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THE LYCEUM OF ARTS AND CRAFTS OF RECIFE AND ITS BLACK WORKERS EDUCATION TACTICS IN THE AFTER-EMANCIPATION PERIOD

O Liceu de Artes e Ofícios do Recife e suas táticas de instrução
de trabalhadores negros no período pós-emancipação

El 'Liceu de Artes e Ofícios do Recife' e sus tácticas de instrucción
de los trabajadores negros en el período post-emancipación

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Abstract: In this article, we analyze the articulated vertical relations between black workers in the civil construction trade, members of the Society of Mechanical and Liberal Artists, and the public authorities of Pernambuco, as a tactic (Certeau, 2011) in favor of improvements in living conditions, despite the insistent construction of racist theories and practices in Brazil. Afterwards, we analyzed some photographs of the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts of Recife (Liceu de Artes e Ofícios) (collection of the Catholic University of Pernambuco), an institution dedicated to the instruction of those workers during the post-emancipation period (Rios & Mattos, 2004). We defend that the school turned to the instruction of black children in Recife, it fought for the dignification of the condition of free and working people and for the maintenance of their collective activities.

Keywords: associativism; history of education; post-emancipation.

Resumo: Neste artigo, investigamos as relações verticais articuladas entre os trabalhadores negros do mercado de edificações, consócios da Sociedade dos Artistas Mecânicos e Liberais, e os poderes públicos de Pernambuco, enquanto tática (Certeau, 2011) em prol de melhorias de condição de vida, apesar da insistente construção de teorias e práticas racistas no Brasil. Depois, analisamos algumas fotografias do Liceu de Artes e Ofícios (acervo da Universidade Católica de Pernambuco), instituição voltada para a instrução daqueles trabalhadores durante o pós-emancipação (Rios & Mattos, 2004). Evidenciamos que o liceu se direcionou para a instrução de crianças negras no Recife, bem como pugnou pela dignificação da condição de pessoas livres e trabalhadoras e pela manutenção de suas atividades coletivas.

Palavras-chave: associativismo; história da educação; pós-emancipação.

Resumen: En este artículo, analizamos las relaciones verticales articuladas entre los trabajadores negros del mercado de la construcción, miembros de la Sociedad de Artistas Mecánicos y Liberales y las autoridades públicas de Pernambuco, como táctica (Certeau, 2011) a favor de mejoras en las condiciones de vida, a pesar de la insistente construcción de teorías y prácticas racistas en Brasil. Posteriormente, analizamos algunas fotografías del Liceu de Artes e Ofícios (colección de la Universidad Católica de Pernambuco), institución dedicada a la instrucción de esos trabajadores durante el período de post-emancipación (Rios & Mattos, 2004). Constatamos que la escuela se volcó a la instrucción de los niños negros en Recife, luchó por la dignificación de la condición de la gente libre y trabajadora y por el mantenimiento de sus actividades colectivas.

Palabras clave: asociativismo; historia de la educación; post-emancipación.

INTRODUCTION

The law of September 28 from the next year, that inaugurates a new age in the facts of native history, complains immediately the reform and the improvement of education, in order to be also given to those who have just been set free from the slavery chains. A divine harmony Law that presides over the world, as mentioned by a contemporary writer (Tavares Bastos), it arrests the great social matters: to emancipate and to instruct are the double form of the same politician thought. What do we have to offer to these degraded beings borned from freedom? - the baptism of instruction. What will we reserve to sustain the abated producing forces from the emancipation? - education, this invisible agent multiplies the energy of the human arm, is without a doubt the most powerful of the work machines (Pinto Júnior, 1872, p. 7).

The debate regarding people education around 1870s was expanded after the Free Womb Law promulgation. Politicians and intellectuals, in periodic conferences state its concerns around the education of the possible infants who, by means of the 1871 law would be free.

João Jose Pinto Júnior, politician and operating intellectual in Recife, was one of the main articulators of criminal actions and particular directed toward the education. It helped in the approval of the free education law, allowing the opening of particular lessons, without a necessity of previous licensing from the school administration, as well as deploy the Public Education Propagation Society, that opened primary and secondary instruction courses in Recife (Santos, 2021). In an article written for the Education Magazine, in Recife, he argued in favor of the dedicated education for infants who would be (supposedly) freed by the Free Womb Law, an invisible agent of that emancipation.

In that year, the Mechanical and Liberal Artists Society (hereafter SAML), composed by mechanical craft and liberal workers, mainly Black and medium brown people, already counted on regular subvention for the maintenance of its activities of children instruction with a night school. Politicians and intellectuals as Manoel do Nascimento Machado Portela (who was a province president) and João Jose Pinto Júnior had become involved themselves in the project to get on with the construction of a school for the craft instruction in Recife. At that time without a building, the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts were only inaugurated in 1880: a small palace in front of the Saint Isabel Theater and to the Princesses Field Palace (the place of housing and exercising provincial executive power, nowadays state of Pernambuco) (Mac Cord, 2012).

The education historiography has already shown that there were no legal impediments to the enrollment and school attendance of black and brown children in public and private schools during the imperial period (Gondra & Schueler, 2008; Silva, 2000; Silva, 2007); on the contrary, education was one of the main tactics brokered by black and brown families for social ascension, in the middle of the slave period (Silva, 2018, 2019).

