SCHOOL AND RACIAL STATUS IN CACHOEIRA DO CAMPO/MG IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT
In Minas Gerais there was a predominance of black people in elementary schools according to the population records of 1830s. In this article, we investigate the significance of these experiences confronting census documents from the district of Cachoeira do Campo/MG, located near Ouro Preto, in the central region of the province of Minas. Cachoeira do Campo has census documents resulting from two population countings that occurred in the years 1831 and 1838. The procedure consisted in separating households whose children, in 1831, attended school. Then, these households were identified in the documents of 1838 and we analyzed the situation of the educated individuals and their family group. The seven-year interval between the documents allowed the assessment of the impact of school experience, revealing, among other things, that educated blacks were preferably designated as pardos and they could change their racial status, and were even classified as white.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION • BLACKS • MINAS GERAIS • NINETEENTH CENTURY
A DEFINITION OF THE OUTLINES OF THE ISSUE IN THE DISTRICT OF CACHOEIRA DO CAMPO/MG

The region that gave rise to the process of occupation of the territory of Minas Gerais, i.e., the one which was in the center of the captaincy1 and had its development driven by mining activity, had schools in which blacks were the majority of students in elementary schools. This was established through the analysis of census records, consisting of name lists of inhabitants who, in 1831, accounted for the population of several districts of Minas Gerais. These documents show the records of children who were at school and also their racial classification according to the people responsible for collecting the information relating to the census. This made possible the investigation of the racial classification of those children, revealing a predominance of blacks in elementary schools. They comprised 70% of those classified as students in the districts that made up the mining region located in the center of Minas Gerais.

In this article, we intend to investigate the meanings of that experience to the black population. In order to do this, we will work with a reduced scale which will allow us to approach aspects of the school experience of these individuals and their respective family groups. From among the census records, we chose the District of Cachoeira do Campo, which has the most complete lists related to this subject. This is one of the few districts for which name lists of two distinct years, 1831 and 1838, both with some kind of information on the educated population, are available. In Cachoeira do Campo, there was a significant contingent of blacks in the population and in the elementary schools. Therefore, it is a district that gathers the essential elements for us to expand the meaning of the school experience of the black population in the State of Minas Gerais in the 19th century.

The first records of Cachoeira do Campo indicate that this settlement was raised to the status of a parish in the year 1724. This is one of the districts that belonged to Ouro Preto, but which did not have its origin linked directly to the economic activity that spurred the development of the region, namely, mineral extraction. This can be seen in one of the few studies that traces its origin:

Unlike the neighboring villages, Cachoeira do Campo did not have its origin in mining, but in the amenity of its climate, the fertility of its soil, and the charm of its beautiful landscape. This led many of the newcomers to abandon the seductive mirages of gold holdings dispersing themselves by the neighboring places, where the beauties of nature, the kindness of the climate, the quiet life, away from the disruption and the killings that already infested the gold towns, provided them a happier existence. They also found compensation not only from their hard farm work in cultivating
this virgin land but also for the extremely high food cost in those primitive days, often forcing the poor miner, urged by the anguish of hunger to deliver gold octaves for a handful of food – such was the origin of Cachoeira do Campo. (LEMOS, 1941 p. 77)

Cachoeira do Campo emerged and developed as a supply warehouse for the mining region. When the 1831 census data is taken into consideration, we find that, a little more than 100 years after its formal recognition, the district had a population of 1,476 inhabitants who lived in 229 households, with a population of 310 slaves (21%).

The racial profiling of the population registered a small portion of whites and a predominance of blacks, who were classified as blacks, pardos, crioulos and cabras, as shown in graph 1:

![Graph 1: Racial Profile of the Population of Cachoeira do Campo (1831)](image)

Source: Name list of the inhabitants of Cachoeira do Campo (1831).

The terms used to designate the black population (preto², crioulo³, pardo⁴, cabra⁵) contain meanings that designate specific conditions in this segment. However, this diversity of categories does not prevent the gathering of data related to the black population. The data show that there was an absolute predominance of the members of that group among the population, being 91% black and 9% white.⁶

When we consider the profile of the pupils in the elementary schools on the name list of 1831, we do not find the same diversity of classification terms used in relation to the black population. The racial profiling of students was recorded from a contrast between whites and pardos. In Cachoeira do Campo there were 45 children in the elementary schools; of these, 39 were classified as pardos (86.6%) and 6 as white
Therefore, we find a similarity between the racial profiles of the population and the elementary school since, in both cases, there is an absolute majority of blacks.

One of the differences between the data contained in the name lists of Cachoeira do Campo in the years of 1831 and 1838 is that the former registers persons who were in school and the latter, does not. However, the latter presents data about literate people.

