



Parish school inspection as a means of implementation of the policy on Paraná's provincial education (1853-1889)

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ABSTRACT. This paper addresses the primary public inspection, particularly that exercised by parish inspectors, considered as one of the forms of manifestation of the policy on education. A research about reports and official letters concerning the primary public education in Paraná in the provincial period (1853-1889) shows ordinary school issues and, especially, the relationship between teachers and the authorities responsible for the administration and control of the work in schools. This paper aims to deep the knowledge on parish inspection and literary council, as components of the inspection that used to be present in the relations between teachers and inspectors. The methodology includes documental research, analysis of sources and crossing of information from reports and official letters with the provincial legislation of Paraná. We can conclude that, in spite of a relative legal organization when it comes to the distribution of administrative functions and control over public instruction, the latter remained quite precarious at the end of the provincial period, since only with the advance of social relations of production of material life the school would become necessary.

Keywords: parish school inspection, provincial education, literary council.

A inspeção escolar paroquial enquanto meio de aplicação da política para a educação provincial paranaense (1853-1889)

RESUMO. O texto trata da inspeção pública primária, particularmente daquela que foi exercida pelos inspetores paroquiais, considerada como uma das formas de manifestação da política para a educação. As pesquisas sobre os relatórios e ofícios da instrução pública primária no período provincial paranaense (1853-1889) mostram questões do cotidiano escolar e, sobretudo, das relações do professor com as autoridades responsáveis pela administração e pelo controle do trabalho nas escolas. O objetivo do texto é aprofundar os conhecimentos sobre a inspeção paroquial e os conselhos literários, enquanto componentes da inspeção que se fazia presente nas relações entre os professores e o inspetor. A metodologia insere-se na pesquisa documental, na análise das fontes e no entrecruzamento dos dados fornecidos pelos relatórios e ofícios com a legislação provincial do Paraná. Conclui-se que mesmo com uma relativa organização legal no que se referia à distribuição de funções administrativas e de controle da instrução pública, esta permanecia bastante precária no final do período provincial, uma vez que, somente com o avanço das relações sociais de produção da vida material, a escola se tornaria necessária.

Palavras-chave: inspeção paroquial, educação provincial, conselhos literários.

La inspección escolar parroquial en cuanto medio de aplicación de la política para la educación provincial paranaense (1853-1889)

RESUMEN. El texto trata de la inspección pública primaria, particularmente de aquella que fue ejercida por los inspectores parroquiales, considerada como una de las formas de manifestación de la política para la educación. Las investigaciones sobre los informes y oficios de la instrucción pública primaria en el período provincial paranaense (1853-1889) muestran cuestiones del cotidiano escolar y, sobre todo, de las relaciones del profesor con las autoridades responsables por la administración y por el control del trabajo en las escuelas. El objetivo del texto es profundizar los conocimientos sobre la inspección parroquial y los consejos literarios en cuanto componentes de la inspección que se hacía presente en las relaciones entre los profesores y el inspector. La metodología se inserta en la investigación documental, en el análisis de las fuentes y en el entrecruzamiento de los datos proporcionados por los informes y oficios con la legislación provincial de Paraná. Se concluye que mismo con una relativa organización legal en lo que se refería a la distribución de funciones administrativas y de control de la instrucción pública, esta permanencia bastante precaria en el final del período provincial, una vez que, solamente con el avance de las relaciones sociales de producción de la vida material, la escuela se volvería necesaria.

Palabras clave: inspección parroquial, educación provincial, consejos literarios.

Introduction

The Brazilian education has been studied by means of documents preserved in public and private files, which are important sources of investigation and initiators of new questions that lead those who handle and analyze them to go deeper in the search for new sources that point towards some answers that, though partial, assist researchers in a better and deeper comprehension of the history of the Brazilian education. A large number of scholars investigate documents, reports, official letters, among official sources, and other non-official sources, stored in school files or documents owned by former teachers and former students. Such sources also testify events that have composed and shaped education.

Among those that dealt with the Brazilian education during the imperial period, some outstanding authors include José Liberato Barroso, Antonio Almeida de Oliveira and José Ricardo Pires de Almeida. Barroso published, in 1867, *A instrução pública no Brasil* [Public Instruction in Brazil]. About said author, Saviani states that “The work of Liberato Barroso can be deemed as the first comprehensive study about Brazilian education” (SAVIANI, 2007, p. 135) and that many of the ideas proposed in the Leôncio de Carvalho Reform (1989) had already been ‘anticipated by Liberato Barroso’ (SAVIANI, 2007, p. 136 Número de página sugere citação direta).

Antonio de Almeida addressed education in the book *O ensino público* [Public Teaching] (1983), re-edited by the Brazilian Federal Senate in 2003.