The mechanical and liberal craft workers in the city of Recife had built a trajectory, in the perspective to broke out themselves from the enslaving yoke and the manual work prejudice at the time. They had predominantly established an association formed by black and medium brown workers, whose main action was the opening of instruction courses for themselves and their people.

Considering the publication in the Public Education Magazine from 1871, signed for João Jose Pinto Júnior, in which the instruction would be the `baptism' that purged the enslaving past of the freed children by the Free Womb Law, our objective is to analyze the efforts encouraged by the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts in favor of the craft instruction directed to themselves and their own people. We will make this at two specific moments: first, we will investigate the associate relations of the SAML with the public power of Pernambuco, as a strategy of maintenance not only of the social distinction as well as subvention destined to the association; later, we will analyze some photographs of the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts, conditioning of our interpretations concerning the ways built and defended by the institution, during the after-emancipation.

The after-emancipation is a period whose beginning easily is perceived, right after the promulgation of the Golden Law in 1888, being, however, difficult to find its due date. Under this heading, the diversity of actions aimed at the construction and defense of racist theories is studied, whether in the academic sphere or as whitening policies (Cunha, 2005; Dávila, 2006; Paixão & Gomes, 2008a, 2008b). In another pole, this research is developed on the diversity of tactics and strategies managed by the black and brown population for social ascension and improvement of living conditions after May 13 (Domingues, 2010, 2014; Rios & Mattos, 2004; Silva, 2019). One of the alternatives found for post-abolition research, as mentioned by Hebe Mattos and Ana Maria Rios (2004), was the usage of oral history, whose reports of descendants of the last generation of slaves were collected since mid-1988, as well as the study of the 1920 and 1940 censuses. Recently, Carlos Alberto Ivanir Dos Santos analyzed the development of racist ideologies between centuries XVII and XIX, directed to the religious intolerance to the adepts of African matrices religions, as well as the social and politics marginalization process of these citizens in the city of Rio De Janeiro, during the period between 1950 - 2008 (Saints, 2018). These studies possess an extensive chronological clipping, as we can see. Is on the basis of this clipping that we intend to initiate our analysis in 1870 and to finish it, possibly, around 1930-1950, the period in which the photographs of the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts were produced.

This work is inserted in the after-emancipation studies. In it, we analyze the articulated vertical relations among the construction market black workers, associates of the Mechanical and Liberal Artists Society, and the public powers of Pernambuco, while tactic (Certeau, 2011) in favor of improvements in the life condition, although the insistent racist theories and practices construction in Brazil. Then, we analyzed some photographs of the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts (collection from the Catholic University of Pernambuco), an institution whose objective is to educate those workers during post-emancipation (Rios & Mattos, 2004). We evidence that the lyceum turned toward the instruction of black children in Recife, fought for the condition dignification of the free and diligent people and for the maintenance of its collective activities.

AN ASSOCIATION IN DEFENSE OF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

On the Mechanical and Liberal Artists Society thirty-ninth installation anniversary, it was inaugurated the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts building. According to Machado Portella, benefactor partner and director of the association in that year, the Lyceum small palace was built thanks to the protective action of the public powers supported by private agency, in order to qualify the province 'artistic class' (Imperial, 1881, p. 14). In the same speech, the SAML director reported panegyric and laudatory memories of the association's agency during these thirty-nine years. He remembered that, in 1870, the emperor Pedro II wrote a letter to the association fellow-members, in which he asked for that the artists construct appropriate buildings for primary education instead of giving him a statue (Imperial, 1881, p. 14).

The project of the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts came from 'above', as an effect of the public powers relation that it was woven by the black workers from the construction market. The old 'provincial lyceum' called Pernambucano Gymnasium in the decade of 1870 it was kept by the public powers without any relation with the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts. The adopted nomenclature for the institution in charge of the Mechanical and Liberal Artists Society made possible, also in the attempt of institucional legitimation with the Carioca akin, the 'Court Imperial Lyceum of Arts and Crafts'. At that time, in the decade of 1870, presidents of the province occupied the high positions of the association and articulated, in the provincial politics, the routes of the association and the rooms of the lessons (Mac Cord, 2012).

As a public instruction general inspector in 1876, João Barbalho Uchôa Cavalcanti reported that, even without a proper building, the Lyceum worked with lessons of national language attended by 23 (twenty- three) students; French by 9 (nine); Geometry by 10 (ten) and drawing by 11 (eleven) students (Cavalcanti, 1875).

According to the education inspector, in 1875, the Lyceum course included, in addition to primary education, national and French languages; arithmetic and applied geometry; architecture and geometric design applied to construction; drawing and,

finally, shorthand classes. In accordance with Uchôa Cavalcanti, the artistic instruction given by the mentioned institution needed to understand other skills, training its pupils in a more complete way. Conforming to João Barbalho, the courses would have to count on the following subjects: Natural Sciences Notions, Sculpture, Engraving, Painting and Music (Cavalcanti, 1875).

The information concerning students' admission, study plans, professors' profile and recruitment are scarce and almost inexistent. As reported by Marcelo Mac Cord, the associate Félix de Valois Corrêa, for example, was lathe operator, a Lyceum and primary education public professor, also a member of the Professors Institute of Pernambuco and the Public Education Propagation Society. As we mention above, the Lyceum course was composed of primary education and counted on secondary education specific subjects (Mac Cord, 2012).