The name list of 1838 indicates that the population of the city had expanded to 1,790 inhabitants, and, of these, 327 were considered literate (18.2%). When we consider the racial profiling of this group, we find the same polarization of elementary schools that registered only whites and pardos.

The polarization between whites and pardos repeats itself but, unlike the elementary school data, there is a balance in the distribution of these two groups among the literate population, both with 49%.

These data lead us to establish some considerations about the situation concerning racial classifications in the records of Cachoeira do Campo.

It can be said that, when we consider the racial profile of the elementary school in 1831, we find a correlation between the presence of different racial groups in elementary schools and the population; that is, blacks and whites were present in schools at levels very close to their presence in the population. In 1831, blacks were 91% of the population and were 86.6% in elementary schools.
This association between the racial profile of the population and the school is not found in relation to the literate individuals, in 1838. It is possible to observe an over-representation of literate whites when compared to their number in the population. In 1838, whites comprised 16.6% of the population of Cachoeira do Campo and their presence among the literate was 49%. Blacks accounted for 83.2% of the population and were underrepresented among the literate, with 49%. On the other hand, the same as shown with regard to elementary schools, we did not find the diversity of classification terms used to record the black population of Cachoeira do Campo. Among the literate, we found no crioulos, blacks nor cabras, only the so-called pardos.

The verification of this situation in relation to individuals who were in contact with schooling processes leads to question the matter and to construct some issues:

- First: when we consider the segment studied, the fact that we don’t find the different classification terms used in relation to blacks can be taken as an indication that the process of education stabilized racial classification standards, establishing the term *pardo* as a privileged form to designate schooled blacks?
- Second: we know that elementary schools were not institutions monopolized by whites; on the contrary, they were blatantly minority. Therefore, can the over-representation of whites among readers be attributed to a change in the racial status of *pardos* to the condition of whites, from their inclusion in the literate group?

These two questions, raised from data related to schooled individuals of Cachoeira do Campo, lead to a broader issue that, in our view, involves profound significance for the history of education. This question can be formulated in the following terms: was there an interference of schooling in the pattern of racial classification of individuals in the 19th century?

**METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES FOR ANALYSIS OF RACIAL CLASSIFICATION IN NAME LISTS**

To try to assess the level of participation of the school in the processes of racial classification of individuals, in the 19th century, we will use a standard analysis based on a comparison of the data contained in the 1831 and 1838 lists. Therefore, we will compare households with children in schools seeking to examine, in the seven-year time gap that separates the two records, the changes produced in the social trajectory of the families and individuals that have been classified as elementary school students.
To elucidate the procedures used in this analysis, we will reproduce the record of a household found in both, the 1831 and 1838 documentation. Therefore, there will be two records for the same household. Then, we will comment in detail on the different characteristics of these records, comparing the information from the two documents:

**FIGURE 1**
HOUSEHOLD OF ANTONIA MARIA DE JESUS

### REGISTRO DE 1831

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitantes</th>
<th>Qualidade</th>
<th>Condição</th>
<th>Idade</th>
<th>Estado</th>
<th>Ocupação</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D. Antonia</td>
<td>Branca</td>
<td>Caixa</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Solteira</td>
<td>Tece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Marciana</td>
<td>Branca</td>
<td>Caixa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Solteira</td>
<td>Costureira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emericiana</td>
<td>Cabra</td>
<td>Cativa</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Solteira</td>
<td>Cozinheira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Cabra</td>
<td>Cativa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### REGISTRO DE 1838

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitantes</th>
<th>Qualidade</th>
<th>Condição</th>
<th>Idade</th>
<th>Estado</th>
<th>Alfabetização</th>
<th>Nacionalidade</th>
<th>Ocupação</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonia Maria de Jesus</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vaqueiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cipriano Pimenta</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marciana</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Não</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mereciana</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Escrava</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Solteira</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Escrava</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Name list of the inhabitants of Cachoeira do Campo (1831, 1838).

To understand the pattern of analysis used here, it is necessary to explain the ways the information concerning households were filled in, identifying specificities, repetitions, changes, i.e., what was kept and what changed between one record and another.

The first piece of information to be discussed refers to the person listed in the first place, who was always the head of the household. The records above refer to the household headed by a woman who, in 1831, appeared under the name of D. Antonia and, in 1838, as Antonia Maria de Jesus; that is, in the latter document, she was listed with the full name. In 1831, Antonia received the “D.” (Lady) in addition to the name, which was a prerogative of the white women because, in the name list of Cachoeira do Campo, only they received this type of classification.

