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"MY ESTIMATED CREDITORS":

black and brown people in public and private instruction at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century in Cuiabá – MT

"Credores de minha estima": pretos e pardos na instrução pública e privada, no final do século XIX e início do século XX, em Cuiabá – MT

"Mis estimados acreedores": negros y pardos en la instrucción pública y privada, a finales del siglo XIX y principios el siglo XX en Cuiabá – MT

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Abstract: This article deals with the presence of blacks and browns in public and private education in Cuiabá, Mato Grosso, Brazil, between 1857 and 1911. For the construction of this study, bibliographic and documentary research and primary sources were used, such as newspapers of the time, Census, Reports of Presidents of Province and Directors of Public Instruction. The objectives are to present, identify and expand the contingent of blacks and browns working in the educational segment in the 19th century in Cuiabá. In this aspect, the study revealed a significant presence of blacks as students/teachers in public and private schools in Cuiabá, identified by name. It also revealed the increase in the number of black teachers in these spaces, as well as the participation of black men in addition to those who left their contributions in the 19th century, at the forefront of public management. The study also revealed the active participation of black women in public and private schools of First Letters, in journalism and the direction of unions.

Keywords: race/color; can read and goes to school; black teachers (men and women); 1857 and 1911.

Resumo: Este artigo versa sobre a presença de pretos e pardos na instrução pública e privada, em Cuiabá – Mato Grosso, entre 1857 e 1911. Para a construção deste estudo, utilizou-se a pesquisa bibliográfica e documental, além de fontes primárias, como jornais da época, Recenseamento, Relatórios de Presidentes de Província e de Diretores de Instrução Pública. Os objetivos são apresentar, identificar e ampliar o contingente de pretos e pardos atuantes no segmento da instrução educacional nos Oitocentos em Cuiabá. Nesse aspecto, o estudo revelou uma presença significativa de negros como alunos/professores em escolas públicas e privadas em Cuiabá, identificados a partir do nome. Mostrou, ainda, a ampliação do número de professores negros e de professoras negras nesses espaços, bem como a participação de homens negros para além daqueles que deixaram suas contribuições no século XIX, na linha de frente da gestão pública. O estudo também revelou a participação ativa de mulheres negras nas escolas de Primeiras Letras públicas e privadas, no jornalismo e na direção de grêmios.

Palavras-chave: raça/cor; sabe ler e frequenta a escola; professores/professoras negros/as; 1857 e 1911.

Resumen: Este artículo trata sobre la presencia de negros y pardos en la instrucción pública y privada, en Cuiabá – Mato Grosso (MT), Brasil, entre 1857 y 1911. Para la construcción de este estudio se utilizó investigación bibliográfica y documental y fuentes primarias como periódicos de la época, Censo, Informes de Presidentes de Provincias y de Directores de Instrucción Pública. Los objetivos son presentar, identificar y ampliar el contingente de negros y pardos que trabajaban en el segmento de instrucción educativa en los Ochocientos, en Cuiabá. En este aspecto, el estudio reveló una presencia significativa de negros como alumnos/docentes en escuelas públicas y privadas de Cuiabá, identificados a partir del nombre. Reveló, aún, la ampliación del número de profesores negros y de profesoras negras en estos espacios, así como la participación de hombres negros más allá de aquellos que dejaron sus contribuciones en el siglo XIX, al frente de la gestión pública. El estudio también reveló la participación activa de mujeres negras en las escuelas de Primeras Letras públicas y privadas, en el periodismo y en la dirección de gremios.

Palabras clave: raza/color; sabe leer y va a la escuela; profesores/professoras negros/as; 1857 y 1911.

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a contribution on subjects that were characterized in the 'race/color' categories, represented here by 'blacks and browns' and 'knows how to read and/or attend the school' present in the Census of 1890 and who lived in the city of Cuiabá, Mato Grosso (MT). Thus, the study contributes with data that help understand the universe of black men and black women who had contact and/or access to education in Mato Grosso at the end of the 19th century, especially in the capital of the province of Mato Grosso. In this regard, documents such as the 1890 Census and the journals help in the understanding of the scenario in which these subjects built their trajectories, centered on a time frame that covers the period between the years 1857 and 1911, a chronological space that concerns the last years of the Empire and the first decades of the Republic.

Thus, the year 1857 was defined as an initial framework of this study, due to the fact that, at the time, the brown Sebastiao José da Costa Maricá, 'professor of primary school', from the capital of the Province, requested payment of 300\$ réis, corresponding to the excess of '75 students' present in his school, according to *Noticiador Cuiabano*, dated from June 28th, 1857, year I, number 9, pages 2 and 3. Besides this fact, the brown Manoel Pereira Cuiabano was appointed School Deputy Inspector for Vila do Rosário, in 1911, which marks, thus, the final framework chosen for the text in question.

In Mato Grosso, it is worth noting that this period was marked by the events that helped to put an end to the slavery process, such as the action of some of these subjects in abolitionist associations¹, the strengthening and extension of the Primary schools, especially female schools, as well as the emergence of the Escola Normal [Teaching School] and Liceu Cuiabano, institutions responsible for the male and female teachers training to operate in the province².

Regarding the objectives, it was chosen, as the central objective, to present the contingent of subjects characterized according to the black and brown race/color and who were at the head of public and private education in Cuiabá/MT at the beginning of the 1800's and the beginning of the 1900's. Thus, an exhibition was built from the

¹ According to Dutra (2017), Doctor Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado integrated the abolitionist movement in Mato Grosso.

² Regarding the geographic space, it is noted that the province of Mato Grosso, according to Miranda (2010), corresponded to 1,477,041 km, an extension that covered the current states of Rondônia and Mato Grosso do Sul, which were dismembered, in the course of the 20th century, for the creation of the above-mentioned states. Thus, it is noted that, by Decree-Law number 5.812 of September 13th, 1943, the Federal Territories of Amapá, Rio Branco, Guaporé, Ponta Porã and Iguassú were created. In 1977, the state of Mato Grosso do Sul was created, through Law number 31, of August 11th. Thus, in the time frame chosen for this study, the Mato-Grosso state province bordered with the provinces of Amazonas, Pará, Goiás, São Paulo and Paraná and with two countries, Bolivia and Paraguay.

records registered in primary sources, especially in the newspaper of the time, about who was and/or where the blacks and browns were in public/private education in the region in question, bringing other contributions to the historiography production of education in Mato Grosso. As specific objectives, it was chosen, on the one hand, to identify them through these sources, taking the 'name' as the basis and placing them on the historiography scene, contrary to a certain invisibilization of their racial profiles in the aforementioned historiographical production in Mato Grosso. On the other hand, an attempt was made to show an increase in black male teachers and black female teachers in those spaces at the time in question.