The Lyceum of Arts and Crafts building inauguration occurred at a confrontational moment for the imperial society. In the dawn of the 1880s, the abolitionism discussion reached a land of conflicts between civil society, emancipated society and slave owners. In the politicians' cabinets, the conflict did not pass unobserved, nor the emancipation pressure. In the political field, the elections were considered an important subject as much as the future of slave labor. The possibility of gaining active citizenship by means of the capacity to vote and to be voted always was a sore point to the imperial politicians' rulers.

In accordance with Adriana Silva, the professors, for the population literacy seal, they performed a great importance in the Empire electoral process and political game. Immersed in 'eddy of the politics', they used from their customers relations in favor of personal benefits, assisting some local politician (Silva, 2007), through the restrictions imposed for the Saraiva Law (which purified the political rights from great part of the poor voters in the country, by means of 'principles of distinction' based in the annual average income, the evidence of this income and in the literacy) (Souza, 2012a). Those workers from the teaching craft remained valuable to the local politicians' interests.

Besides the fact of those craft workers opened their own schools and, for times, they worked as teachers. In the 1880s, the instruction schools installed by the associations, by means of their students' graduation, gave them literacy certificates, beyond income vouchers, acting, thus, in favor of the active citizenship of its associates and career colleagues.

We believe that the Mechanical and Liberal Artists Society also did not act only in the income voucher expedition but, mainly, as institution that literate and instructed popular layers. We recognize this performance as tactics (Certeau, 2011) practiced by those workers in favor of themselves and their own, before the electorate 'debugging', and after the promulgation of the Saraiva Law, in 1880. Although this law provoked an electorate homogenization, restricting it, mostly, to the individuals

coming from the society richest classrooms, the Lyceum's education appeared as hope for the active citizenship eager workers.

The school registrations in the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts offered courses varied sufficiently throughout the twenty years of its exercise. Between 1881 and 1900, the Lyceum had 11,868 (eleven thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight) school registrations. Between the people who declared some career, 4,607 (four thousand, six hundred seven) were artists and 3,494 (three thousand, four hundred and ninety-four) had declared another career from craftsman. Finally, 3,767 (three thousand, seven hundred and sixty-seven) people registered in the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts courses, probably in search of mechanical artist professional qualification and/or liberal professional qualification, because they declared themselves 'without a career' (Castro, 1900).

Our argument is that the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts classes, from the inauguration of its building, had a large number of enrollments, mainly due to the search for education by the 'popular layers', who sought some qualification for the craft work and/ or the active citizenship acquisition, which is the popular participation capable of creating, transform and control the power or powers, through the right to participate politically, vote and be voted on (Silva & Silva, 2006). From the 11,868 (eleven thousand, eight hundred and sixty-eight) registered in the SAML lessons, 6,422 (six thousand, four hundred and twenty-two) had been registered in lessons that offer a literacy certificate - 1,604 students were registered in the Portuguese lessons, 1,803 registrations in the primary lessons for adults and 3,015 school registrations in the primary lessons for children. In other words, between 1881 and 1900, 54% of the school registrations were destined to reading and the writing courses (Castro, 1900).

The teaching freedom in Pernambuco, possibly instituted in 1873, was approved by the Provincial Assembly and taken the handle for Uchôa Cavalcante, nominated to the position of public education general inspector (something as education secretary, currently), in order to assist the public powers in the people's education. But it wasn't only the public powers that perceived the difficulty in the population education; the SAML associates reported the bad operating artists training.

The intitled text *Why the arts in our country meager?* written by August Cyrillo Da Silva Santiago, a public education primary teacher since 1871 and the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts and, during the decade of 1880, publisher of the *Grêmio dos Professores Primarios Magazine*, he pointed the apparent causes, as well as the real and condemnable causes of the arts 'delay'. The term 'arts', referring to the mechanical arts tied with the mechanical and civil construction works, metallurgy, architecture and carpentry, was used to distinguish itself from the plastic and scenic arts. The apparent causes of this became related to a 'symbolic credibility' deposited by the society in the artists, either for their 'professional future', in case that they opted to be trained in some art, either for the relation of determined

counterproductive customs (without any specifications of what would be) as inherent to the artist craft. The professor mentioned four 'real causes' for the arts 'delay' in the country, being the two ultimate issues: one related to the arts' 'value'; another, to child exploitation. Segundo Cyrillo, the Brazilian society ignored 'value' of the arts in favor of 'enlargement of a nation', in the same way that the arts 'value' for the scientific development was ignored `; finally, 'pointed out the fact of artists being unaware of their social value' (Santiago, 1896).

Sixteen years after the small palace inauguration in the quarter of Saint Antonio, the mechanical artist craft defense was a need. Cyrillo disentailed the enslaving period from 'real causes' of 'delay' of the arts; in the case, the proper association, during its emersion, looked for to disentail of the slavery and the stigma of 'mechanical defect' (Mac Cord, 2012).

The question of the active citizenship was dedicated to the emancipation laws freed, as we already mentioned. In the dawn of the Republic new disputes appeared, amongst them, the attempts to get representation in the institutions' politics (right to vote, by means of the evidence of income and letramento), the maintenance of the exchanges interested with them to be able public and the pernambucana local elite and the constant 'value' of the work affirmation need. And all of them were uninterrupted efforts.

The experiences of those workers and their strategical performances allowed the small palace construction which held the lessons of the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts and the conquest of subventions during the imperial and the First Republic period.