When the two records are compared, some inaccuracies in the presentation of the names of almost all members of the household can be observed. In the Brazil of the 19th century, this can be understood as the manifestation of a lack of a civil identity brought about by the relationship of the people with their own names. This situation is similar to the one investigated by Philippe Ariès (1962, p. 15) in pre-industrial Europe:

A man of the sixteenth or the seventeenth century would be astonished at exigencies with regard to civil status to which we submit
quite naturally. As soon as our children start to talk, we teach them their name, their age and their parents’ name. [...] In the Middle Ages, the Christian name had been considered too imprecise designation description, and it had been found necessary to complete it with a surname, a place in many cases. And now it has become advisable to add a further detail, the numerical character, the age.

In the name lists, age is shown with the same pattern of ambiguity of the name. This becomes clear when we observe that the age of D. Antonia remained the same in the two documents. The two lists are of different periods and are separated by seven years; however, in both, she is listed as being 44 years old. This indicates the little social significance of age control, or, as Ariès says (1962, p. 15):

We are extremely proud when little Paul, asked how old he is, replies correctly that he is two and a half. We feel in fact that it is a matter of importance that little Paul should get this right: what would become of him if he forgot his age? In the African bush, age is still quite an obscure notion, something which is not so important that one cannot forget it. But in our technical civilization, how could anyone forget the exact date of his birth, when he has to remember it for almost every application he makes, every document he signs, every form he fills in – and heaven knows there are enough of those and there will be more in the future. Little Paul will give his age at school; he will soon become Paul ____ of Form ____ [...].

The social value assigned to the age and to the name was implemented by processes that were established differently in relation to different social groups. This can be seen in relation to how slaves were registered. This is the case of the slave Emericiana, in which we can observe, in relation to age, an even bigger inaccuracy than the one of D. Antonia. Emericiana was registered as being 30 years of age in the first document and 26 in the second, i.e., four years younger.

This distinction also applies to the name as an expression of the identity of the slaves which, besides showing slight variations, as in the case of Emericiana that becomes Mereciana on the second record, generally did not have a surname. In the name lists of inhabitants, the frequency that the surname appears for free people and not for slaves indicates a pattern of resistance in assigning the latter the dimension of individuality, or of identity. According to Ariès (1978), the process of construction of the name as an expression of civil identity indicates that the first name was connected to the world of “fantasy”, while the second is connected to the world of “tradition” to which the person was linked.10

10 Therefore, in the past in Brazil, the translation of the “fantasy” from the names of saints was very common, as we have today an imaginary marked by names of foreign influence, such as Alysson, Michel, Jonathan.
The slaves were not seen as individuals who were part of a tradition; therefore, it was common for them to be designated only with the “fantasy” or the imaginary of the first name.\textsuperscript{11} In the name list of Cachoeira do Campo, in 1838, there were 351 slaves and none of them had a last name. When a name was added, it was usually connected to their African origin (Agostinho Angola, Ana Benguela, Francisco Congo, Maria Cabinda) or a classification of ethnic/racial nature (Francisco Criolo).

When we consider the relations of kinship of the household presented above, we note that D. Antonia was registered as the head of the household in the two documents, as her name was listed in the first place in both of them. It is likely that she was Marciana’s mother, since, in 1831, Marciana’s name appeared directly after her name. In addition, an age pattern compatible with this degree of kinship is observed, since she is listed as being 19 on the first document and 25 on the second. However, since the relationship is not made clear in the document, it is not possible to affirm that categorically. In fact, the family group can only be understood when we realize how the name lists ordered individuals within the household.

The way the lists were filled in does not define the relationship between the members of the household; however systematic work with this material enables the understanding of some relationships between them. This is the case of the variation of the structure of D. Antonia’s household, to which Cipriano Pimenta was incorporated. In 1838, he was introduced into the household as married to Marciana. It was common in the registry of couples that they were introduced one after another, always with the man in the first place, something common to the patriarchal mentality of the 19th century.

Cipriano was introduced into the group through marriage, but the leadership of the household remained the same, which shows the young couple’s dependence upon D. Antonia.

The incorporation of Cipriano Pimenta into the household has some significance from the point of view of the game of social hierarchies. This is evident when we recovered his situation in 1831, in which he appeared in the household headed by Joaquina Pimenta da Silva, a widow who, according to surname, age, racial condition and household structure, may be seen as his mother:

\textsuperscript{11} When analyzing a Regulation for the Organization of the General Census of the Empire, of 1851, Lima (2003, p. 105) found the following situation in relation to the registration of names: “Art. II- The lists should contain: 1. The names of every person in the family, but of the slaves, of whom a simple reference to the number by sex is enough.” That is, in this attempt to conduct a national census, the slaves were no longer required even the “fantasy” of the first name, they should be registered only by numbers that would lead to the composition of statistical series.
There is no doubt that the Cipriano that appears in this household, in 1831, is the same that appears married to Marciana, in 1838. A clear indication of this is the repetition of the name, which was not common in the lists of Cachoeira do Campo. In fact, this is the only individual who came up with that name in the lists of 1831 and 1838. The registry of the surname on both lists appears as strong evidence of this. The age too, since it reveals the regularity between the two documents: he is listed as being 21 in 1831, and later as being 27, in 1838.