From this perspective, it was questioned: What was the extension of black men and black women who knew how to read and/or attended the school in Cuiabá city's school in the 1800's? Who were these black men and these black women working in public and/or private schools in Cuiabá city's society? In which spaces have these black men and these black women been inserted? On which front lines? In order to outline questions that could answer these questions, it is pointed out that, in the construction of this research, Mato Grosso state journals of the time that are hosted in the National Library sites (<https://www.bn.gov.br/>) were used. The Center for Regional Documentation and Historical Information was also used, which is linked to the Institute of Geography, History and Documentation of the Federal University of Mato Grosso and has a digital collection with several types of digitized materials. Thus, in this institution, it was possible to find five journals (*A Imprensa*, *A Situação*, *Escola*, *Neophyto* e *O Cruzeiro*), hosted at this center. Among them, *A Imprensa e Escola* were used.

In this same line, it should be noted that, in order to collect the research data, the Census of 1890 was widely used, which provided the realization of the data crossing, in order to work specifically with the categories recorded in this document, namely: name, race/color, know how to read and/or attend school. In this respect, it should be noted that these three categories were the central basis for gathering the data that were used in the construction of this work.

Methodologically, the study in question is joined to the bibliographical and documentary research. Thus, in what corresponds to the first, studies were mainly used to construct a glance at the local public education, aiming to understand the scenario placed on the theme studied, namely: Siqueira (2000), Paião (2006), Gomes (2009) and Miranda (2010). In this perspective, Lakatos (2003) points out that this type of research covers all bibliography already made public regarding the theme studied and its purpose is to put the researcher in direct contact with everything that has already been said, written or filmed on a given subject.

Regarding the documentary research, Oliveira (2007 as cited in Sá-Silva, Almeida, & Guindane, 2009) points out that it uses materials that have not received analytical treatment yet. For the author, the research with documents is a direct study

of scientific sources without having to resort to everyday facts. Which is also agreed by Sá-Silva et al. (2009), who point out that primary sources constitute original data, from which the researcher has a direct relationship with the facts to be analyzed. In this question, Cellard (2008) emphasizes that the work with documentary analysis favors the observation of the process of maturation or evolution of individuals, groups, concepts, knowledge, behaviors, mindsets, practices, among others.

From the perspective of Oliveira (2007 as cited in Sá-Silva et al., 2009), for this study, within the primary sources, the Reports of Presidents of Province, General Directors of Public Instruction, the newspaper of the time and, mainly, the Census of 1890 were gathered. In this sense, the Reports of Presidents of Province are documents that cover all the activities carried out in the Mato-Grosso state Province between 1835 and 1930 and are available at the Portal Center for Research Libraries³. In the case of the Reports of Principals of Public Instruction, these are documents that address all the activities developed in the field of education in Mato Grosso, and, as it has been pointed out earlier, Census is a document containing census data about the urban population of Cuiabá city.

Another relevant aspect in the construction of this study was the use of the 'name' as a connecting thread. In this regard, Ginzburg (1991) emphasizes that the 'name' is what distinguishes one individual from another in all known societies. For Ginzburg (1991, p. 175), "[...] the lines that converge on the name and depart from it, composing a kind of thin web, give the observer the graphic image of the social fabric in which the individual is inserted". In this paper, it is noted that the social fabric, as understood by the author, is named Cuiabá city's society, which was constituted by administrative, social and private bureaucracy experienced by black men and black women in the capital of the Province and after the state of Mato Grosso, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

Thus, it is important to note that, in the experience of the research using the 'name' as the connecting thread that led to it, as it was found in the newspaper, the document called '*Recenseamento de 1890*' [Census of 1890] was opened and the name was typed in the tab 'locate'; then, the *Enter* key was clicked, and 'the names' appeared one after the other. Next, the name 'Dormevil' was taken as an example, which, after writing to the localizer and clicking the *Enter* key, the following names appeared, as shown in Table 1.

³ Electronic address: <http://www.crl.edu/pt-br/brazil>.

Table 1 – Dormevil, a name as a connecting thread in the construction of data on blacks and browns in public education in Mato Grosso between 1857 and 1911

Number	Name	Age	Profession	Race	Marital status	Grade	
						SL	FE
1	Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado ⁴	51 years	Doctor	Brown	Married	Yes	No
2	Dormevil de Figueredo ⁵	2 years	-	White	Single	No	No
3	Dormevil Augusto Duarte ⁶	10 years	-	White	Single	Yes	Yes

Source: The author from data collected in Peraro (2005).

Note. SL – those who knew how to read, and FE – those who attended school.

If, in the news of the newspaper, the subject's qualifications were indicated and/or according to the content of the said news, it should be emphasized that it was not difficult to find out who the fact was narrated about and/or the news given.

About the Doctor Dormevil, it was possible to collect and gather information from various sources, such as newspaper, President of Province Reports, General Inspectorate of Lessons, as primary sources, and in bibliographic sources, such as books, articles that mentioned part of the trajectory of Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado in the public and private bureaucracy in Mato Grosso. In this sense, the important doctor held positions of influence in the Province of Mato Grosso, as follows: General Director of Public Instruction, according to the President of the Province Report of Mato-Grosso, 1880; and Inspector of Hygiene, according to *A Província de Matto-Grosso*, October 20th, 1889a.

Regarding the performance of blacks and browns in the region of public and private schools, it was possible to list a dozen 'names' of black men and black women, starting in 1857. Thus, these were the subjects who crossed part of the 19th century, exercising a variety of tasks and/or functions, having as male successors/female successors other black men and other black women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In view of this, this text is divided into three parts. In the introduction, the core of the research, the time frame, the objectives and the methodological questions were introduced. In the first part, questions emerge that reveal absolute population percentages, percentages of the racial profile, focusing attention on blacks and browns, especially in the age group from 20 to 39 years, with brown women at the center, and finally, data that lead to the understanding of how the Cuiabá city's public and private school was built with the intense presence of blacks and browns. In the

⁴ To have an idea about Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado, data from the following sources were sought: Peraro (2005); Siqueira (2000); Vilela (2001); Machado Filho (2003); *President of Province Report...* (Mato Grosso, 1876); *President of the Province Report...* (Mato Grosso, 1880); *President of the Province Report...* (Mato Grosso, 1884); *O Porvir* (1877); *O Liberal* (1876a, 1876b); *O Liberal* (1878); *A Província de Matto-Grosso* (1881); *O Matto-Grosso* (1890); Paião (2006), among others.

⁵ Present in the Census of 1890, on page 23.