These workers had persisted in the fight for the prestige and the value of their craft. It was not enough untie from color stigma (a social mark of disapproval and marginalization related to Black citizens; in the Brazilian case, the racism directed toward Black people) and from 'mechanical defect' (another social stigma of marginalization and inferiorization of citizens that works with manual crafts, as mechanical artists related to the carpentry, metallurgy and civil construction services), in a estate society; they started to act constantly in benefit of their active citizenship, for full political rights. Those 'laboring aristocrats' - as Hobsbawm named the workers layer that ascend, building better life and work conditions (Hobsbawm, 2008) - they weaved vertical relations, for example, with Pierre Collier, one of the owners of the Camaragibe Tissue Fabric. This industry, created by Carlos Alberto de Menezes and Pierre Collier entrepreneurs, sparked the construction of a Laboring Village (workers local housing, in order to prevent long routes and to improve the school, church, leisure clubs' access, all tied to the village), giving origin to Camaragibe city, currently is a part of the Recife Metropolitan Area (Castro, 1906). Years later, in 1922, the same Pierre Collier was a member of the SAML Consulting board (Wedge, 1922).

In the next section, we will show some Lyceum of Arts and Crafts photographs, by means of which we will analyze the craftsmen's look under their enterprise, those workers who during all 19th century fought for the maintenance of their mechanical craft teaching action and publicizing, in the first years of 20th century their own vision about the Lyceum. Rooms, pedagogical objects, educational and leisure activities had been registered. Also, we will investigate, by means of figures evidences, the periods where the registers were made.

THE LYCEUM THROUGH FIGURES

The historians 'pictorial capsized', using photographs, paintings and engravings as 'indications' as a 'historical evidence' was analyzed by Peter Burke. According to him, the "[...] paintings, statues, publications (and so on) allow us to share the not verbal experiences or the knowledge of previous cultures" (Burke, 2017, P. 24). The Figures register acts of eyewitness account that, intentionally, are transparent or omit certain 'points of view'.

Although the artist intentions were argued, either to represent the visible world faithful form to idealize it or to make an allegory (Burke, 2017), doubtlessly, the figures make a mediation between historical citizens and the visible world and they are born in a need of symbolization (Mauad, 2014). In the effort to research the association historicity, we inquire, from figures of the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts: what did they want to symbolize? To who they wanted to reach, when capturing moments of primary and/or professional lessons, break time, classrooms and its furniture, Lyceum's rooms and its school museum? We seek to analyze some of these figures.

We aim to examine the workplace photographs that show workers, teachers and Black students. According to Alvaro Nascimento, the Labour Social Historiography preferred immigrant workers (mainly European) photographs, neglecting pictures of a Black work world (Birth, 2016).

We evidence 'educational practices subjects', in other words, the Lyceum teachers' figures and Mechanical and Liberal Artists Society partners Figures, as well as lessons moments and students break time Figures. In this section, the subjects' skin colors allowed us to analyze continuities and/or predominance related to the public institution service, between the Lyceum inauguration moment and continuity of its activities.

It remains an exception concerning the figures dating. The on-line collection which we had access belongs to the Catholic University of Pernambuco Library; in it the figures dating is from 1966 onward. We had some queries concerned with figures dates accuracy and we followed some evidences, in order to approach them to the photographs contents and the decade in which they had been produced.

We observe that almost all the searched figures present a small 'descriptive card' below of the captured moment. All these cards have a handmade writing on the right side: 'without date'. We believe that during the figures cataloguing, the responsible for not find any information evidencing the figures printing and acquisition date lie some doubts concerning the dating vraisemblance made by the UNICAP, the mentioned registers institution guard.

We believe that some photographs date of the decade of 1930 until the one of 1940. In elapsing of the analyses, we made other exceptions how much to the indicative elements of the dating of the figures.

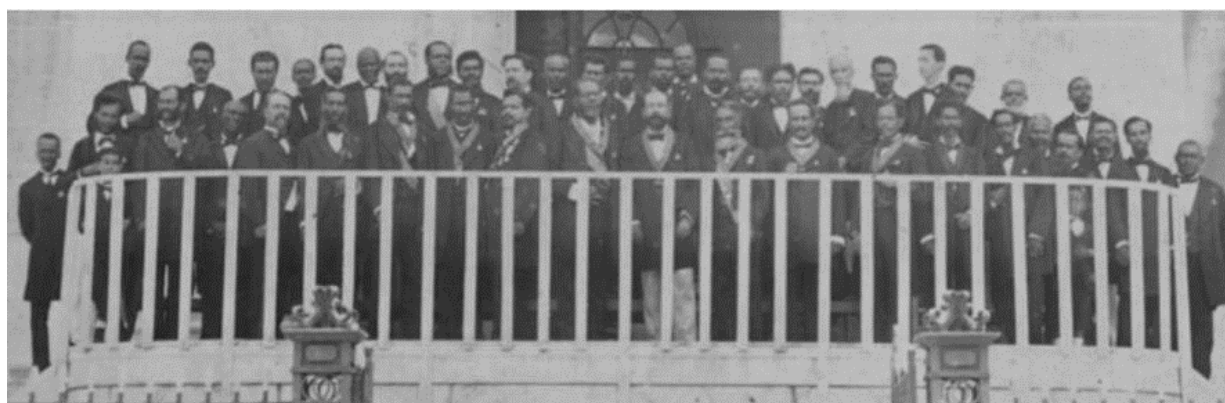


Figure 01 – Lyceum of Arts and Crafts inauguration.
Source: Liceu de Artes e Ofícios (1880).