Therefore, there is a set of information that repeats itself, or that represents a pattern of regularity between the two documents. However, it is important to draw attention to the fact that Cipriano had his racial classification changed. In 1831, he appeared as *pardo* and, in 1838, as white.

The process of incorporation of Cipriano into the household of D. Antonia was a change in his racial classification. The structure of D. Antonia’s household in 1838, and that of the mother of Cipriano, Joaquina Pimenta da Silva in 1831, does not indicate that this change was due to a change in economic status. The two household units are similar in their structure: both were headed by women and had mostly free people. On the other hand, there was a significant change in the status of Cipriano’s trade, which first appeared as a hired worker and then as a cowherd. Therefore, the pattern of households with regard to the economic situation seems to be very similar.

The basis for the change in racial classification can be interpreted as a wish of those who made the record and their desire to level social relations. Thus, to classify individuals in the same group would show a desire for stability, since racial classification was a factor of social distinction. That is, to be introduced into a family group classified as white led to a tendency to be shifted into the racial pattern of the group. This process of leveling the racial classification was detected by Tarcísio Botelho (2004, p. 8), who draws attention to the fact that,

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**Figure 2**

**HOUSEHOLD OF JOAQUINA PIMENTA DA SILVA (1831)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitantes</th>
<th>Qualidade</th>
<th>Condição</th>
<th>Idade</th>
<th>Estado</th>
<th>Ocupação</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joaquina Pimenta da Silva</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Viúva</td>
<td>Fia algodão</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Pimenta</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Solteio</td>
<td>Faz chicotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joaquima Pimenta</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Solteio</td>
<td>Faz chicotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cipriano Pimenta</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Solteio</td>
<td>Aluga para todo trabalho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco Pimenta</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Solteio</td>
<td>Faz chicote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João Pimenta</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.......</td>
<td>Na escola de primeiras letras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudina Pimenta</td>
<td>Parda</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Solteira</td>
<td>Fia algodão</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severina</td>
<td>Crioula</td>
<td>Cativa</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Solteira</td>
<td>Trabalha no quintal do senhor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Name list of the inhabitants of Cachoeira do Campo (1831).

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**Glossary:**
- *aluga para todo trabalho* - hired worker
- *cativa* - slave
- *condição* - condition
- *crioula* - crioula
- *estado* - civil status
- *Faz chicote(s)* - whip maker
- *Fia algodão* - cotton weaver
- *Habitantes* - inhabitants
- *idade* - age
- *livre* - free
- *na escola de primeiras letras* - elementary school student
- *ocupações* - occupations
- *pardo / parda* - *pardo* / *parda*
- *qualidade* - quality
- *solteira / solteiro* - single
- *trabalha no quintal do senhor* - works in the master’s backyard
- *viúva* - widow
[...], when the parish priest was the marriage registration officer or when the Justice of the Peace built his list of inhabitants, they might tend to see the spouses with the same race/color. This trend would be more an expression of the desire for social harmonization than “real” phenotypic color expression of the spouses. The homogamy would be more a social construction held at the time of the constitution of the couple than the expression of a racial “reality”.

Therefore, with regard to weddings, this was not an unusual procedure in the State of Minas Gerais. However, we believe that the desire for stability between individuals that took part in social relations such as marriage cannot be the only explanatory element. Most likely, in such cases, a set of elements that involved some sort of social value would come into play.

As indicated earlier, in the case of Cipriano, the rationale does not seem to be of economic order because the two households where he appeared are far from wealthy. Thus, it is necessary to take into account elements of another order. Among them is the possible social position occupied by the family group to which Cipriano belonged: the Pimenta family, which is a surname that appears in various households of Cachoeira do Campo.

The recurrence of the surname Pimenta in the name list of Cachoeira do Campo indicates that this group represented a family network with strong presence in the district. In the name list of 1831, there are a total of 229 households and, in 13 of them, there are members of the Pimenta family. In 1838, out of a total of 298 households, 18 had members with that name.

There is no other name that appears so often in households of Cachoeira do Campo. Everything indicates that it was a black family – most of the individuals were classified as pardos\(^\text{13}\) – that was in the process of changing social/racial status. That is because other members of the Pimenta family underwent a shift similar to that of Cipriano. This is the case of the household headed by João Pimenta, shown below, in 1831 and 1838:
In the household of João Pimenta, the shift in relation to racial classification occurred with all members of the group, going from *pardo* to white, which was, within the standard hierarchy of the 19th century, regarded as the top of the racial classification scale.