⁶ Present in the Census of 1890, on page 119.

second part, based on the data obtained, black men and black women in public education in Mato Grosso are reported to the public. Later, it ends with the final considerations.

BLACKS AND EDUCATION IN MATO GROSSO IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

In the course of the last years of the 19th century, according to Bissigo (2014), the Census of 1872 revealed that Brazil had a population of 9,930,478 inhabitants⁷. According to the author, this quota was distributed as follows: white 38.1%, black 19.6%, browns 38.2% and indigenous 3.8%⁸. According to these figures, Brazil had a population with a black majority. In Mato Grosso⁹, according to the 1872 Census, this was not different either, because, according to the aforementioned Census, 71.4% of the total inhabitants of the Province corresponded to a non-white population; likewise, 69,8% for the municipality of Cuiabá and 70.7% for the urban part of the same city, which constituted a mostly black population¹⁰. As early as the late 19th century, the data point out that the Empire and the Mato-Grosso state Province had similar characteristics with regard to having a population of black predominance.

On this issue, Table 2, below, shows the general population quantity and in percentages, according to the categories race/color used in the 1890 Census, which corresponded to the two civil parishes that comprised the urban part of the city of Cuiabá, called Sé and São Gonçalo de Pedro II, at that moment.

⁷ According to the data cited, the Brazilian black population, in 1872, reached 57.8% (the sum of blacks and browns), and the Brazilian non-white population reached 61.6%, bringing together blacks, browns and indigenous.

⁸ Bissigo (2014) pointed out that the Report of the General Directorate of Statistics (DGE), from 1876, summarized the 1872 Census data, presenting the Brazilian population in thematic tables, such as social condition, race, profession, religion, education, among others.

⁹ Dutra (2017) used the concept of black demographic superiority, coined by Fonseca (2007), to expose as the population in the Province, in the city of Cuiabá and its urban area, was predominantly black. On the other hand, in this text, blacks and browns are united in the black category, because they understand that both gather, as the Black movement warns, those who recognize their African ancestry (Brasil, 2004, page 14).

¹⁰ The contributions of Siqueira (2000) help to understand a 'black demographic superiority' in the population quota of the Province of Mato Grosso. To this end, the author used data collected by 'military engineer Luiz D'Alincourt' in 1828, and pointed out that "[...] regarding the ethnic population, we found the existence of a majority of browns, included among the free category, the fruit of miscegenation among the different ethnic segments. In this period, immigration was reduced, counting only 156 foreigners of various nationalities" (pages 53-54).

Table 2 – Population of Cuiabá city, according to race, according to the Census of 1890

Number	Civil parish	Whites	Browns	Blacks	Total
1	Sé ¹¹	1880	3298	1227	6405
2	São Gonçalo de Pedro II ¹²	533	1128	266	1927
3	Total	2,413	4,426	1,493	8332
4	Percentages	28.9%	53.1%	17.9%	99.9%

Source: The author based on Dutra (2017, page 155).

In addition to the general percentages counted for the aforementioned race/color categories, observations were constructed that correspond to the black presence in public education in Mato Grosso, from 1857, with a main focus in the city of Cuiabá, highlighting black men and black women who were at the head of the public and/or private Mao-Grosso state school, in functions such as students, teachers and managers.

Thus, to demonstrate this scenario, it is necessary to build a glance from data collected in the 1890 Census that show that a quota of black men and black women present in the urban population of Cuiabá city were characterized as ‘knew how to read’ and/or ‘attended school.’ In this sense, data recorded in Mato-Grosso state journals, from 1857 onwards, pointed to the type of school institution in which this quota was present, whether in public or private schools. Thus, to reveal this scenario, Dutra (2017), which used the data presented in the 1890 Census, was used to demonstrate that, in percentages, the black population was mostly in the Cuiabá city’s school.

With regard to those men and those women who had had had some kind of contact with the school, Dutra (2017) also found that, in percentage terms, the population characterized as race/color brown constituted the largest group in relation to whites and blacks, among those who knew how to read and/or had attended school¹³.

In the analysis of the racial categories called ‘white’, ‘black’ and ‘brown’ present in the Cuiabá city’s school, it is noteworthy that the apex in Dutra’s work (2017) is on the gender issue. In this respect, the author showed that, in the age group from 20 to 39 years, women of race/color brown exceeded, in percentages, men of race/color

¹¹ According to the 1890 Census, in the civil parish of Sé, the racial categories were thus represented: whites = 29.3%, browns = 51.4% and blacks = 19.1%, that is, the black population accounted for 70.5% of the inhabitants of the city of the aforementioned Civil parish in 1890 (Peraro, 2005).

¹² According to the 1890 Census, in the civil parish of São Gonçalo de Pedro II, the racial categories were thus represented: whites = 27.5%, browns = 58.5% and blacks = 13.8%, that is, the black population accounted for 72.3% of the inhabitants of the city of the aforementioned Civil parish in 1890 (Peraro, 2005).

¹³ Dutra (2017) called the ‘comprehensive’ group the grand total of Cuiabá city’s population, particularly the categories of blacks, browns and whites who knew how to read, had attended school and lived in the urban part of the city of Cuiabá (MT) in the 1800’s. In addition, he appointed as an ‘intermediate’ group the total corresponding to the age group from 21 to 39 years of the categories of blacks, browns and whites who knew how to read, had attended the school and lived in the two civil parishes that comprised the city of Cuiabá at that time, and that probably would have been born from 1850.

brown in public education, in the urban part of the city of Cuiabá, according to data from the 1890 Census presented in Table 3.

Table 3 – Quantitative of men and women considered to be 'brown' race, aged between 21 and 39 years, who knew how to read, according to Census of 1890, from the civil parish of Freguesia da Sé¹⁴

Number		20 years	%	30 years	%	Total	%
1	Men	93	26.4	77	21.8	170	48.2
2	Women	107	30.3	75	21.3	182	51.7
3	Total	200	56.8	152	43.1	352	99.9

Source: The author based on Dutra (2017, page 171).

The same observations can be made in relation to women considered as black race/color and who lived in the civil parish of Sé. Therefore, according to Dutra (2017), these data can only be observed in the 20-year age group, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 – Quantitative of men and women considered to be 'black' race, aged between 21 and 39 years, who knew how to read, according to Census of 1890, from the civil parish of Freguesia da Sé

Number		20 years	%	30 years	%	Total	%
1	Men	13	22.4	25	43.1	38	65.5
2	Women	17	29.3	3	5.1	20	34.4
3	Total	30	51.7	28	48.2	58	99.9

Source: The author based on Dutra (2017).