Public instruction was also the object of the work of José Ricardo Pires de Almeida *L’instruction publique au Brésil*, published in 1889, in French, by Leuzinger & Filhos, in Rio de Janeiro. Later, in 1989, it was translated into Portuguese, and received critical review by Antonio Chizzotti [INEP – Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas (National Institute for Educational Studies and Research) and PUCSP - Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo)], exactly 100 years after being edited.

According to Chizzotti, in the introduction he provides to the 1989 edition,

When completing the centenary of its publishing, it seemed that it would be a contribution to educators to disclose the first systematized history of the Brazilian education and a tribute to the author for the effort in registering the facts that made the problems of education in his era (CHIZZOTTI, 1989, p. 7)¹.

¹ “Ao completar o centenário de sua publicação, pareceu que seria um contributo aos educadores divulgar a primeira história sistemática da educação brasileira

In his book, Almeida approaches a set of questions that composed the organization and operation of Brazilian education institutions. Chizzotti mainly stresses

[...] the teaching method, the national school paradigm, free education, co-education, the creation of university², text books, female education, education costs, professorship conditions (CHIZZOTTI, 1989, p. 8)³.

The issues pointed out by the author have also marked education in the Province of Paraná, from 1854, and compose the contents approached in the research⁴ whose object was the set of Reports and Official Letters on Public Instruction in provincial Paraná that support this text. This investigation aimed to understand the process of organization and operation of the Public Instruction in Paraná, comprehending since its detachment from São Paulo until the Republic proclamation. For such a purpose, it was necessary to survey, to catalog and to treat these sources.

When handling these sources, we came into contact with records that testify the past, whether speaking on behalf of the State, of teachers or of the population. Taking the set of data contained in the reports and official letters of Paraná’s Public Instruction, we can classify them into two groups: legal documents (which represent the voice of the State) and those in which teachers expose school issues, needs, in addition to solutions that they find and apply in the routine of the school. The main objects focused in the documentation, both regarding the State and teachers, refer mainly to the opening and closing of basic education posts, appointment of teachers and control over their actions, while the reports contained references to contents, methods and evaluation; text books; relationship with students, with the State and with the population; school and population.

However, when finishing the work of survey, cataloging and analysis of the reports and official letters on the instruction of Provincial Paraná, two questions that marked the relationship between teachers and authorities lead to a need for a better understanding: the relationship of teachers with parish inspectors, and the roles of literary councils.

e um tributo ao autor pelo empenho em registrar os fatos que fizeram os problemas da educação em sua época”.

²In Paraná, the University was created in 1912.

³[...] o método de ensino, o paradigma nacional de escola, a gratuidade do ensino, a coeducação, a criação da universidade², o livro escolar, educação feminina, custos do ensino, condições do magistério [...]”.

⁴The research about Reports and Official Letters on the Education of Provincial Paraná was partially financed by the *Fundação Araucária de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico do Estado do Paraná*.

School inspection in the provincial period

The relationship between teachers and inspectors is present in most of the documents. It is important to observe that many of the official letters by teachers sent to education inspectors constitute reports of their school activities, and some teachers, when they had disagreements with inspectors, used to write to the Province's Presidents. Such a fact occurred throughout the provincial period. We cite as example the official letter by Francisco Magalhães de Assis França, a teacher from Guaraqueçaba, addressed to the Province's President, Zacharias Goes de Vasconcellos, dated February 9, 1854, in which the teacher manifests his disagreement with the inspector and suggests alternatives:

I have been an acting public teacher for eight years in basic education in this [illegible] with assiduity and performance compatible with my strength; the problem is that, in this district, there are six female students, being one of them from another (illegible), and that (illegible) influence of the current Inspector, with whom we have divergences concerning political beliefs, has been managing (illegible) class most of the students, so much so that after the major school break a few boys have been attending, I judged it to be my duty to represent you so that, considering that there is no need for public school, considering that the private ones teaches for free while it makes an effort to obtain a larger number of disciples, you may grant me permission to set the class that you may deem convenient, thus sparing the Province the salary that is paid to the teacher without usefulness. May God save you for long years to come (PARANÁ, 1954, p. 66)⁵.

The teachers' speeches registered in the documents can be regarded as elements of reality and allow observing the meaning of education in that historical moment, as it can be seen in the words of Manoel Libânio de Sousa regarding the class he was heading: "It has no utensils, because I do not receive them since 1859" (PARANÁ, 1867, p. 245). This manifestation is evidence that the constitution of provincial Paraná (1853) delayed in bringing changes to public instruction. This is also grasped from the words of the teacher that performed his role in Curitiba, João Batista Brandão de Proença, in official letter addressed to the Province's President, dated February 13, 1855. The claimant said:

Since the General Inspector of the public instruction is not currently performing his job, I will request from you the utensils contained in the list for the school I teach at. It has no utensils. Seventeen years ago I received from the Province of São Paulo a few chalkboards, pencils and pens, and then nothing else was given to the school. There are in Antônio Gonçalves Ribeiro's house some or most of the utensils I am asking for, so I request that you may authorize me to buy them (PARANÁ, 1855, p. 81)⁶.