Therefore, as in the Cipriano’s case, it is not possible to identify one single element that justifies the change of the racial classification of João Pimenta’s family group. The occupation record indicates that he was wagoneer and, subsequently, appears as someone who worked as a farmer. There’s a level of imprecision in the registry of this type of trade. A farmer was a broad description that could encompass the experience of individuals linked to activities with a distinct economic level. It could refer to a small farm owner or to large farmers. João Pimenta seems to be the former case, since his household contains only free people, that is, he did not own slaves. If he had become a large landowner, he would probably have several slaves.

Here, which seems to justify the change of status of the family of João Pimenta, are elements such as belonging to a family network spread all over the district and also the fact of having a marital status according to the standards accepted as ideal, as the condition of marriage legitimacy recognized in the registry of the two name lists indicates. On the other hand, we must consider the literacy of the head of the household and his eldest son, showing a relationship with the processes of civilization developed from schooling.

The 1838 records do not register children who attended school. Thus, it does not show whether the sons of João Pimenta, who were of school age, were involved in formal education processes. However, if we consider the literate condition of the father and the eldest son, we can say that it was a family group that had the “habit” of schooling of

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**Table: Households of João Pimenta between 1831 and 1838**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Racial Classification</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>First Son</th>
<th>Second Son</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>João Pimenta</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Wagoneer</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Jose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rita</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Farmar</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Annetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domiciano</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Carreiro</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Annetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joaquim</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Carreiro</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Annetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabino</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Carreiro</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Annetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felicidade</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Carreiro</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Annetta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Name list of the inhabitants of Cachoeira do Campo (1831, 1838).

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1. *mês* - 1 month old  
2. *Agricultor* - Farmer  
3. *Branco* - White  
4. *Candieiro do carro* - Ox cart lamp bearer  
5. *Carreiro* - Wagoneer  
6. *Casado / Casada* - Married  
7. *Estado* - Civil status  
8. *Exposta - Orphan*  
9. *Fia algodão* - Cotton weaver  
10. *Habitantes - Inhabitants*  
11. *Idade - Age*  
12. *Livre - Free*  
13. *Não - No*  
14. *Ocupação - Occupation*  
15. *Pardo - Pardo*  
16. *Qualidade - Quality*  
17. *Registro - Register*  
18. *Sim - Yes*  
19. *Solteiro - Single*  

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14. A farmer was a broad description that could encompass the experience of individuals linked to activities with a distinct economic level. It could refer to a small farm owner or to large farmers. João Pimenta seems to be the former case, since his household contains only free people, that is, he did not own slaves. If he had become a large landowner, he would probably have several slaves.

15. Here, school age is considered in the terms defined by the Decree N.13 of 1835, which established that elementary school should be free and compulsory for free male children, aged from 8 to 14. (FARIA FILHO; GONÇALVES, 2004).
their members. It is likely; therefore, that Sabino (12 years old), Joaquin (8 years old) and even Antonio (6 years old) were in school.

There are indications that school would be an institution with which this group was familiar, and this can be considered as one of the elements responsible for the change in racial status between the records of 1831 and 1838. In fact, this is a situation that would also apply to Cipriano, who also changed his racial status when he was introduced to the household of a white family group in which he appeared as literate. Thus, as in the case of João Pimenta’s family, the literate condition must be considered in the changing of racial classification.

THE TERMS OF RACIAL CLASSIFICATION IN THE NAME LISTS OF CACHOEIRA DO CAMPO

There is a diversity in racial classification nomenclature when we consider all the individuals that were introduced in the name lists of Cachoeira do Campo in 1831: white, native, *pardo*, *crioulo*, *cabra*, black. Amid this diversity, the last four terms refer to different forms of classification in relation to the black population. These terms reveal that there was a hierarchy that defined social positions for different segments of the population and this definition considered elements such as place of origin, social position, miscegenation and relationship with slavery.

We do not have sufficient evidence to establish the exact order of this hierarchic classification used in relation to the black population (black, *pardo*, *crioulo*, *cabra*). However, it is necessary to highlight that the name lists indicate that these elements made up a code that was shared and that there was an order that established its use. In other words, these terms referred to a classification that defined the place occupied by individuals in the 19th century society in Minas Gerais.

There is not enough information to define precisely the hierarchy among those terms, but we have no doubt regarding the two extremes of the classification rank: at one end the condition of _pardo_, defined as the highest level, was preferentially applied to free blacks. At the other end, the term *black*, defined as the least prestigious level, was employed preferentially for the classification of Africans.