From these observations, it can be seen that, as women moved toward the end of the 19th century, they became the majority in the Cuiabá city's school. This fact was probably due to the co-education regime that, according to Siqueira (2000), had vigorously collaborated for the universalization and democratization of education. For the author, although in two-way movement, education, on the one hand, facilitated the entry of girls into a larger school space; on the other hand, it offered the woman a wider professional field, because she would be responsible for teaching in typically female schools and mixed schools, where she was preferred to men.

In this perspective, in order to respond to the central objective of this study, on the extension of the presence of blacks and browns in public/private education in Mato Grosso, 'fio de Ariana' was followed. Thus, Table 5 brings to light some of the names of black men and black women, based on records found in the Mato-Grosso state journals, who attended the public and private school in the city of Cuiabá. Thus, the Episcopal Seminary of Conceição, until 1874, was the only secondary school in the Province of Mato Grosso, located in the capital. It is important to highlight that the information in the columns name, year, race and school, which make up Table 5, is central to understanding this issue.

¹⁴ See data on Civil parish of São Gonçalo de Pedro II in Dutra (2017).

Table 5 – Blacks and browns in Cuiabá city's schools between 1857 and 1893¹⁵

No.	Name	Year	Race	Male/Female Teacher	School	Grade/Class
1	Agostinho Lopes de Souza	1880	Black	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	1 st Grade
2	Anselmo Liberato de Oliveira	1880	Brown	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	1 st Grade
3	Antonia Augusta Gaudie Ley	1886	Brown	-	2 nd School of girls of the Civil Parish Sé	-
4	Antônio Pedro de Figueiredo ¹⁶	1863	Brown	Manoel Ribeiro dos Santos Tocantins	Escola de 2º Gráo	*17
5	Antônio Pereira Catilina da Silva	1863	Brown	Faculty of the Episcopal Seminary of Conceição	Episcopal Seminary of Conceição	Rational Philosophy, Ecclesiastical History
6	Antônio Pinto de Souza Leque	1880	Brown	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	Preparatory Classes
7	Augusto de Assis Monteiro	1880	Brown	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	2 nd Grade
8	Bernardina Maria Elvira Rich	1890	Brown	-	2 nd School of girls of the Civil Parish Sé	-
9	Candido Mariano da Silva	1880	Brown	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	2 nd Grade
10	Carlos Barbosa Farias	1872	Brown	Faculty of the Episcopal Seminary of Conceição	Episcopal Seminary of Conceição	Latin Grammar Class

¹⁵ In Table 5, Antonia Augusta Gaudie Ley, Bernardina Maria Elvira Rich, Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado, Jorgiana Carvalho Viera, João Christião Carastens, Joaquim da Silva Rondon, Sebastião José da Costa Maricá appear as male teachers and female teachers; Antônio Pereira Catilina da Silva and Félix Bendicto de Miranda appear as students and teachers; the others, only as students in public and private schools in the city of Cuiabá.

¹⁶ Counting on the data from the Census of 1890, Antonio Pedro de Figueiredo was 37 years old, according to the calculations performed and, in 1863, was 10 years old and attended the 'Escola de 2º Grao'[High School] of Primary Instruction, ruled by the teacher Manoel Ribeiro dos Santos Tocantins.

¹⁷ The use of the asterisk represents that, according to *A Imprensa de Cuiabá (1863)*, Antonio Pedro de Figueiredo had just been approved and Francisco Vieira Nery fully approved at the "Escola de 2º Grao" of Primary Education, ruled by the teacher Manoel Ribeiro dos Santos Tocantins.

No.	Name	Year	Race	Male/Female Teacher	School	Grade/Class
11	Celestino Vieira Nery	1880	Brown	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	Preparatory Classes
12	Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado		Brown	-	Escola Normal[Teaching School]/Liceu Cuiabano	Pedagogy and Methods
13	Félix Bendicto de Miranda ¹⁸	1880	Brown	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	Observer student of various classes
14	Francisco Antunes Muniz	1889	Black	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	Preparatory examinations
15	Francisco de Assiz Pereira	1872	Brown	Faculty of the Episcopal Seminary of Conceição	Episcopal Seminary of Conceição	Latin French Class
16	Francisco Ramos da Silva	1875	Brown	Benedicto Francisco de Paula	1 st and 2 nd schools	5 th /6 th
17	Francisco Vieira Nery ¹⁹	1863	Brown	Manoel Ribeiro dos Santos Tocantins	Escola de 2 ^o Gráo	*
18	Francisco Ramos da Silva	1875	Brown	Benedicto Francisco de Paula	1 st and 2 nd schools	5 th /6 th
19	Jorgiana carvalho Viera	? ²⁰	Brown	-	-	-
20	João Alves Guerra	1880	Brown	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	2 nd Grade
21	João Baptista da Silva Cuyabano	1889	Black	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	Preparatory examinations

¹⁸ According to *A Situação* (1871, 1872), he attended the French class at the Episcopal Seminary of Conceição, during 1871 and 1872.

¹⁹ The pieces of information in the 1890 Census indicate that Francisco Vieira Nery was 39 years at that time; however, by the calculations performed, he would have been born in 1851 and, in 1863, he was 12 years old and attended the 'Escola de 2 Grao' of Primary Instruction, ruled the teacher Professor Manoel Ribeiro dos Santos Tocantins.

²⁰ Among the sources researched, there was no record of any school and/or 'grao'[grade] in which Jorgiana Carvalho Vieira had performed teaching in Cuiabá. In this sense, the 1890 Census is the common source that unites the constructed works that cite the aforementioned female teacher.

No.	Name	Year	Race	Male/Female Teacher	School	Grade/Class
22	João Cancio da Cunha Pontes	1875	Brown	Benedicto Francisco de Paula	1 st and 2 nd schools	4 th /5 th
23	João Christião Carstens	1895	Brown	-	Atheneo Cuyabano	Day school for boys in Sé
24	Joaquim da Silva Rondon	1893	Brown	-	Lyceu Cuiabano	Teaching Course
25	Joaquim Marcellino Martins	1875	Brown	Benedicto Francisco de Paula	1 st and 2 nd schools	1 st /2 nd
26	José Patricio das Neves	1889	Black	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	Preparatory examinations
27	Manoel Luiz Pereira	1880	Brown	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	Preparatory Classes
28	Manoel Rodrigues de Miranda	1875	Brown	Benedicto Francisco de Paula	1 st and 2 nd schools	3 rd /4 th
29	Sebastião José da Costa Maricá ²¹	1857	Brown	-	Escola de Primeiro Grao da Capital[Primary School of the Capital]	-
30	Solano Alves Pereira	1889	Brown	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	Preparatory examinations
31	Thomé Ribeiro de Siqueira	1880	Brown	Faculty of Lyceu Cuiabano	Lyceu Cuiabano	Observer student of various classes

Source: The author based on *Noticiador Cuiabano* (1857); *A Imprensa de Cuiabá* (1863); *A Situação* (1872, 1875); *A Província de Matto-Grosso* (1880a, 1889b).