Jesuíno Marcondes de Oliveira e Sá, General Inspector of Public Instruction, in a report dated May 23, 1855 sent to the current President of the Province Teófilo Ribeiro de Resende, confirms the information of teachers when speaking of the conditions of the provincial education. He starts the report informing:

I feel a deep sorrow, being obliged to declare that, in spite of having received considerable improvements since the installation of the Province, this primordial interest of society, of family and of the individual keep walking slowly (PARANÁ, 1855, p. 245).

And as the descriptions of the educational situations developed, he suggested measures that, according to him, were necessary to improve the conditions referring to public instruction in the emerging Province:

[...] 1st: to provide teachers with wages that, if cannot give them a brilliant future, can at least allow them to live a comfortable and honest life; 2nd: the creation of a pedagogical establishment that forms teachers, not only when it comes to the disciplines, but also to the most appropriate methods to inoculate in the weak and delicate spirit of children the doctrines that they should sweetly develop, leaving inside their hearts these principles on which their future moral happiness will depend, 3rd: to interpose Inspectors, by all means, in the exercise of their function, so that teachers find in them not only a harsh judge, but also somebody that helps them to achieve their sublime and nearly religious mission (PARANÁ, 1855, p. 242-245)⁷.

In the words of the inspector, three measures were already necessary: better salaries for teachers,

⁵Há oito anos que exerço o emprego de professor público interino de primeiras letras nesta (illegível) com assiduidade e desempenho compatível com minhas forças; acontece que ora existem neste distrito seis aulas sendo uma delas de outro da (illegível), e que (illegível) influência do atual Inspetor, com quem divergimos em crenças políticas, tem conseguido (illegível) aula maior parte dos alunos, tanto que depois das grandes férias poucos meninos têm comparecido, julgo de meu dever representar a V. Ex.^a que à vista da não precisão da aula pública, visto que a particular ensina de graça enquanto se empenha em obter maior número de discípulos, seja servido conceder-me licença para fixar a aula que lhe apareça apreciação dela; poupando assim a Província o ordenado que paga ao professor sem maior utilidade. Deus Guarde a V. Ex.^a por muitos anos.

⁶Não estando atualmente em exercício o Sr.^o Inspetor Geral da instrução pública, vou por isso requisitar de V. Ex.^a os utensílios, que constam da relação junta para a escola que reço. Ela está desprovida de utensílios. Há 17 anos que recebi da Província de São Paulo algumas lousas, lápis e canetas, e depois nada mais se deu para a escola. Atualmente existem em casa de Antônio Gonçalves Ribeiro à venda alguns, ou maior parte dos utensílios que peço, e rogo por isso a V. Ex.^a me autorize a comprá-los.

⁷[...] 1^o: apresentar os vencimentos dos professores em ordem a oferecer-lhes senão um futuro brilhante, ao menos de cômoda honestidade; 2^o: a criação de um estabelecimento pedagógico que forme os professores, não só no conhecimento das matérias do ensino, como no dos métodos mais apropriados para inocular no espírito fraco e delicado da infância aquelas doutrinas que devem desenvolver-se docemente, e deixe em seu coração esses princípios de que penderá mais tarde sua felicidade moral, 3^o: interpor por qualquer modo os Inspectores no exercício de suas funções, de modo que o professor encontre nele, não só um juiz severo, sirva o dedicado coadjuvador para o alcance de sua sublime e quase que religiosa missão.

need for a Teaching School that provided convenient training to teachers and need for efficient school inspection. These three needs for educational improvement of the Province remain throughout the provincial period and cross the First Republic (1889-1930), entering the following periods, since better salaries have always being part of the main claims of teachers.

Paraná's Normal School (Teaching School), suggested by the inspector, was created only in April 19, 1870, by Law No. 238, and signed by President Antonio Luiz Affonso de Carvalho⁸. However, training on differentiated levels remained in the educational scenario and was part of the Organic Law of Normal Education (1946) and of Educational Bases and Guidelines law of 1961 (Normal High School and Regional Normal Course).

The matter of school inspection, object of suggestion by inspector Jesuino Marcondes de Oliveira e Sá, characterized a technical and political service that belonged to the State. About that, Wachowicz, in study supported on researches about Reports and Official Letters, characterizes school inspection as the school's technical and political role:

In Paraná, since the beginning of the period, the inspection of the schools is regarded as a fundamental element to the operation of the system, and faced as a role of political representation; local inspectors worked with no compensation: the gratification for the job was represented by the exercise of power in the location (WACHOWICZ, 1984, p. 97)⁹.