The Lyceum of Arts and Crafts first Figure (Figure 01), from the inauguration day, in November of 1880, it is an 'emblematic point of arrival' of the trajectory of vertical and horizontal relations strategically articulated by the workers of mechanical and liberal crafts in Recife. In the middle of the Figure, there is Manoel of the Birth Machado Portella, the main politician involved with the Mechanical and Liberal Artists Society, at the time. Not only a member of the scholars and owners elite but also the Pernambuco province president, years before the photograph. Mac Cord (2012) stated that, to Machado Portella's right there was the first mutualist associate director, João Dos Santos Ferreira Barros, descendant of Jose Ferreira Barros, one of the association's founders.

In line with Marcelo Mac Cord, it must be given a detach to the SAML associates clothes at the photograph moment: the coat usage, a social distinction item at the time, that separate the Black free man from slavery (Mac Cord, 2012, P. 408).

Certainly, the Black men protagonism, in main power positions either in the Lyceum and in the society were confirmed. The Black craftsmen from Recife bothered the defenders of eugenicist theories, that considered Black people 'naturally' indolent beings, apathetic, 'wild', ignorants etc. Although this racist logic 'confrontation', there was not any involvement with the association members in defense of 'equality'

criteria; their strategies were directed to their own dissociation from the slavery stigma (Mac Cord, 2012).

Antonio Luigi Negro analyzed the role played by the production and the Figures dissemination in postal cards, during the process of United States national reconciliation, in the after-abolition period, from the 1880s. According to the author, lynching and chained Black men postal cards were used, in addition, to support a scientific racist, as it corroborated for polarization between civilization and savagery, bourgeois and workers, white and black. In this manner, “[...] the white supremacy joy made racism levitate unpunished in the *postcard* wings” (Negro, 2019, P. 8). Despite the eugenicists’ theories, the Black craftsmen responsible for the construction of Lyceum made the photograph (unlike of what happened in the United States *postcards*) an important vehicle to communicate distinction, ‘advance’, ‘civilization’ and ‘progress’ aspects represented by the small palace dedicated to professional education.

The coat usage represented a symbolical element of the racist logic confrontation at the time, as Marcelo Mac Cord defended (Mac Cord, 2012). Perhaps the SAML associates defended intentionally certain ‘equality’ with capitalists who wanted to proletarianized them. Through a particular initiative in favor of the education, those crafts and Black men built the Lyceum in a noble region of Recife, having its place in a ‘world of order’ (Mattos, 2004). The Lyceum small palace, place where it was constructed, the partners clothing, the vertical and horizontal relations with the ‘world of order’ and the politics indicated its ‘superiority’ in relation to the excessively workers and living ones of Recife.

The Lyceum inauguration Figure demarcated an arrival point and stucked a specific social place, however, the craftsmen faced adversities in elapsing of the ‘long century 19th’, as we mentioned. The political modifications after the republican blow to Emperor Peter II had gradually modified the horizontal relations between the craftsmen, the public powers and the Recife local elites.

In accordance with Pamela Cox, the first workplaces filmings, in the beginning of the 20th century, in Great Britain, they followed three specific formats: highlighting workers leaving their workplace, at the end of the day; or they captured complex scenes of workers in streets, markets and dock berths; or they showed workers executing specific tasks in their workplace.

The following analyzed Figures fit in the third category: workers executing specific tasks in their workplace and, specifically, in their study place. We developed a ‘semiological analysis’, with intention to perceive material and symbolic meanings of practical, rites, input and photographs specific results (Cox, 2019).