When we resort to name lists of other districts, the classification of black can be understood as a synonym for African, which can be verified by the alternate use of these two terms. There are lists that used it as a criterion for classifying the origin of the individuals. Thus, in the field which recorded the classification, there is no designation of color or race, but of origin, that is, Africa. Generally, in the lists that used the classification of *African*, the term *black* was not found. In others, such as in the list of Cachoeira do Campo, only the term *black* is found,
which tended to be used for the registration of individuals coming from Africa.\textsuperscript{17}

In the list of Cachoeira do Campo, in 1831, there are 142 individuals who were classified as black, 9.6\% of the total population; of these, 133 were slaves and 9 were free. None of the so-called blacks on that list were classified as free, meaning that none of them were born in this condition in Brazil. The few who were not slaves received the designation of freedmen, indicating that they had been slaves before they were free.

One of the differences between the name list of 1831 and the one of 1838 is that the latter contains the field nationality. This field was filled in only for those who were born in Africa. For all other individuals, it remained blank. The nationality was a field to be completed to register the “other”, the one who was not born in Brazil. For all the others, nationality was self-evident.\textsuperscript{18}

Taking into consideration the nationality, 107 individuals were registered; of these, only one was not African (classified as German), everyone else had indications linking them to different groups from Africa: Congo, Benguela, Rebolo, Angola, Cassage, Monjolo, Cabinda, Mina. It can be said that, in 1838, Africans comprised a representative group in Cachoeira do Campo, 6\% of the total population, making it necessary to create a means to distinguish this group from others, which would justify the use of the standard term \textit{black}.

At one end of the classification rank of the group represented by blacks we have black Africans, at the other end, the so-called \textit{pardos}. They represented the segment with greater demographic weight in Cachoeira do Campo, accounting for 53.4\% of the population, in 1831, and 54.6\%, in 1838.\textsuperscript{19}

To Hebe M. Mattos (1998), the use of that term \textit{pardo} was related to the processes of change of the meaning of freedom in the Southeast region. At the center of this change was the meaning of color, which was an important mechanism of social distinction in the 18th century and, for the purposes of social status, had its meaning defined by the condition of free whites and black slaves. At the gateway to the 19th century, this distinction lost strength as many individuals of color began to be freed.

\begin{itemize}
  \item The growing process of not differentiating poor whites from free blacks and mestizos would have led, for opposite reasons, to the loss of color for both. It is not necessarily a whitening process. In most cases, this is not mentioned. The disappearance of reference to color meant that blacks and mestizos were being inserted into the world of free individuals. It is no longer the monopoly of the whites, even though the adjective “black” continues to be
\end{itemize}
a synonym of slave, but also it refers to a deconstruction of the social ideal of freedom inherited from the colonial period; that is, the social deconstruction of a notion of freedom based on the color white, associated to the power of slave property. (MATTOS, 1998, p. 98)

According to Mattos (1998), freedom as social status was no longer a prerogative of the whites and no longer had its meaning connected only and exclusively to skin color. This would be one of the justifications for the disappearance of color from documents from the 19th century. It stopped being a criterion that by itself defined the social place of individuals, leading to a lack of reference to color in the documents of various institutions. When color was recorded, there was a tendency to classify the free blacks as pardos, which would indicate that such classification was also a social position.

The term pardo therefore can be interpreted as an indicative of a social position and not as a mere result of miscegenation. Thus pardo, would be the highest level that an individual belonging to the black population could reach, still with the possibility of shifting the classification to white. This is what Tarcísio Botelho points out (2004, p.8):

The race/color classification in documents from Brazil’s past is very imprecise. It expresses much more a social rank than a racial origin, with the color white being at the top. In other words, the declaration of color was, many times, influenced by the social position of the individual. This shows the several variations that can be found in relation to the color of the same individual. According to the document, one person is classified as pardo and, some years later, as white.

Following in the same direction, Ivana Stolza Lima (2003 p. 32) reaffirms the need to take into account the historical and social significance of racial classification:

No racial classification has a trans-historical or invariable meaning [...] all forms of classification carry a set of objectives, interests, uses and purposes, which obey not only the variable logic of the speaker – a private and informal conversation, the different legal jurisdictions, the census, the exercise of discipline, etc. – as the historical context itself.

These considerations help us to think about the data relating to the schooled individuals of Cachoeira do Campo. Thus, we can assess to what extent the polarization between whites and pardos in elementary
schools was not, in fact, the result of a process in which the relationship with the school institution, while a civilizing device, focused on the classification of individuals.20

To further the issue which considers the school as a variable that focuses on racial classification of individuals, we will analyze the impacts of schooling from the confrontation of the households of individuals who attended elementary school in the name lists of 1831 and 1838.