The author points that in the end of the provincial period already

The authority understands that supervision is necessary so that the teacher works, and that, in order to be efficient, inspection needs to be straightforward, constant, *assiduous*, and carried out externally by elements that do not belong to professorship (WACHOWICZ, 1984, p. 116, original italics)¹⁰.

She also states that in that period “[...] school inspection always represented the authority of a tutelary government [...]” and recognizes that “[...] data points to a contradiction between the central power and the local power in the exercise of such authority [...]” (WACHOWICZ, 1984, p. 132).

Said contradiction was also perceptible in our analysis of the information collected from the reports and official letters. We attribute the differences of perceptions of local inspectors and of general inspectors on the school and the activities performed by the teachers to the greater contact they had with the school reality. This contact could work as an auxiliary factor for the teacher or as a difficulty factor. Many teachers asked to be transferred from school and place due to disagreements with inspectors. One of the examples that can be mentioned is illustrated by teacher Gerônimo Durski's official letter. Though the citation is long, we think it is necessary, as it translates a type of relationship that certainly hindered the good development of the academic work. Durski would say in one of the extracts from his official letter/report:

[...] Regarding the lack of order that the Parish Inspector has noticed in my school only once, when he visited it, I have already declared to you that it refers to the complaint that I verbally made to him about the irregular attendance of students; and I asked him to intervene assisting me with his authority; to convince the parents of the need for that regular attendance; but he sought to give a meaning other than mine, which is easy to recognize, by observing what he has done so far regarding public education. It is easy to say that the state of the school is awful. But why don't you declare the facts awful? You desire to learn the facts rather than an opinion, as it is stated by the certificate by Mr. José Joaquim Ferreira Moura. However, this opinion is nullified by the expression itself when claims not to have knowledge of the school; and in the certificate I asked for him; he declared nothing about that and only says that he does not recall me having done any bad thing. Then, from where or from whom does this opinion come? Later this will be clarified; for now, I want to take the meaning from the expression by Mr. Parish Inspector, that is: what do these words mean: 'The state of the school is awful?' It is understood that the boys learn nothing – so they must know nothing. I contest that, and declare that they are very ahead, considering their absences, or rather the absences their parents caused. It also understood that the teacher is immoral and shows the worst examples of where the bad fruits are born in the boys. Now I ask: Who has seen the teacher (just once) practicing any immoral lesson? Who can prove with facts that the teacher does not comply with his duties prescribed by the regulation on public instruction in Chapter V article 63 §§1 until the 15 set forth by articles 64 and 65 (PARANÁ, 1875, p. 187-196)¹¹.

⁸About the creation of Paraná's Normal School see Miguel (2008).

⁹No Paraná, desde o início do período, a inspeção das escolas é considerada elemento fundamental para o funcionamento do sistema, e encarada como função de representação política, sendo que os inspetores locais trabalhavam sem remuneração: a gratificação do trabalho era representada pelo exercício do poder na localidade.

¹⁰A autoridade entende que a fiscalização é necessária para que o professor trabalhe, e que para ser eficaz, a inspeção deveria ser direta, constante, assídua, e exercida externamente, por elementos que não pertencem ao magistério.

¹¹[...] Relativamente a falta de ordem que Sr.º Inspetor Paroquial notou em minha escola em uma única vez que a visitou, já declarei a V. S.ª que deve referir-se a

The teacher continues in his report/official letter, in which he exposes arguments in his defense and to the detriment of the parish inspector. This fact illustrates the possible conflicts that occurred between teachers and inspectors, but there are several official letters in which teachers show receipt of support from inspectors. Such reports evidence the way that the policy on public instruction was carried out in practice. However, it is possible to perceive that said policy, as a State's power, was present in the appointment of teachers, opening, offering or closing of schools, adoption of teaching methods, final exams, regulation of prizes and punishments, in short, of everything that had to do with the provincial school instruction.

The figure of the parish inspector is present in most of the official letters and reports that translate the relationship of the teacher with an immediate authority, and is inserted into the patronage system that lasted until the Republic. According to Cury:

Patronage is designated as the privilege granted to people or an institution, not necessarily belonging to groups from the Catholic Church themselves, to appoint people for ecclesiastical positions. In the case of Spain, Portugal and Brazil, this privilege was given to the civil power. In exchange for the support to the construction of churches and maintenance of the clergy, the regal power was granted the privilege of appointing bishops, controlling documents and even collecting taxes (CURY, 2005, p. 6)¹².