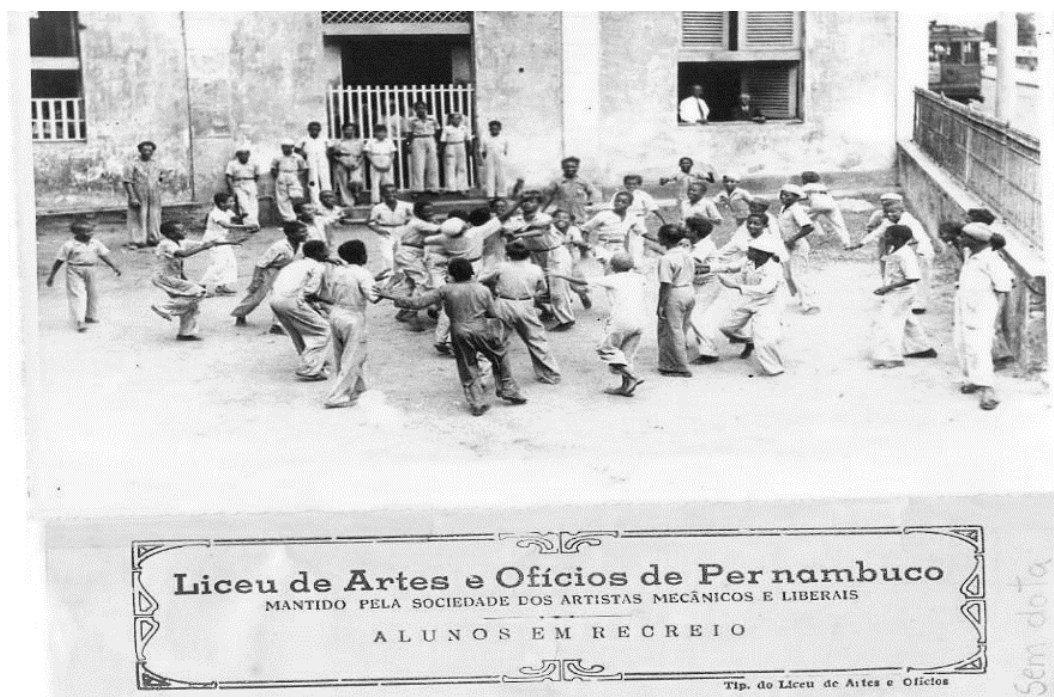


Figure 02 – Students at break time.
Source: Liceu de Artes e Ofícios (2020a).

'Students at break time', It says the description printed in the photograph frame (Figure 02). According to a news article published on the Pernambuco Daily, in 1937, only the Lyceum workshops worked during the day. The Artistic and Professional Course primary and secondary lessons occurred during the night, in order to allow students developed 'other tasks' - in other words, 'works' - and keep their studies (Pernambuco, 1937). As we can see the photograph was intentionally set up in two plans. In the first plan, it is evidenced some boys playing, going to the middle of the Figure and, in the second plain, the younger boys' contemplative eyes toward to the teacher vigilant position at the window, on the right.

It impresses the amount of Black people in this Figure, as much in the situation of child's playing such as spectators (inside and outside of the grids, on the left) and vigilantes. But what impresses the most is the boys clothing simplicity and the fact that they were mainly barefoot, wearing work clothes (overalls), while some have caps on the heads. By reasons that still need to be explained, the Lyceum's boys were photographed bare-footed, and this was not only related to the leisure moment. In the Figure 04, a photography in which they are in the classroom, they were also barefooted.

Using school photographs as a primary school research source, Rosa Fátima de Souza investigated the institutional history of the first school groups in Campinas, São Paulo, between 1897 and 1950. The school photographs symbolize the school social and cultural sense, when registering the classroom and each student next to the teachers and sometimes to the principal. In the school classrooms' Figures analysis, Rosa observed barefooted children, demonstrating the group homogeneous social condition. Amongst working class children, the black children had appeared in small number in the Rosa Fátima analyzed photographs, however it was by means of these registers that the presence of this group in the schools and the social condition of these children were visualized, in its majority barefooted, as well as the ones of Lyceum of Arts and Craft in Recife (Souza, 2001).

In the historiography, it has several records related to the enslaved and freed people clothing. The linking of shoes usage to a free status was used by the Cut schools' announcements - There were free of charge schools for 'barefooted and footwear' (Moura, 2004; Silva, 2018; Machado, 2004). The education for Black children was included as project the search of the emancipation and constant construction of the freedom situation (Silva, 2018). The permanence of the barefooted related to the intersection between race and social class of the children registered in the Lyceum lessons is not by chance, it points out their social condition. They were Black and poor children who searched in that institution a way for full emancipation, through the improvement of their social conditions, although the increasing and insistent social exclusion promoted by the racial theories at the time (Dávila, 2006).

This photograph (Figure 02) presents an indication about the dating made for the UNICAP, its guard institution. In the right superior corner, there is a silhouette of an electric tramway in Recife. According to a specialist, this vehicle functioned in the city until ends of the decade of the 1950s (Stiel, 1984). Following such datings, it evidences that the photograph is impossible to be captured in the moment of students' leisure with an electric tramway passing through in the street, in the year of 1966, as it consists in the UNICAP registers.

The intention of spreading the idea that the Lyceum was sensitive to the students' disciplines questions it was a common element in the Lyceum analyzed photographs, either in 'civic session', in the classrooms, as well as in the breaktime. The institution 'Self-Figure' (Mauad, 2019) conveyed in the photographs was of a protected and constantly fiscalized place destined for students' labor/educational activities.



Figure 03 – Wooden Devices session.
Source: Liceu de Artes e Ofícios. (2020b).

In a great shed in functioning, in the full light of day, students with diverse tones of skin and ages participated in the Lyceum carpentry workshop, under the supervision of 'masters' Vicente Sacramento and João Gomes Da Silva (Figure 3). In this photograph, the intention seems to emphasize the space range destined to the learning of the carpentry, and not the students' specific activities. In the foreground, there is only raw material and an isolated student on the right, working in one of the tables or workstations. In the second plan, there are the masters with younger and older students, in the chore with the machines and woods. In the background, the third plan, a great number of students in what seems to be other workstations (as that one where was the isolated student in the foreground), giving the impression of being a great space, aired and well illuminated (with the light emanating in such a way of the great windows on the right about the dumping wagons to the left), it also counted on a mezzanine, in the background, on the left. In the craft education, the relation between master and apprentice demanded direct contact with the practical 'labor' to be exercised. Although we are not able to see with clearness, this photograph seems to show the students direct contact with carpentry, for example, indicating that the education was guided by practice.

But, in agreement with Nascimento (2016), we highlight, as stated before, that researchers in the two areas (History and Education) still incurred in the 'absence' of learning workers 'color' debate, although there was an advance in this regard, as demonstrated by Fabiane Popinigris and Paulo Cruz Terra (Popinigris & Terra, 2019).