²¹ According to the newspaper *Noticiador Cuiabano* (1857).

It should be borne in mind that the data recorded in Table 5 inform passages of these subjects from elementary education, public and private secondary education to the preparation of those who wanted to attend higher education, and also those who worked in teaching at the First and Secondary Schools.

From the presence of blacks and browns as students in public and private schools, in the city of Cuiabá/MT, it was observed that the following years reserved prominent places for them, mainly in working as teachers in public education in the Mato-Grosso state Province. In this sense, the Vice-President of Barão de Diamantino Province, on May 3rd, 1875, pointed out that the Teaching School used to produce advantages, although it did not still compensate for the efforts made in favor of it, but that it promised 'flattering results.' Thus, it can be said that, according to the information presented in Table 5, those who produced advantages and flattering results were the public and private schools of the city of Cuiabá, which dealt with instructing the youth to help in the composition of the future of the Province.

On this issue, the Inspector General of Instruction Ernesto Camilo Barreto highlighted, in a report sent to the President of the Province, Hermes Ernesto da Fonseca, that Antônio Pereira Catilina da Silva, "[...] a distinguished son of the Seminar" (Report of the General Board of Public Instruction, 1880, page 16), sat in the 'Casting Chair' in the Teaching School. In addition, previously the President Barão de Diamantino had previously informed the teachers' profile of the school, and among them, it was noted that Antônio Pererira Catilina da Silva taught the subject 'Grammatica e Analyse da respectiva língua nacional'. [Grammar and Analysis of the respective national language] Regarding the performance in the Primary public school, Sebastião José da Costa Maricá, on June 28th, 1857, requested payment of 300\$ (three hundred reis) for the excess of 75 students who taught at the Escola de Primeiro 'Grao' [Primary School] of the capital. From public and private schools in Mato Grosso, Felix Benedicto de Miranda was announced by Doctor Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado as a 'distinct son of the teaching school,' which, together with other male masters and female masters "[...] concerned in fulfilling the obligations imposed on them the position of masters[...]", integrated the schools Primary Schools of the capital in the decade of 1880 (Report of the General Board of Public Instruction, 1880, page 16).

Thus, the scenario about the presence of blacks and browns in public and private schools in the city of Cuiabá/MT, especially as students, is outlined, then light is cast on 'the flattering results' which, as Barão de Diamantino said, both the Teaching School and Lyceu Cuiabano were producing. In this regard, it is noted that Table 6, later, reflects the black presence in the trajectory of public education as male teachers and female teachers in Mato Grosso, between 1857 and 1911.

THE TEACHING SCHOOL, LICEU CUIABANO AND THE SUBJECTS OF THE STUDY

To give an account of the nuances that show the passage of blacks and browns in the Mato-Grosso state public education, two institutions have fulfilled important roles in their training, the Teaching School and Liceu Cuiabano. Created on February 3rd, 1874, the Teaching School was responsible for the graduation of the first teachers in 1877; thus, the brown Félix Benedicto de Miranda Pardo went through this school. As for the Liceu, it was created on December 3rd, 1879 in the management of Doctor Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado, who, according to Siqueira (2000), was adept at the principle of compulsory education, striving to make it valid in Mato Grosso, especially in primary education.

In this perspective, establishing a dialog between this study and other Brazilian studies that respond to passages about the black in public education, the contributions of Silva (2000) and Fonseca (2007) are pointed out. It is noted that the text in question resembles the work carried out by Fonseca in the production of percentage data on the presence of blacks, browns and cabras in Minas Gerais schools between 1820 and 1850. In this sense, Silva (2000) brings the experience of Teacher Pretextato dos Passos and Silva in claiming a school for black and mixed boys at the Court. Thus, it is emphasized that, in the author's work, it is possible to indicate similarities between the paths built around a school experienced by Pretextato at the Court and those experienced by black men and black women in public/private education in Mato Grosso. It is noteworthy that the difference between the work in progress and the text of Silva (2000) is that, while Professor Pretextato builds a *via crucis* by applying for permission to create his school, in the trajectories of blacks and meadows built in Cuiabá, it was observed, according to the documents, these subjects did not find an obstacle²² to their insertion, performance and permanence in the Mato-Gross state public instruction.

In this same line, other studies about the black in public education in Brazil may still be pointed out, namely: Barros (2005), on schooling of the black population in São Paulo; Pinto (2006), who provides a glance at the black press in the 19th century; and Cruz (2009), who deals with the educational issues of black in Maranhão within the slavery system. To add to this question, see Table 6.

²² On this similarity, the reading of the works is suggested *Aprender com perfeição e sem coação: uma escola para meninos pretos e pardos na corte [Learn perfectly and without coercion: a school for black and mixed boys in the Court]* by Ariana Maria Paulo da Silva, published in 2000, mainly the third chapter, and *Ao correr da pena: pretos e pardos letrados na cidade de Cuiabá nos Oitocentos [Impromptu writing: literate blacks and browns in the city of Cuiabá in the 1800's]* of 2017, also the third chapter. In this regard, similarities were noted between the trajectories of Professor Agostinho Lopes de Souza and that of Pretextado dos Passos e Silva; however, Agostinho Lopes managed to conduct a private/mixed school, located in the central part of the city of Cuiabá, attending to the sons/daughters of several families residing in the city.

Table 6 – Black male teachers and black female teachers residing in the city of Cuiabá (MT) in the 1800's according to the Census of 1890

No.	Name	Age	Profession	Race	Marital status	Nationality	Grade	
							SL	FE
1	Agostinho Lopes de Souza	30	Teacher	Black	Single	Brazilian	Yes	No
2	Bernardina Maria Elvira Rich	18	Teacher	Brown	Single	Brazilian	Yes	No
3	Felix Benedicto de Miranda	33	Teacher	Brown	Married	Brazilian	Yes	No
4	Antônia Augusta Gaudie Ley	21	Teacher	Brown	Widow	Brazilian	Yes	No
5	Sebastião José da Costa Maricá	66	Teacher	Brown	Married	Brazilian	Yes	No
6	Jorgiana Carvalho de Oliveira	19	Teacher	Brown	Single	Brazilian	Yes	No

Source: The author based on Peraro (2005).

Note. For the 'Instruction' category, the data were informed on two acronyms: SL – those who knew how to read, and FE – those who attended school.