Also, the 1851 Law set forth in his article 1 that "There will be in the Municipality a General Inspector of Instruction and a representative of his in each Parish" (BRASIL, 1851, p. 63). The Parish Inspector was the bond between teachers and the General Inspector; however, as shown in many of the official letters found, when the teachers did not

queixa que verbalmente lhe fiz contra a irregularidade da frequência dos alunos; e, que pedi-lhe que intervesse coadjuvando-me com sua autoridade; para convencer os pais da necessidade daquela regularidade de frequência; mas ele procurou dar sentido diverso ao meu pedido, o que é fácil reconhecer, observando o que ele até agora fez na parte da instrução pública. É fácil dizer que o estado da escola é péssimo possível. Mas, porque não declara os fatos péssimos? V. S.^a deseja conhecer os fatos e não uma opinião como declara o atestado do Sr.^o José Joaquim Ferreira Moura. Contudo, esta opinião é nulificada pela própria expressão quando diz que não tem conhecimento próprio da escola; e no atestado que eu lhe pedi; nada declarou a respeito e só diz que não lhe consta que eu tenho cometido alguma maldade. Então de onde ou de quem veio esta opinião? Adiante há de aparecer a clareza disto; por ora quero tirar o sentido da expressão do Sr.^o Inspector Paroquial, isto é: o que significam estas palavras: "O estado da escola é péssimo possível?" Entende-se que os meninos nada aprenderam – por isso nada devem saber. Contesto isto, e declaro que estão bem adiantados, considerando-se as faltas dadas por eles ou melhor dizer pelos pais deles. Entende-se mais que o professor é imoral e dá de si os piores exemplos de onde nascem os frutos maus nos meninos. Agora pergunto eu: "Quem viu o professor (seja uma única vez só) praticar alguma lição imoral? Quem é que pode provar com os fatos que o professor não cumpre com os seus deveres prescritos pelo regulamento de instrução pública no Capítulo V artigo 63 §§1^o até o 15 que dispõem os artigos 64 e 65?"

¹² Designa-se como Padroado o privilégio concedido a pessoas ou instituições, não necessariamente pertencentes aos quadros próprios da Igreja Católica, de nomear pessoas para cargos eclesiais. No caso de Espanha, Portugal e Brasil, esse privilégio era dado ao poder civil. Em troca de apoio a construções de igrejas e manutenção do clero, o poder régio ganhava o privilégio de nomear bispos, controlar documentos e mesmo de arrecadar tributos.

manage to come into an agreement with the Parish Inspectors, they appealed to the General Inspectors or even to the Presidents of the Province.

For a better understanding of the contents of the reports and official letters, it was necessary to resort to the legislation on the public instruction of provincial Paraná, seeking the relationship between legal norms and how they were implemented in the school reality, as well as the report of such experiences in the documents surveyed and handled.

The legislation on the inspection of public instruction during the imperial period goes through reformulations that, many times, reduce the number of its representatives in some places and require that inspectors are chosen among those of a higher cultural level.

Oliveira (1986), when addressing the inspection of primary education, refers to the laws that regulated this role in the provincial period and states: In 1870, the Inspector Bento de Barros requests the recreation of some posts justifying that it was necessary to continue with the work of the General Inspector in favor of the interests of the public instruction. These people would be in charge of

[...] the scientific, moral and religious appreciation, and the administration of the schools, limiting the action of sub-inspectors at administrative level, except for parson, who would be responsible for directing the religious teaching as well (OLIVEIRA, 1986, p. 131)¹³.

The Regulation of Primary Public Instruction¹⁴, dated May 13, 1871, signed by the President of the Province of Paraná, Venâncio José de Oliveira Lisboa, in title IV that dealt with the Inspection and Direction of Teaching, article 105 set forth the target parties:

- § 1 To the President of the Province
- § 2 To the General Inspector of Public Instruction
- § 3 To Parish Inspectors¹⁵.

More ahead, on chapter III, it specifies the roles of Parish Inspectors:

CHAPTER III

On Parish Inspectors

Art. 113 –Each parish will have the necessary inspectors, appointed by the President of the Province, under proposal by the General Inspector.

Art. 114 –It is the role of parish inspectors:

¹³ [...] a apreciação científica, moral e religiosa e a administração das escolas, limitando a atuação dos subinspetores ao nível administrativo, salvo quando párocos, aos quais caberia também a direção do ensino religioso".

¹⁴ Coletânea da Documentação Educacional Paranaense no período de 1854 a 1889 (MIGUEL; MARTIN, 2004).

¹⁵ "§ 1^o Ao Presidente da Província
§ 2^o Ao Inspetor Geral da Instrução Pública
§ 3^o Aos Inspetores Paroquiais".

§ 1 To inspect public and private schools and secondary instruction establishments, visiting them at least once a month, and to carry out the provisions of the law, regulations and instructions on public instruction.

§ 2 Advise teachers on the maps they have to follow.

§ 3 To require from teachers the maps they have to follow.

§ 4 To forward and inform on the hygienic conditions and tidiness of classrooms and schools.

§ 5 To inform the district director about any event that takes place in public or private schools, as well as about the behavior of teachers.¹⁶

§ 6 To supervise exams in schools and appoint examiners.

§ 7 To provide certificate of exercise to teachers, adjunct teachers and teacher-students.

