has not yet achieved the honors of the place to which it has an undeniable right.

Of the primary school subjects, it is the most neglected; it entered the program and was written on paper. Its application is negative.

They have not yet realized that prevention against the study of geometry is due to unfamiliarity with drawing, whose pleasant exercises provide the means of easy understanding (Querino, 1913, p. 52).

The importance and ease of learning such a discipline were demonstrated by Querino, considering the usefulness of its application in the most varied professions:

Two disciplines, above all, no individual, no matter how modest his social position, can fail to know: arithmetic and geometric design.

Everything is fixed in the imagination by means of a calculation; everything follows the trace of a drawing.

In the education of women, drawing is applied in all works: cutting of dresses, embroidery of any kind, ornaments of all kinds, where the grid is an indispensable object (Querino, 1913, p. 52).

Querino agreed with Rui Barbosa's analysis of the role of drawing education in primary education, considering it a “discipline ‘inseparable from the popular school’” (Cunha, 2000, p. 171-172)²⁵, as it is beneficial for professional training, the development of industry and the qualification of the working class. As an art, it helped to “level the social classes [...]”, “[...] not depressing real superiorities, but destroying artificial inferiorities” (Cunha, 2000, p. 173). In this way, Querino understood that it was an indispensable need for everyone to express their feelings,

[...] through calculations, lines or representations, movements or actions, the sounds we articulate, the way we know how to give flexible materials, the ingenious and meaningful dispositions we use to distinguish constructions of all kinds, which require our uses and customs, and finally imagination and dexterity find the means to apply and fix colors on different flat surfaces, in order to imitate and express (Querino, 1913, p. 53-54).

²⁵ Cunha refers to Rui Barbosa's 1882 primary education project (1942-1946).

His dedication in favor of the arts and artistic and popular education, in defense of the democratization of education, went against the grain of events. The democratization of education was a utopia, as it found that children, youth and adults from the lower classes were increasingly distant from the school universe. In addition, Querino discussed the teachers' situation, considering that it was going from bad to worse. Poorly paid teachers, in arrears, without any public or private protection, were at the mercy of politicians who legislated or even arbitrated on issues they did not understand and were not committed to. It was a process that culminated, in the context of the First World War, in a strike by the municipal teachers.

During the First World War (1914-1918) and the post-war period, Bahia experienced economic difficulties, which were reflected in society as a whole and, specifically, in the lives of workers. Demonstrations against the famine, present since 1911, spread “[...] throughout the period, reaching the high point in 1917 with looting and depredation of commercial houses” (Fontes, 1982, p. 60). In that context, strike actions for wage increases and late payment of wages were the most common. In 1918, municipal teachers went on strike, demanding payment of two years of back wages (A Tarde, 1918).

Teacher Possidônio Dias Coelho, who presided over the presidency of the assembly that took place in the halls of the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts, explained the reasons why the teachers took the extreme attitude of paralyzing their activities and claiming ‘justice, equity and morality’. He said that his commitment to the present was a political attitude, for working for the education of all people “[...] to forearm the future, preparing true citizens who, in the fulfillment of any mission that may be imposed on them, understand his duties and do not expose himself to public execration due to the lack of indispensable qualities to exercise it” (A Tarde, 1918, p. 01).

At that time, the teachers understood that the Republic did not respect them. As a result of extreme poverty, instructors André Avelino and Leonídio Marques Monteiro had died of hunger, after being tortured by loan sharks. Thus, a revolt emerged with the teachers legally claiming their rights and the municipal power punishing them in response with the penalty of suspension by the quartermaster. Seeking to discredit the movement, the newspaper *A Noite*, from Rio de Janeiro, published the events in Bahia under the title ‘What a revolting mess in Bahia’.

Mess or not, the ‘noble cause’ of municipal teachers was widely supported, led by Possidônio Dias Coelho who, considered an ‘apostle of good’, fought for the conservation of their strength. Professor Vicente Café, calling on all ‘companions of misfortune’, considered the cause of the teachers to that of all of Bahia. Thus, he said that the ‘hegemony of the class’ was in the strength with which they hindered “[...] the ill will of the rulers, asphyxiating the people, their rights and freedoms, in

this Republic where the preponderance of the great over the small still predominates, without air, without light, without bread [...]” (A Tarde, 1918, p. 01).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Institutions of imperial origin became targets of criticism, dismantling and ruination, while republican ventures were launched as innovations or advances within the new political order. Among them was the ideal, which became a collective aspiration and constant concern of the State, to implement technical and professional education in order to break with the traditional teaching of crafts. In this way, the Republic, aspiring to renew, promoted changes in the educational plan, without, however, breaking with the structure of the social division of knowledge. Vocational school spaces were destined for the popular classes, to train artisanal and manual laborers to be kept in subaltern places.

At the federal level, the need to implement technical and professional education in Brazil was discussed, in order to stimulate the development of industry and offer “[...] to the proletarian classes the means of overcoming the ever increasing difficulties in the struggle for existence” (Decree nº 7566, 1909)²⁴. As a result of several projects created since 1906, the federal government started to found, in several states, schools of apprentice craftsmen, in an effort to inaugurate technical-professional education with modern characteristics. One of these schools started operating in Salvador, in 1910, when, on January 27, the first director of the institution, Professor Francisco Caymmi, was appointed, with the task of organizing the installation of the new school.

A new chapter in the history of education and work began with old speeches, linked to new concepts, new strategies and methodologies, and supported by traditional ideological principles. The popular classes, in turn, continued to call for education, work, freedom, rights, for citizenship. In this environment of revealing the old practices disguised as new educational models, Manuel Querino evaluated and concluded that the people, in addition to being socially humiliated, were culturally humiliated and discriminated against, especially because of their ‘race’ of origin.

²⁴ In 1910, Schools of Apprentice Craftsmen were created in Piauí, Mato Grosso, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Maranhão, Paraná, Alagoas, State of Rio, Pernambuco, Espírito Santo, São Paulo, Sergipe, Ceará, Bahia, Pará, Santa Catarina, Minas Gerais and Amazonas. The School of Apprentice Craftsmen of Bahia was inaugurated on June 2, 1910. In 1937 it was renamed Lyceum Industrial of Salvador and, five years later, Technical School of Salvador. With the reform of industrial education in 1959, it became the Federal Technical School of Bahia (ETFBA), then, in 1993, the Federal Center for Technological Education of Bahia (CEFET-BA), transformed into the Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology of Bahia (IFBA) as of December 29, 2008.

The artist, intellectual and educator Querino had given warning. His convictions were fixed in his work and the questions he raised remain current. Popular education would be one that supported the agency of artists and workers for the recognition of the talents and capacities of all, aiming at access to the dreamed political and social emancipation, associated with the projects for the progress of the country. His belief in this principle turned into disappointment and the directions taken by the republican State were decisive for the social and educational exclusion of the Black and mixed-race working population.

Secular debates on the topic of education in Brazil have not been resolved and the working population, especially those of African origin, continues to struggle for the democratization of quality schooling and the consequent democratization of opportunities for inclusion, without discrimination or prejudice. Manuel Querino, 100 years ago, spoke up, and the question remains open and lacking in political-institutional solutions in which the dismantling of conquests by public and inclusive education has become a reality present in privatist policies implemented step by step.

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