In this respect, Table 6 was constructed from data taken from the 1890 Census; thus, the document recorded a black race/color teacher and five of brown race/color. Among these, only Teacher Sebastião José da Costa Maricá did not have his graduation at the Teaching School of Cuiabá, since the others went through there. In addition, there is an exception also with teacher Jorgiana Carvalho de Oliveira, who lived in São Gonçalo de Pedro II Parish, and the others lived and worked in the Sé parish.

In this perspective, it is important to note that these data that reveal the presence of black men and black women in teaching may be higher, the assertive can be confirmed in Paião (2006), who presented the profile of 17 female teachers working in private schools in the Province of Mato Grosso, in the 19th century, casting light on their race/color. Thus, two of them were characterized as browns, Bernardina Maria Elvira Rich and Jorgiana Carvalho de Oliveira. Paião (2006) also highlighted teacher Izabel Perpétua de Mesquita, who had been characterized as being of white race/color in the 1890 Census, but, according to the author, and referring to the death record of Izabel de Mesquita, he pointed out that "[...]we have in 'her a woman of brunette color'" (page 80, our emphasis). On this issue, Figure 1 shows the Teaching School Teacher Bernardina Maria Elvira rich, from Mato-Grosso state education, journalist and writer, as Paião (2006) pointed out.



Figure 1- Teacher Bernardina Maria Elvira Rich.
Source: Extracted from Paião (2006, page 84).

Thus, from the observations made earlier, the thesis is reinforced that the number of male black teachers and female black teachers resident and/or working in the city of Cuiabá in the 19th century was constituted of a greater quantitative. In view of this, the data collected from the Reports of Presidents of Provinces, the journals of time and works that respond to the construction of the history of education in Mato Grosso demonstrate that, in addition to the data from the Census of 1890, other subjects were included in the Cuiabá city/Mato Grosso state public instruction as regents and/or managers of public or private schools, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7 – Black male teachers and black female teachers residing in the city of Cuiabá (MT) in the 1800's

No.	Name	Age	Profession ²³	Race	Marital status	Nationality	Grade	
							SL	FE
1	Antônio Pereira Catilina da Silva ²⁴	55	Teacher	Brown	Married	Brazilian	Yes	No
2	Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado ²⁵	51	Teacher	Brown	Married	Brazilian	Yes	No
3	José Joaquim dos Santos Ferreira ²⁶	60	Teacher	Brown	Single	Brazilian	Yes	No
4	Felippe Liberato	61	Teacher	Brown	Single	Brazilian	Yes	No
5	Bento Severiano da Luz ²⁷	35	Teacher	Brown	Single	Brazilian	Yes	No
6	Thomé Ribeiro de Siqueira ²⁸	36	Volunteer Teacher	Brown	Married	Brazilian	Yes	No

Source: The author based in Peraro (2005), in the Report of the Vice-President of Province (Mato Grosso, 1872), in the newspaper *Província de Matto-Grosso* (1880b, 1889c) and Paião (2006).

Note. SL – those who knew how to read, and FE – those who attended school.

²³ The profession of the subjects was informed as 'teacher', in Table 3, to show that at some point in their lives they took on activities related to public education, being appointed and/or offering to voluntarily carry out works in schools, as it was the case with Thome Ribeiro Siqueira who offered to, according to *A Província de Matto-Grosso* (1889c, p. 2), "[...] freely teach the decimal metric system the class of the examinees from the Primary school of the arsenal of war every Friday working day". In this respect, Peraro (2005) registered the following professions: Antônio Pereira Catilina da Silva (public servant), Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado (doctor), José Joaquim dos Santos Ferreira (chaplain), Felipe Liberato (musician), Bento Severiano da Luz (canon) and Thomé Ribeiro de Siqueira (public servant).

²⁴ In the General Inspectorate Report of Cuiabá Studies, addressed to President Hermes Ernesto da Fonseca, based on the data provided by the inspector general Ernesto Camillo Barreto, a table was presented entitled 'Nominal Map of employees and teachers of the Teaching School of Mato Grosso Province in 1876', informing, in the 'appointments' column, that the teachers Antônio Pereira Catilina da Silva, Doctor Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado, Alferes José Estevao Correa and Captain João Roberto da Cunha Bacellar had been appointed teachers of the Teaching School on September 30th, 1874 (Report of President of Province, 1877, p. 2).

²⁵ The Report of the President of Mato Grosso Province of 1872 José Cardoso Junior states that a night shift course had been created in the capital that year and that he had appointed a set of teachers to teach the subjects he had created for the course to take effect. It should be pointed out that, among them, was Doctor Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado, who had been appointed to teach the sixth subject, which was Geography and History concomitantly.

²⁶ According to the Report of the President of the Province of Mato Grosso, 1872 José Cardoso Junior, José Joaquim Ferreira do Santos was responsible for conducting the subject Latin in the night shift course created at that time.

²⁷ According to *A Província de Matto-Grosso* (1880b).

²⁸ According to *A Província de Matto-Grosso* (1889c). Peraro (2005) indicated that Thomé Ribeiro had as profession 'public employee'.

Thus, data collected from information recorded in the sources mentioned increased the number of black teachers from six to 12. By taking into consideration the questions concerning non-formal education, other subjects may be included, such as Adão da Costa e Faria and Bento José Rodrigues, who developed professionalization activities through the artisans in factories located in the city of Cuiabá, in 1879. Adão da Costa e Faria²⁹, for example, was master of the leather worker factory, saddlery factory and shoemaker section,³⁰ and commanded 19 workers and one apprentice. In the same year, Bento José Rodrigues³¹ acted as master of the locksmith's and commanded 14 workers and a '*mandador*'[Courier]³². In this regard, it should be noted that the extension of the division of black men and black women in the Mato-Grosso state education followed up until 1911, the final year imposed for the construction of this text.

About this increase in the number of male black teachers and female black teachers in public and private education schools in Cuiabá, it is important to understand what Fonseca (2007, p.20) called "[...] an invisibility of blacks [...]", in research in the historiography of Brazilian education. According to the author:

There is a pattern of treatment in relation to blacks in the Brazilian educational historiography and its main characteristic is the promotion of the invisibility of the members of this racial group. This is manifested in the history of education works through an explicit or veiled statement that, in Brazil, 'blacks did not attend schools' (Fonseca, 2007, p. 8, emphasis added).

Fonseca (2007) points out that, in general, this statement is directed toward a characterization of the periods in which slavery was in force and has as basic presupposition the idea that, in this system, the relationship between blacks and schools could only be thought of in legal terms so that slaves attended these institutions³³, which were interpreted without taking into account the possibility of

²⁹ According to Peraro (2005), Adão da Costa e Faria could be characterized as being of black race/color, 40 years old, leather worker, married, Catholic, Brazilian, knew how to read.