§ 8 To grant leave to teachers of up to 3 days, not exceeding twice a year.

§ 9 To inform on the competence of the boy that is approved to be granted the teacher-student diploma (MIGUEL; MARTIN, 2004b, p. 197-198).

The aforementioned law sets forth in a quite straight forward manner what the attributions of the Parish Inspector were. Oliveira clarifies that “[...] in each location there would be as many Parish Inspectors as the number of school headquarters would require” (OLIVEIRA, 1986, p. 132).

The Regulation of Primary Public Instruction (MIGUEL; MARTIN, 2004a), dated September 1874, signed by the President of the Province, Frederico José Cardoso de Araújo Abranches, creates Instruction Councils in all cities, villages and parishes, composed of the parish inspector, the income collector and the parson. Their roles, as already pointed by Martins de Oliveira, merged with those of parish inspectors.

Comparing the organization of the Literary Councils that operated in the Province of Paraná with the models that were conveyed by authors that at that time wrote about public instruction, as it is the case of Antonio de Almeida Oliveira, in the book

O ensino público [Public Teaching] (OLIVEIRA, 2003), we notice that, in it, the inspiration was the North-American model. Questioning whose responsibility school inspection was, whether “[...] of the State, of the province, of the municipality [...]” (OLIVEIRA, 2003, p. 155) and considering the inefficiency of public instruction in the Provinces, he affirmed:

If the province and the State are far from the schools, it is easy to see that they are not the best administrators that the former ones deserve. In fact, the difficulty of inspection on one hand, and the delay in the provision of services on the other causes neither the province nor the State to be able to head the schools and to meet their needs. Thus, their administration naturally belongs to the municipalities, which, in addition, are the most interested ones in having good teachers (OLIVEIRA, 2003, p. 166)¹⁷.

Supported on the reality of the Brazilian public education, he suggested:

Thus, let us form municipal committees without giving them all roles of the American boards, and imitate the central committees by creating a literary council in every province, and assigning to this council some powers that are now possessed by the presidents and the current inspectors of the instruction (OLIVEIRA, 2003, p. 167)¹⁸.

However, the councils should not operate without the control of the State, which would appoint a superintendent. The latter, along with a board elected by the municipality and by a school commission (to limit the power exerted by literary councils, which he deemed excessive) would carry out the inspection.

The superintendent should be appointed and fired by the President of the Province, as the later could not disregard questions referring to public teaching and, as a trustworthy person, would comply with his orders and account for what happened in the other instances of the inspection.

It is also worth registering that already in 1873, Oliveira defended that public instruction should have a social function other than the transmission of elementary knowledge (at least basic education schools): that of selecting the best ones, an idea that, under the inspiration of the New School, will guide

¹⁶CAPÍTULO III

Dos Inspetores Paroquiais

Art. 113 – Haverá em cada paróquia os inspetores que forem necessários, nomeados pelo Presidente da Província, sob proposta do Inspetor Geral.

Art. 114 – Aos inspetores paroquiais incumbem:

§ 1º Inspeccionar as escolas públicas e particulares e estabelecimentos de instrução secundária, visitando-os pelo menos, uma vez por mês, e fazer observar as disposições das leis, regulamentos e instruções sobre a instrução pública.

§ 2º Admoestar aos professores a remessa dos mapas a que são obrigados.

§ 3º Exigir dos professores a remessa dos mapas a que são obrigados.

§ 4º Encaminhar e informar sobre as condições higiênicas e asseio das aulas e escolas.

§ 5º Informar ao inspetor de distrito sobre qualquer ocorrência que se der nas escolas públicas ou particulares, bem como sobre o comportamento dos professores.

§ 6º Assistir aos exames nas escolas e nomear os examinadores.

§ 7º Passar atestados de exercício aos professores, professores adjuntos e alunos-mestres.

§ 8º Conceder licença aos professores até 3 dias, não excedendo de duas vezes por ano.

§ 9º Informar sobre a idoneidade do menino que for aprovado para obter o diploma de aluno-mestre

¹⁷“Se a província e o Estado estão longe das escolas, para logo se vê que não são os melhores administradores que lhes convêm. Com efeito, de um lado a dificuldade da inspeção, de outro a demora nas providências do serviço, faz com que nem a província nem o Estado possa bem dirigir as escolas e provê-las do necessário. Assim a administração delas pertence naturalmente aos municípios, que além disso têm todo interesse em possuir bons professores”.

¹⁸“Assim formemos as comissões municipais sem lhes darmos logo todas as funções das juntas americanas, e imitemos as comissões centrais criando um conselho literário em cada província, e investindo esse conselho de alguns dos poderes que ora exercem os presidentes e os atuais inspetores da instrução”.

education in the first half of the 20th century. The superintendent would interrogate students, perceiving their inclinations and looking for the best ones. According to the author:

The purpose of the State, pouring instruction over all classes, is not only to teach the people to read, to write and to count. It is also to be careful not to lose any of the intelligences that compose the population, and to give rise to all superiorities, placing each one where they belong through the instruction its talent claims (OLIVEIRA, 2003, p. 169)¹⁹.