We reinforce that beyond the class distinctions and, consequently, the workers relation with the production means, these workers had distinct 'colors', gender and nationalities, unavoidable item for the analysis of their experiences - mainly when intersect themselves - in the relations between gender, race and social class (Akotirene, 2019).

To the default of the 'absence paradigm', Miguel Arroyo, in recent article discoursed on possible investigations raised by the professional and technological education, he mentioned the question of workers 'color'. According to Arroyo, the professional education need questioning itself if it surpasses or reproduces the subordination as 'natural' - sexist, racist and classicist (arroyo, 2019).

The first Figure, the Lyceum installation, in which most of the Black and brown members of the Mechanical and Liberal Artists Society pose for posterity in 1880, it does not differ from the photographs analyzed here, between the 1930s and 1960s. In the post-abolition period, those who went to study in that place probably did not do so in search of a 'whiteness degree' – a device for whitening 'customs' or aimed at the (violent) Black people eradication in the Brazilian society (Dávila, 2006; Paixão & Gomes, 2008a) –, pedagogically used in educational institutions during the First Republic.

The 'color' relationship of those future workers students, would have been decisive in their life experiences. Our documentation is insufficient for the Lyceum Black student's life trajectories analysis. We are only with these photographs and its tracks.



Figure 04 – Primary lesson.
Fonte: Liceu de Artes e Ofícios. (2020c).

In another photograph of 'set up stage', with the objective of 'unfold' a Lyceum 'self-Figure', the students profiled on stalls (except those in the foreground on the Figure's right), in the 'mutual education' style, they wear overalls and more compound clothes (shirts, pants, belts), but those whose feet can be seen (right in the Figure foreground) are barefoot, just like they were in the leisure picture. Being barefooted (a poor people characteristic regardless skin color, in the after-abolition period) was a common thing that not even it had an effort to be hidden in the Figure. The teacher teaches the student a lesson on the superior right side of the Figure, under the vigilant look of a man (inspector or teacher) that appears in the center, in the background, wearing white clothes. The majority of the students uses the same overalls from previous pictures, and there is not any type of school materials on the stalls.

The assembly of this 'primary lesson' room presents some school architecture references from 19th Century, beyond the stalls. All the room is 'decorated' with diverse materials for 'lessons of things'. The discussion on 'lessons of things' and the need of pedagogical objects directed to the sensorial experience 'for learning were not recent. The method of 'lessons of things' – defended by Uchôa Cavalcante in his pedagogical travel report in 1879 (Schueler & Gondra, 2008) – had a certain set of relationships not only with pedagogical objects and their corresponding codes but also with the knowledge and objective of learning (Lawn, 2013). When incorporating 'lessons of things', the schools had to present a diversity of 'pedagogical objects' and to become a 'natural history museums', as the Lyceum possessed and exhibited. The 'lessons of things' kept certain relation with the practical world, with material aspects. For times, on its execution, there were warnings regarding how to apply the method in the classroom. Complaints about the costly purchase of 'pedagogical objects' were common, both by teachers and public authorities (Lawn, 2013), since the second half of the nineteenth century (Gonçalves Filho, 2016).

The use of 'pedagogical objects' was a *sine qua non* condition for the crafts learning, as occurred in the conceptions of 'lessons of things', as we see in photographs. The emergence of this method was related to the very redefinition of the teaching conception, based on school rationalization, organization and administration. In accordance with Rosa Fátima Souza, "[...] the focus of the discussion fell on the graduate teaching program and the teacher's work [who] reconfigured due to the discussion about content and method" (Souza, 2001, p. 16). The use of 'pedagogical objects' arranged in the rooms and the existence of a pedagogical museum (as we will see in Figure 05, below) were pedagogical tools adopted by the intuitive method, whose argument defended that knowledge would arise in the understanding of the child provided by the experience of the senses (Gomes, 2011, p. 56; Warde & Oliveira, 2021; Kahn, 2014; Bastos, 2013; Valdemarin, 2000, 2001).

Lessons of things' and 'professional education' were condensed in the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts, in order to stimulate 'progress' and 'civilization' and contribute to the development and 'distinction' of those students served by the institution. We do

not ensure that the classes offered at the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts are directly related to the appropriation of Rui Barbosa's ideas on professional education (whose Drawing subject was a priority) and on 'lessons of things' (Silva, Carlos, & Medeiros Neta, 2020). Although we recognize the role of Rui Barbosa in the translation of Calkins' book, entitled *First lessons of things*, as well as in the defense of 'industrial education' as a best suited method to the 'popular classes' instruction, we understand that the ideas and practical uses of 'lessons of things' were already in circulation in Recife, since Uchôa Cavalcante himself published a travel report in 1879, in which he spoke about the 'modern' teaching method.

Diana Vidal mentioned the circulation of 'lessons of things' between Brazil, Portugal and France, during the nineteenth century. The objects flow, people and teaching methods were an effect of the societies, cultures and industries increasing internationalization (Vidal, 2017). If we take into account this Vidal definition, the Lyceum wanted to demonstrate, in the photographs, that it was articulated, within its possibilities, with what was most modern in the world.



Figure 05 – Lyceum's Museum.
Source: Liceu de Artes e Ofícios (2020d).