HOUSEHOLDS WITH STUDENTS IN THE SCHOOLS OF CACHOEIRA DO CAMPO IN 1831 AND 1838

In 1831, 47 individuals were identified as elementary school students in Cachoeira do Campo, distributed among 30 households; in some of them we find more than one child in school. It is no easy task to locate the records of the households of children who were in school in 1831 and 1838. It is always difficult to confirm the data because of the variation in names and recording the ages which, as already seen, were not expressions of a civil identity that followed individuals in different documentary records. On the other hand, there was always the possibility of a change in the household structure, with new members joining in or moving out. Therefore, it is always necessary to compare sets of information to identify the households in the two documents of Cachoeira do Campo.

Following these procedures, in the list of 1838 we found 22 households of the 30 registered with school children from the list of 1831. The first aspect to highlight regarding the data from these households is the level of familiarity of its members with the world of reading. This can be established, as we confirmed that most heads of households were introduced as readers: 13 of these individuals were reported in this condition in 1838. Nine others, who were classified as heads of households, were not readers. However, we must consider that, of those, only one was male and the rest were female, a group less involved with school and reading.21

The 22 households in the 1838 name list had 32 individuals identified as elementary school students, who also appeared in the 1831 name list. Of those, 27 were recorded as literate and five were not. These data indicate that the majority of those individuals remained in school until they reached a level at which they were formally recognized as readers.

When the racial status of the individuals in this group is considered, we can observe that, in our sample, the white classification can be regarded as a definition with a certain level of stability. Of the 22 households with children in school in 1831, we also found in the 1838
list, that three contained white children who remained in the same condition, i.e., the race classification was repeated on both lists. We can take that as evidence that those individuals who were at the “top” of the racial classification rank in the 19th century tended to remain in this place.

The same thing cannot be said in relation to the pardos since, in some cases, this classification was only a bridge to others; notably, in the case of some children who were shifted to the white classification. This occurred in four households and, in most cases, led to a change in the classification of all members of the family group.22 This makes us believe that, in the 19th century context, the relationship with the processes of formal education affected not only those who attended school, it was a mechanism that involved the entire family group. This is the case of the household shown below:

**Figure 4**

**Household of Domingos Leite da Cruz in 1831**23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitant</th>
<th>Qualidade</th>
<th>Condição</th>
<th>Idade</th>
<th>Estado</th>
<th>Ocupação</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domingos Leite da Cruz</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Pedreiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Angelica</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Fia algodão</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clara Leite</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Ferreiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Leite</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Na escola de primeiras letras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João Leite</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco Leite</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Na escola de primeiras letras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joaquina Leite</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Angelica</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Costureira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Lavoura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senhorinha</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Cozinheira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Name list of the inhabitants of Cachoeira do Campo (1831).

In 1831, Domingos Leite da Cruz was the head of a household where he appeared as a white individual, within a family in which all other member were pardos. In 1838, the register of the classification of the family members changed and all were shifted, appearing as white, like the head.

**Figure 5**

**Household of Domingos Leite da Cruz – 1838**24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitant</th>
<th>Qualidade</th>
<th>Cond.</th>
<th>Idade</th>
<th>Estado</th>
<th>Alphabet</th>
<th>Nac.</th>
<th>Ocupação</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domingos Leite da Cruz</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Lavra, extração, mina, minerador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Angélica da Silva</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Angelica</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Leite da Cunha</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João Leite da Cunha</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco Leite</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomás Leite</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joaquina Leite</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manoel Leite</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco Cristo</td>
<td>Preto</td>
<td>Cativo</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana Casange</td>
<td>Preto</td>
<td>Cativo</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Casange</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Name list of the inhabitants of Cachoeira do Campo (1838).

The relationship with the school process can be considered as an element of the movement for change in the racial classification of
the group. We can state that, once we realized that all free individuals, including women, were reported as literate. However, it must be recognized that there were other elements that were part of this shift. Among them, we can highlight the stability of the family group, comprising a couple with their children. This becomes clear in the document when we checked the traditional pattern of the record of family members, in which the spouses come first followed by their children, presented in order of age.