The affirmations contained in Oliveira's work observe that public instruction was one of the forms of materializing the State's policy.

The roles of parish inspectors suffered interventions during the entire provincial period and, in 1876, Lamemha Lins, President of the Province, signs a new Regulation (Law No. 456 dated April 12, 1876)²⁰ establishing that the inspection and direction of the Instruction throughout the Province shall be the duty of the President of the Province, of the General Director of Instruction, of the Literary Council and of Parish Inspectors. The Literary Council would be composed of teachers from the *Paranaense Instituto* and from the Normal School. Article 143 of Chapter IV set forth that the post of Parish Inspector of the capital would be carried out by a Pedagogy teacher from the Normal School. Parish Inspectors would have as role "[...] to receive all formal petitions and official letters addressed by any primary or secondary education teacher [...]" (MIGUEL; MARTIN, 2004a, p. 283) with the exception of documents that contained complaints against the Inspectors themselves.

In 1888, José Cesário Miranda Ribeiro, in a Report (PARANÁ, 1888) in which he appointed the position to Ilfonso Pereira Correia, manifested his opinion on the inspection of the Public Instruction: "Weak, careless and irresponsible, such inspection is a demoralizing excuse for *politicagem*²¹ rather than an efficient means to make teaching into reality" (PARANÁ, 1888, p. 38). Moreover, regretting the financial situation in the Province, which did not allow the payment of inspection roles, he suggested the creation of the collective inspection, in which parents and tutors would participate along with government agents. Parish councils would be

created, composed of 4 to 6 members "[...] elected by said parents and tutors in the parish of the province, headed by inspectors appointed by the government [...]" (PARANÁ, 1888, p. 38), and kept exposing his plan for creation of a superior council of public instruction in the Province, following the model that, according to him, had been implemented by São Paulo.

Still concerning the Parish Inspectors, Jesuino Marcondes de Oliveira e Sá, President of the Province, at the doors of the Republic, on November 2, 1889, signs law No. 964, composed only of two articles, the first one appointing as Parish Inspectors the Superintendents of the public teaching of the Province, and the second one, revoking provisions otherwise (MIGUEL; MARTIN, 2004a)

The Parish Inspector post was present in most of Paraná's provincial laws and marked the relationships between the former and teachers, constituting an important means for conveying the policy and for interfering with the provincial instruction and with the actions of teachers.

We have also to clarify of what literary councils consisted in the province of Paraná, and which of their roles had an impact on public instruction. Appealing to the legislation helps us in this search.

On March 2, 1857, José Antonio Vaz de Carvalhaes, Vice-President of the Province, sanctioned Law No. 21, whose article 3 preached that literary councils would be organized along with district inspectorates. Right after that, (April 24, 1857), the regulation on inspection of the public instruction of the Province is sanctioned, whose chapter III treated of Literary Councils, defining them as corporation in charge of examining the status of public instruction (primary and secondary), general plans of studies, books, personnel qualification, providing information to the general inspector and to the district inspector. The Literary Councils would include

[...] vicars, presidents of chambers or their representatives, sub-inspectors, who will gather together under the presidency of the district Inspector, in an annual ordinary session (MIGUEL; MARTIN, 2000, p. 40).

Then, the regulation defines the several tasks to be performed by the members of the Councils, and those that would be proper of vicars and presidents of chambers in their municipalities. The information collected in schools should be passed on to the General Inspectors of Public Instruction. However, if compared to the roles attributed to these Inspectors and to the Parish Inspectors in the previously mentioned legislations, we will see that

¹⁹O fim do Estado, derramando a instrução por todas as classes, não é só ensinar o povo a ler, escrever e contar. É também velar para que não se perca nenhuma das inteligências que compõe a população, e fazer surgir todas as superioridades, pondo cada uma no seu lugar por meio da instrução que o seu talento reclama".

²⁰Coletânea da Documentação Educacional Paranaense no período de 1854 a 1889 (MIGUEL; MARTIN, 2004).

²¹As per original [pejorative word for politics].

the attributions of the Literary Councils mixed with those attributed to the Inspectors.

Although their roles have been recognized as important by some of the Presidents of the Province, José Franciso Cardoso, in the Report he addressed to the Legislative Assembly, on March 1, 1860, put into discussion the merit of school inspection and of the actions of the literary councils. He stated that:

Then what is the merit of the inspection, which thus becomes previously expected? What is the real advantage that should be taken from it? Regarding the literary councils, I ensure you Gentlemen that no benefit comes from this institution and reaches the province, and it will not come soon. Composed by vicars, presidents of chambers and parish sub-inspectors, I see in such a creation a rickety or lifeless institution. Study our municipal or police organization, which absorbs a superior staff in comparison with local forces; meet its needs without any recompense; gather the repugnance that is felt towards all public jobs, and then tell me if it will end up idoneous for the district councils! (PARANÁ, 1860, p. 43)²².