³⁰ In the edition of *A Província de Mato-Grosso (1879)*, several factories are presented, namely: blacksmiths, locksmiths, tinsmiths and tinkers, tailors, painters and still the gunpowder factory. It is noted that the factories had several masters as their responsibility and that they also included the couriers, the apprentices, the workers and the servants.

³¹ According to Peraro (2005), Bento José Rodrigues could be characterized as being of black race/color, 42 years old, locksmith, married, catholic, Brazilian, knew how to read.

³² Ver *A Província de Mato-Grosso (1879)*.

³³ In this sense, former enslaved Gil Braz Marcondes requested the inclusion of his name on the voting list of the capital, which, in the decade of 1880, in addition to exercising the function of public servants, he also appealed to the Court of Appeal to ensure participation as a voter in Freguesia da Sé parish. This passage can be confirmed in the edition of number 562 of *A Província de Mato Grosso*, published on

their relationship with the black population (Fonseca, 2007). On this issue, the sources have revealed an extension of 'literate' blacks and browns in the capital of the Province of Mato Grosso and that, possibly used it to ascend socially. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the province of Mato Grosso had mainly a mixed-race and bastard population. As pointed out by Silva (1995), "[...] 'it was available to meet the needs of settlement and defense of the border'" (p. 177, our emphasis), and that it could possibly be an important and favorable characteristic for the presence of blacks and browns in the Cuiabá city's schools.

Insisting on 'a black invisibility' in the historiography of Brazilian education, it was noticed that, in some works that deal with the history of education in Mato Grosso, the category 'race/color' was not used as an important datum. In this sense, it was observed that, by bringing contributions on the public education of Mato Grosso, Siqueira (2000) referred to the men and women who experienced the construction of Mato Grosso's education, using data from the Census of 1890; however, it was noted that the issue of race/color was not the object of its questions.

Thus, the name of men who were characterized as being of race/color brown by the mentioned Census appear in the texts of Siqueira (2000), namely Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado, Felix Benedicto de Miranda and Sebastião José da Costa Maricá. According to the Census of 1890, these black men were part of the racial group built by browns, according to the Census research carried out at that time. Therefore, it was noted that all these men were invisibilized, in terms of their racial profiles, in most of the works that deal with the historiography of education in Mato Grosso. About Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado³⁴, the work in the field of history also mention him, but without mentioning his ethnic-racial belonging, as well as Antônia Augusta Gaudie Ley, Antônio Pereira Catilina da Silva and others.

To culminate the construction of this study on the presence of blacks and browns in the Mato-Grosso state public education, between 1857 and 1911, it is worth noting that, if the subjects referred to above left their contributions to the historiography of the education of Mato Grosso, with the progress of the research until 1911, it was

October 20th, 1889. The same judge responsible for the order of the list presented responded to a challenge from another voter who, indignant, said Gil Braz did not have 'legal income' to be a voter, because of the houses where Gil had resided do not have "[...] the necessary locative value recommended by the law." On this issue, it is noted that, in the introductory part of the order of the interim judge of the District of Cuiabá, he considered that "[...] proved the legal income of the applicant 'citizen' Gil Braz Marcondes da Silva" (A Província de Mato Grosso, 1889a, p. 4, our emphasis).

³⁴ In addition to the trajectory of public education in Paião (2006) and Siqueira (2000), Dormevil José dos Santos Malhado served as a physician in the 'Army Health Corps', on the frontline in the War between Brazil and Paraguay, in the smallpox epidemic and in treatments against syphilis (Vilelea, 2001; Cavalcante, 2003), served in Santa Casa de Misericórdia (Santos, 2016), in abolitionist associations (Miranda, 2010; Dutra, 2017).

observed that some of these subjects³⁵ remained in the disputes, and other blacks and browns that were referred to in the 1890 Census succeeded and expanded their presence, either in teaching or in the management of the works related to public education in the province/state in question. In this regard, the Public Instruction Reports, between 1892 and 1911, point out issues such as appointment/dismissal, opening and/or ownership of private schools having, above all, browns on the front line.

The 1892 State Instruction Report of Mato Grosso by Director Pedro Gardes stated that the Teacher Antônio Pereira Catilina Silva taught the subject Portuguese grammar, at the Day School of the female sex, of the State of Mato Grosso, and was appointed on April 8th, 1889 (Gardes, 1892). Furthermore, Mrs. Bernardina Maria Elvira Rich and Mrs. Antônio Augusta Gaudieley were effective teachers of primary schools located in the capital, and Félix Benedito de Miranda had retired on June 26th, 1890. Regarding of what is called succession and/or enlargement of the presence of blacks and browns in the Cuiabá city' school, Pedro Gardes (1892, p. 6) reported that, among the schools “ [...] which were recommended to the esteemed parents of the family [...]”, was the school of the citizen Joaquim da Silva Rondon³⁶, located in the São Gonçalo parish, and Sé Parish, that of the citizen Chirstian Carstens, who is suggested to be the brown João Christião Carastens.

It is likely that João Christião Carstens had transformed his school into a day school and taken as partner Januário da Silva Rondon, giving the name Antheneo Cuyabano. Thus, as *O Matto-Grosso* (1895) states, the Atheneo Cuyabano would have been inaugurated on May 17th, 1894; thus, it was suggested that this school could have been a day school for boys, and that, by disagreement, the partnership between these teachers had been broken on February 23rd, 1895.

Referring to the issue in which it is pointed out that black men played a role in educational management in Mato Grosso, at the end of the Empire and at the beginning of the Republic, it is noted that, after the memorable passage of Doctor Dormevil José do Santos Malhado at the General Board of Public Instruction, between 1880 and 1884, in the 1892 Public Instruction Report, Pedro Gardes informed that the teacher Antônio Pereira Catilina³⁷ was in charge of Principal of the Day School of

³⁵ As the final framework of this study advances until 1911, in the Republic, the generation of the age group between 5 and 25 years, present in the Census of 1890, took the lead in public education in Mato Grosso. In this sense, according to Peraro (2005), Januário da Silva Rondon was possibly Januário Rondon a 22-year-old, characterized as race/color brown, single, knew how to read and was 'alummo do Semnário'[Student of the Seminary]; João Christião Carsterns, in accordance with the Census of 1890, was 19 years old, brown race/color, single and knew how to read.

³⁶ *O Matto-Grosso* (1893a), presented, in the 'News Section', the appointment of Januário da Silva Rondon to teach the subject Latin in at Lyceu Cuyabano.