In Figure 05, Lyceum's Museum, we observe a busy room with taxidermy parts (stuffed). The thatch, the way that animals are mounted for exhibition or study, it is a cheaper and simpler taxidermy technique - of birds, fish, mammals etc., which are arranged for display to the public. Analyzing the materiality of school culture, Margarida Louro Felgueiras reflected on the meaning of educational patrimony

preservation for the historiography of education, as well as on the dissemination of knowledge and museums. According to the author, it was in the expositions' universal context that the first school museums emerged and they were popularized. The school museums, along with their natural science materials collections, ethnographic data, natural and human geography, they all attended to the lesson of things proposals, whose didactic orientations aimed to the instruction through the use of senses (Felgueiras, 2011).

In the Portugal case analyzed by Felgueiras, the school museums were proposed, under the light of the intuitive method debate (or lessons of things), as a practical and intuitive learning (Felgueiras, 2011).

In 1900, years before the registration of Figure 05, the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts museum was under the administration of Telles Júnior, a visual artist and Lyceum teacher who had competed in the elections that year (Souza, 2018). According to him, the museum should use efforts to acquire a rich quantity of artistic and industrial products, from a entomological part, in other words, from the insects collections (stored, commanded and preserved), from the dead specimen part, beyond acquiring a good amount of mineral objects for study, that required constant expenditures for conservation and a professional in charge. In line with the SAML director once the museum counted on rich quantity artistic-industrial collection, it could substitute the workshops and would have a great pedagogical importance and a less expensive maintenance (Costa, 1900). Between science and the economy, the latter prevails.

A determined intellectual history tends to launch the light on the actions of determined responsible subjects for laws' promulgation and social practices promoters. The nº 7,566/1909 Law of Apprentices and Craftsmen Schools creation, in which would offer the primary course (reading, writing and counting) and Drawing course (for the learning craft satisfactory exercise), it is for times resembled to Rui Barbosa indications, as it received his influence (Silva et al., 2020). If we take into account this definition, the Lyceum modernly assook the recommendations proposals made by the Brazilian politician in middle of the First Republic.

Although the lack of specific documentation about the craft teaching and the Lyceum's used methods, we must consider that, even though the book's reading as Calkins' one influenced intellectual as Rui Barbosa, the experience in the crafts practical education carried through the Lyceum workers date of previous periods to the publication of this material. Perhaps we can invert this logical 'influences' by means of following the question: how much of the professional schools and kept by workers associations encouraged experiences in nineteenth century influenced in the politicians' decision-making process about education, throughout the First Republic?

FINAL REMARKS



Figure 06 – Santo Antonio district high plan view.
Source: Elaboração própria, a partir do Google Earth.

Currently, in the Lyceum small palace there are not any classes. The classes were transferred to an old Jesuit school, the Nóbrega, in front of the Catholic University of Pernambuco, which started to manage the Lyceum. The Figure above (Figure 06) shows the social space in which the institution was constructed. The small palace, in 1880, lied in the 'core' of the provincial elite building, in front of the Santa Isabel Theater and to the Princesses Field Palace - the province administrative center later Pernambuco state. To the Lyceum's side, it is the Justice Court of Pernambuco constructed in 1930. The Santo Antonio district architectural complex keeps close relations with the pernambucano 'white' manorial/ colonial past. The Friburgo Palace, place of dutch administration in the old captainship was constructed during the Maurício de Nassau government and it was demolished in the nineteenth century (Cavalcanti, 2009). Built for black and medium brown craftsmen, in a historical' and administrative place (and 'white'), the Lyceum locked up part of the work aristocrats' trajectory, cementing their construction of social prestige.

The 'Black city' of Rio De Janeiro analyzed for Sidney Chalhoub, at the same time that it hid the social condition of Black people (enslaved and freed) by the population density of 'colored people' was therefore the city that freed them (Chalhoub, 2011). In the Santo Antonio district, in Recife, the assertive was inverted in regarding to the Lyceum. The Small palace showed monumentally the social condition reached by those craftsmen - work aristocrats - and pointed their expectations: to spread the craft instruction, to achieve social distinction and, despite of the skin 'color' of those workers to dignify the manual work as attribute of free men.

We cannot evidence if the instruction was a specie of 'baptism', as considered by Pinto Júnior, but we defend that it was the main factor for the installation and the maintenance of the workers associations activities. Before an enslaving society, the mechanical artists associated themselves tactically (Certeau, 2011) to transform their social condition and to fight for better work conditions. Considering the horizontal relation ascending, the SAML performance and the courses openings for professional education were a strategy. Taking into consideration the vertical relation of those diligent workers and operating in the construction market craft in Recife, the Lyceum of Arts and Crafts opening was a strategy, once that aimed to control the work market (Certeau, 2011) beyond certifying the people literacy, requirement to vote and to be voted at the end of the Empire and beginning of the First Republic period.

For the mechanical and liberal artists, the instruction strategy (Certeau, 2011) was extremely relevant to their organization, dignification as diligent people free condition and to the maintenance of their collective activities. Through the photographs, we consider that the pedagogical performance was main the responsible for the opening and the maintenance of courses directed to the professional education, and it was the existence of these courses that allowed the longevity of the Mechanical and Liberal Artists Association and its Lyceum of Arts and Crafts. Weaving ascending vertical relations with public authorities and built the Lyceum small palace were not enough. the maintenance of the associativist and pedagogical building of those associates demanded a continuous reporting of its activities, in order to demonstrate its relevancy and effectiveness to Recife.

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