In the Regulation²³ of May 13, 1871, there were only the roles of the literary councils, roles that started to be the duty of the general inspector, of the district inspector and of the parish inspector. In 1874, Instruction Councils were once again part of those responsible for the direction and supervision of the instruction, but “[...] now aimed at, mainly, the execution of the mandatory character of education (OLIVEIRA, 1986, p. 133).

The Regulation of April 18, 1876, constitutes again the Literary Council (Chapter III) and sets forth in article 122: ‘The Literary Council will be composed of teachers from the *Instituto Paranaense* and Normal School, which will be their innate members that shall not be fired’. Among the roles, the pedagogical ones stand out: “§5 To adopt text books for primary and secondary classes of the Province” and “§7 To examine and to adopt the best practical systems of teaching” (MIGUEL; MARTIN, 2004a, 281–282).

From the analysis conducted through the legislation, reports and official letters, and through some representative works of the historiography of the period that were considered for this article, it is

possible to observe that the directions and norms referring to school inspection, implemented by the Province of Paraná, complied with the proposed at central level. André Paulo Castanha, cited by Saviani (2013), states that:

[...] the provinces followed the orientations of the most developed centers, especially of the Court and Province of Rio de Janeiro, reproducing in the provincial legislations the very same principles and devices of the irradiating center (SAVIANI, 2013, p. 29)²⁴.

As it is evidenced in the legislation concerning Paraná’s public instruction, when it comes to Literary Councils, their roles merge with those attributed to the Inspection service. In the reports and official letters written by teachers, the latter always addressed to the Inspectorate, and when the complaints are against the inspectors themselves, to the President of the Province.

Final considerations

As we have stated earlier, it was not possible to comprehend the data that the reports and official letters informed without resorting to the legislation. Based on this finding, it is possible to confirm the assertive that a type of document (in this case, the reports and official letters), when consulted in an isolated manner, does not allow for the comprehension of the facts, even if only the quality of the document is analyzed and its relativity as historical source is considered.

In conclusion, in spite of a relative legal organization regarding the distribution of administrative roles of the control over public instruction, the latter remained, by the end of the provincial period, quite precarious, since only with the advance of the social relations of production of the material life the school would become necessary. It is also worth registering that Paraná, in the end of the provincial period, was going through a tough financial situation, a fact that made costs relative to the instruction to be cut, as attested by government reports from the end of said period.

José Cesário de Miranda Ribeiro, when assigning the administration to Ildefonso Pereira Correia, on June 30, 1888, affirmed:

The public instruction of this province is reduced to this really devastating situation. Absorbing more than a third of the provincial incomes, the results obtained by the public education are insignificant in relation to the big pecuniary sacrifices that its costing

²²“E d’hai, qual o mérito da inspecção, que se torna assim previamente esperada? Qual a vantagem real, que se deve d’ella colher? No que respeita aos conselhos litterarios, asseguro-vos, Senhores, que nenhum proveito vem d’esta instituição á provincia e nem tão cedo virá. Compostos pelos vigários, presidentes de camaras e sub-inspetores de parochia, eu vejo em criação tal uma instituição rachitica ou sem vida. Estudae nossa organização municipal ou policial, que absorve um pessoal superior as forças locais; attendei ao ônus a que se obriga sem retribuição alguma; juntae a repugnância que se vota ao exercicio de qualquer funcção publica e dizei-me se o restará idôneo, para os conselhos do districto!”

²³Coletânea da Documentação Educacional Paranaense no período de 1854 a 1889 (MIGUEL; MARTIN, 2004).

²⁴“as provincias seguiram as orientações dos centros mais desenvolvidos, especialmente da Corte e Provincia do Rio de Janeiro, reproduzindo nas legislações provinciais os mesmos principios e dispositivos do centro irradiador”.

imposes. Above all, the flawed structured of the organism of the public provincial teaching is noticeable (PARANÁ, 1888, p. 32-33)²⁵.

This extract from the speech uttered by Miranda Ribeiro attests in order to lapidate the situation of the public instruction in the end of the provincial period, and translates much of what has been discussed herein.

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Received on December 3, 2014.

Accepted on December 15, 2014.

²⁵ "A bem desoladora situação está reduzida a instrução pública desta província. Absorvendo mais de um terço das rendas provinciais, insignificantes são os resultados colhidos pelo ensino público em relação aos grandes sacrifícios pecuniários que seu custeio impõe. Antes de tudo é de notar-se a defeituosa estrutura do organismo do ensino público provincial."

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