There are indications that point to a change in the professional status of the members of the group, for example, Domingos Leite da Cruz appeared as a mason in 1831, and then as a miner. We can say that the mining activity is relatively organized as we realized that this was the trade of four members of the household, who probably worked together in this activity.25

We found a similar situation in the household of the merchant Manoel Guerra:

**FIGURE 6**
HOUSEHOLD OF MANOEL RODRIGUES GUERRA IN 1831 AND 1838
REGISTER OF 183126

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitant</th>
<th>Qualidade</th>
<th>Estado</th>
<th>Ocupação</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manoel Guerra</td>
<td>Pardo</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>Negociante de molhados</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisca Bemissa</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Costureira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>Solteira</td>
<td>Costureira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Livre</td>
<td>Na escola de primeiras letras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Preto</td>
<td>Cativo</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Preto</td>
<td>Cativo</td>
<td>Cultiva o quintal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**REGISTER OF 1838**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitant</th>
<th>Qualidade</th>
<th>Estado</th>
<th>Alfabetizado</th>
<th>Nacionalidade</th>
<th>Ocupação</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manoel Rodrigues Guerra</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>Negociante de animais</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisca Bemissa</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>Negociante de animais</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Rodrigues Guerra</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>Negociante de animais</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Augustina</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>Negociante de animais</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Feito</td>
<td>Feito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Solteiro</td>
<td>Feito</td>
<td>Feito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitorino Benguela</td>
<td>Preto</td>
<td>Escravo</td>
<td>Feito</td>
<td>Escravo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel Congo</td>
<td>Preto</td>
<td>Escravo</td>
<td>Feito</td>
<td>Escravo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Congo</td>
<td>Preto</td>
<td>Escravo</td>
<td>Feito</td>
<td>Escravo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Manoel</td>
<td>Preto</td>
<td>Escravo</td>
<td>Feito</td>
<td>Escravo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Name list of the inhabitants of Cachoeira do Campo (1831, 1838).

In this household, there are elements similar to those of the previous shift: marriage recognized as legitimate, literate men and the consolidation of a professional activity carried out collectively. The most significant difference lies in the increase in the number of members of the household, and in the doubling of the amount of slaves, which went from two to four.

There was also the insertion of two individuals who were probably not part of family, as they did not have the same surname of the group members. They were listed after a child from the family and before the slaves. Their condition becomes even clearer when we consider that these individuals were classified into another racial group.
that is, while all family members were classified as whites, they were classified as *pardos*.

In this household, we observe the common procedures of social/racial classification used in Minas Gerais, in the 19th century. Therefore, the members of the family were shifted to a racial group away from that of slaves; namely, they were listed as whites, while the slaves were classified as Africans/blacks and the one who was born in Brazil, as *pardo*. There is a gap between the racial classification of free individuals and of the slaves and also a hierarchy among the free because, while members of the family group were listed as whites, the ones that had relationships of dependency with the family unit, were classified as *pardos*. That is, their classification matched that of the slaves of the household.

Therefore, the household headed by Manoel Rodrigues Guerra had the different conditions used for status shift from *pardo* to white. In this case, this is a group with obvious evidence of family stability, including the registration of two marriages and also of the “rise” from an economic point of view. In the midst of these variables, the record of the condition of literate men of the household can be seen as an element that worked in conjunction with others in the “rise” of the social/racial status of the group.

**FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The link between education and slavery is not often considered in Brazilian historiography. In general, the ban of slaves from schools is considered the primordial element of this relationship and the focus of this approach. As a consequence, we have a very low level of questioning about the relationship between educational processes and the social institution which had a major impact on the development of Brazilian society during the 19th century.

Slavery was a preponderant element in the construction of the meaning of several elements of the Brazilian society. Thus, we must consider a more productive relationship between this institution and education. The forms of relationship between racial classification and schooling can be seen as a possible articulation between these two dimensions.

However, we must consider that an analysis was made comparing documents related to a district of the State of Minas Gerais. This indicates a limit to the range of results presented. However, when we consider the studies that are devoted to a deeper analysis of the issue of race relations in the 19th century, we can make a projection of the results to reaffirm the changes in racial classification patterns used in relation
to the black population associated with schooling as a constitutive element of this process.

This can be stated with reference to the cases we presented here, in which the status of individuals changed according to some social attributes, among them literacy, modifying their position within the structure of racial classification. This phenomenon occurred with the shift from *pardo* to white, never in the opposite direction.

In the 19th century, the racial status of individuals was variable and the change could occur in all directions. However, based on our analysis, the most common situation was the classification of schooled blacks as *pardos*. This was the usual term to describe blacks who had established relationships with schools. We can still find *pardos* who were changed to whites when schooling factors were associated with others that added social value.

The 19th century was a period characterized by the discourse of school as a key element in the population civilization process. Civilizing was a multifaceted field that acquired its meaning from the subjects it aimed at. One of its deeper meanings was produced from its use as a control device over the black population, which should be kept away from the influences of African cultures that circulated in the country. Therefore, the effectiveness of schooling should have been seen in the shift of racial status which could bring about a change that would mean a connection to the life and the world of white individuals.

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**FONTES DE PESQUISA**


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