³⁷ *O Matto-Grosso* (1893b) reported, in the 'News Section', that one of the 'most worthy members' of the Cuiabá city's society, Antônio Pereira Catilina da Silva, had died on March 3rd, 1893, as well as had performed with 'all aptitude and zeal' the public service that he had passed through, as Secretary of the Court of Appeal in 1874 and teacher of the subject Latin of Lyceu Cuiabá.

female sex of the State of Mato Grosso. Thus, other black men performed activities in the School Inspectorate in several localities³⁸ of Mato Grosso, either as inspector or substitute. About public education in Mato Grosso, the Principal Pedro Gardes presented seven causes responsible for its poor situation in 1892, pointing out, among them, the lack of inspection. In this way, he pointed out that:

The schools are under the inspection of the school inspectors, but this job is free and its exercise takes time for other occupations, this results in inspectors rarely visiting schools and were satisfied passing the certificate of attendance of teacher when this presented the school monthly map to him (Gardes, 1892, p. 5).

In this sense, for the year 1892, 37 names of inspectors were presented in the report together with their respective substitutes. In 1902, according to the Public Instruction Report provided by its principal, Januário da Silva Rondon, the citizen João Chistião Carnstens had been exonerated from the office of School Inspector of Corumbá City, by the act of the State Presidency, on May 7th of the same year (Rondon, 1902). In this respect, it is possible that the exonerated had the opportunity to change his profession, because, in agreement with *O Matto-Grosso* (1905), João Chistião Carstens worked as a lawyer and a consignee in the city of Corumbá, at Rua 15 de Novembro, nº 10.

Januário Rondon was recorded in 1890, 22 years old, profession 'Min. Tra'³⁹, student of the seminary, single, Catholic and knew how to read. Therefore, it is questioned: is it possible that the record could be that of Januário da Silva Rondon, the teacher, substitute inspector of the São Gonçalo de Pedro II parish and principal of public Instruction of Mato Grosso, between 1903 and 1906? Thus, in relation to the racial profile, it is noted that both have the same filiation. On this issue, a fact that helps in the possibility of Januário Rondon and Januário da Silva Rondon being the same person is the work of the teacher Maria da Glória Sá Rosa, who worked with the memories of the teacher Clarice Rondon, daughter of Januário da Silva Rondon. During an interview, Clarice Rondon referred to the teacher Januário da Silva Rondon as follows: "I was four years old and I can only remember my father for the photographs. 'As he was Marshal Rondon's cousin, he looked very much like him,

³⁸ The 1892 Public Instruction Report (Gardes, 1892) indicated the staff of School Inspectors and their substitutes that were in exercise in the state of Mato Grosso that year, namely: in Sé, Antônio Pinto de Souza Leque, appointed on August 24th, 1892; in São Gonçalo de Pedro II, Inspector Substitute Januário da Silva Rondon, appointed on June 8th, 1892; in Brotas, Inspector Substitute Manoel Felipe Cuiabano, appointed on August 4th, 1892. Regarding the racial profile, the above-mentioned were characterized as being of race/color brown in Peraro (2005).

³⁹ On the profession indicated for Januário Rondon, it was not possible to discover its meaning. It should be noted that this same profession also appears on the brown Pedro Leite da Cunha Mattos. Both lived with three priests at the Episcopal Seminary of Conceição, being, according to Peraro (2005), one of French nationality, another of German nationality, and a third of Brazilian nationality.

brunette, tall, thick moustache, straight hair (our emphasis)⁴⁰. In this sense, the reports of the General Board of Public Instruction of Mato Grosso, corresponding to the years 1903 to 1905, were signed by Januário da Silva Rondon.

At the end of the time frame chosen for this study, it is noteworthy that the 1911 published Instruction Report, in the 'appointments' session, indicated the citizen Manoel⁴¹ Pereira Cuiabano to the position of Alternate School Inspector in vila do Rosário, by act of the state government, on June 11th of that year.

FINAL REMARKS

The construction of this text exposed the insertion, permanence and prominence of black male teachers and black female teachers in the city of Cuiabá during part of the 1800's and beginning of the 1900's. In this sense, this work aimed to 'patent to the public' the presence of blacks and browns in the Cuiabá city's schools, whether public or private, pointing to ways to build other studies on other fronts. Thus, it is pointed out that it is still necessary to unveil the participation of these subjects in the formative process developed in the Teaching School and in Liceu Cuiabano – secondary public schools founded in Mato Grosso. Another issue is the development of studies that can highlight the performance of black female teachers in the Primary Schools, as was done by researcher Nailza Barbosa Gomes (2009), in constructing the Teacher Bernardina Maria Elvira Rich's trajectory.

In addition, the participation of the subjects presented in this study in the performance of multiple functions in the administrative bureaucracy of the province/state of Mato Grosso, especially in the management of Mato Grosso state education is noteworthy. Regarding this issue, the Reports of Presidents of Province and Principals of Public Instruction constitute fertile land, and the Public Archive of Mato Grosso is also pointed out as a barn for the construction of these studies. It should be noted that some passages point out that black men and black women were part of a Mato Grosso state's and/or Cuiabá city's intellectuality, since the newspaper at the time constituted vehicles for the circulation of ideas, information and opinions of this or that political faction, as Seine (2006) called, and a symbol of modernity, according to Pinto (2018).

⁴⁰ The interview with the Teacher Clarice Rondon is at <http://parquetematicodopantanal.com.br/clarice-rondon/>.

⁴¹ According to Peraro (2005), Manoel Pereira Cuiabano had been characterized as being of brown race/color. We also have Antônio Galdino da Silva Prado, who was 6 years old in 1890, brown race/color, did not know how to read or attend school and lived in São Gonçalo de Pedro Parish, according to Peraro (2005). In this way, it is evident that the subject informed in Peraro can be the same informed in the 1911 published Instruction Report and that it could possibly be the fruit of Cuiabá city's school. Thus, 'Doctor Antonio Galdino da Silva Prado' was appointed for the position of temporary teacher of the subject Natural History of the Liceu Cuiabano on March 18th, 1910.

About black men and black women who participated in the process of constructing a Mato Grosso state's intellectuality, the speeches of Teacher Sebastião José da Costa Maricá, in 1864, were made on the occasion of the awards distribution to his students on September 9th of that year, according to *A Imprensa de Cuiabá* (1864), and in the speech given by Doctor Dormevil José do Santos Malhado, on the occasion of the inauguration of Liceu Cuiabano in 1880, and also the participation of the Teacher Bernardina Maria Elvira Rich in the construction of the Fraternity Julia Lopes and the Journal Violeta. In this regard, a loose tip was left, indicating a path for future studies that could account for revealing the participation of blacks and browns in a Mato Grosso state's intellectuality. So let us patent to the public.

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