

A organização da instrução pública no início da primeira república no Pará (1890 - 1896)

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Resumo

Este artigo situa-se no campo da História da Educação; temos como objeto de estudo a legislação e a organização da instrução pública paraense no final do século XIX, mais precisamente entre os anos 1890 e 1896; nosso objetivo foi identificar como se configurava a instrução pública paraense no contexto das ações determinadas por meio dos regulamentos de ensino do estado. Para sua realização fizemos uso de uma pesquisa histórica de natureza documental e bibliográfica. Constatamos a partir deste trabalho que, através das determinações dispostas na legislação educacional paraense, se buscava impor um padrão de comportamento para professores e alunos na escola primária.

Palavras-chave: Legislação Educacional. Organização da instrução pública. Século XIX.

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The organization of public education at the beginning of the first republic in Pará (1890 - 1896)

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Abstract

This article is situated in the field of the History of Education; we have as object of study the legislation and organization of public education in Pará at the end of the 19th century, more precisely between the years 1890 and 1896; our objective was to identify how public education in Pará was configured in the context of actions determined by the state's education regulations. To do so, we made use of a historical research of documentary and bibliographical nature. Based on it, we found that, through the determinations set out in the educational legislation of Pará, an attempt was made to impose a pattern of behavior for teachers and students in primary schools.

Keywords: Educational Legislation. Organization of public instruction. State of Pará. 19th century.

La organización de la educación pública a inicio de la primera república en Pará (1890 - 1896)

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Resumen

Este artículo se sitúa en el campo de la Historia de la Educación; tenemos como objeto de estudio la legislación y organización de la educación pública en Pará a fines del siglo XIX, más precisamente entre los años 1890 y 1896; nuestro objetivo fue identificar cómo se configuró la educación pública en Pará en el contexto de las acciones determinadas por las normas de educación del estado. Para su realización nos valemos de una investigación histórica de carácter documental y bibliográfico. Con base en este trabajo, encontramos que, a través de las determinaciones establecidas en la legislación educativa de Pará, se intentó imponer un patrón de comportamiento para profesores y alumnos en las escuelas primarias.

Palabras clave: Legislación Educativa. Organización de la instrucción pública. Siglo XIX.

Introduction

The topic addressed in this work is of great importance to the history of education in Pará, as it represents a period of profound political changes, occurring during the transition from the Empire to the Republic, which directly influenced the configuration of public education. It marks a time of strong economic development and various administrative changes, when the capital of Pará underwent significant transformations in its urban landscape, becoming a symbol of wealth and progress.

Sarges (2000) highlights in his studies that, due to the development of the rubber economy in the Amazon, the city of Belém "assumed the role of the main port for the shipment of latex production, in addition to becoming the cultural vanguard of the region" (SARGES, 2000, p. 89). In this context, the city began to receive improvements, undergoing significant aesthetic transformations, especially in the last decade of the 19th century and the early 20th century, when the Belém Port, the Antônio Lemos Orphanage (1893), the Ver-o-Peso Market (1901), the Asylum of Begging (1902) were designed and built, and when electric trams and gas lighting were introduced, under contract with the "Pará Electric Railway and Lighting Co. Ltd" in 1905, in addition to the renovation of squares and parks.

During that period, republicans sought to rid themselves of the "backwardness" left by the Empire in order to build a society in which people would see the new regime as a superior form of government.

At the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, Brazil ceased to be governed by a monarchy and began to organize itself as a republic, altering—though not radically—some forms of managing public affairs. During this period, the country gradually began to experience modernizing changes in daily life, including concerns with public health and hygiene, the incorporation of important scientific and technological advancements, and the implementation of a new model of public education. The new political, economic, and cultural demands required human resources capable of meeting the challenges of a country that aspired to immediate entry into the developed world, so that education became the most effective tool for adapting the newly created Republic to the principles of order and progress. (DAMASCENO, 2021, p. 3).

In this context, in which education was seen as a means to form civilized and patriotic citizens, public instruction was not only a target but also a promoter of republican ideas, and it had to be effective in forming citizens with civic and moral values, as it was believed that only through education could a society be developed that was suitable for the new regime. Therefore, it is understandable that the management of public instruction sought ways to ensure the desired formation, as only with a clear concept of education and schooling could one think about the organization and management of education. For this reason, we agree with Sander (2009) when he argues that such conceptions "reflect distinct social philosophies elaborated from different national political and cultural perspectives, historically situated in the context of international interdependence relations" (SANDER, 2009, p. 70). Damasceno et al. (2018) support this idea, asserting that it is within this context

that public instruction begins to represent national redemption. The new regime then imposes itself on the essential mission of forming the nationality and transforming its citizens into republican patriots. It is in this context that the textbook gains decisive importance,

The organization of public education at the beginning of the first republic in Pará (1890 - 1896) consolidating itself as an instrument of diffusion for republican ideology, and it is impossible to dissociate it from the social and political reality of Brazil at that time (DAMASCENO; SANTOS; ALMEIDA, 2018, p. 6-7).

Therefore, it was from this perspective that the instruction and civilization of the people of Pará became part of the republicans' concerns, as it was necessary to develop, in addition to the economy, public education, particularly the behavior and habits of the population, using European standards as examples to be followed. In this logic, it was believed that only through public instruction could this type of citizen be formed. Contrary to what Cury (2002) predicts when he argues that "we should not demand from the school what it cannot provide, overcoming the concept of a salvational and redemptive education" (CURY, 2002, p. 169), republicans saw in education the possibility of propagating good habits,

as a school education that qualified people for work was of utmost importance, following the patterns of the emerging republican society. If education had transcended the family sphere, a new space, termed "school," was needed, where new programs, new content, and improvements in teacher training, as well as the pedagogical team, would be implemented (PANTOJA; DAMASCENO, 2018, p. 205).

It is understandable that the educational policy of the time focused on legislating and organizing public education, as it was necessary to "reorganize Public Instruction, especially primary education, which had previously been governed by confused, contradictory legislation, and mutilated by partial and incomplete reforms carried out without a plan or order" (PARÁ, 1890a).

Oliveira (2012) informs us that during the First Republic, legislation was a tool used by the elites "to establish an educational system and align public schools with the interests of the hegemonic groups in power and the needs of the new social order. The State extensively relied on laws to reform education and regulate the organization of schools" (OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 16). Through this process, numerous and varied guidelines, types, and norms were defined regarding programs, oversight, teaching work, school administration, record-keeping, hygiene, and discipline, among other aspects of school life.

This work, therefore, is characterized as the result of a historical-documentary research that broadens the notion of historical document, as well as

the expansion of themes and the theoretical-methodological framework of the investigations. At the same time, it opens up a range of new possibilities for understanding educational reality. Regarding the relevance of studies devoted to understanding social realities through educational models and schools, in light of the interests of History and Education (CARVALHO E CARVALHO, 2011, p. 38).

It is from this perspective that we propose the task of investigating the topic, but without losing sight of the fact that our questions about those events are shaped

by their insertion in the present; that our approaches will always be subject to revisions, and therefore, the supposed objectivity is not achieved through studies conceived as definitive, but rather when there is conviction in the necessity of revisiting one's procedures and conceptions. Only in this way, anchored in these principles, will one be able to comprehend

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and explain the situations and issues being investigated, even if they are situated in spaces and temporalities far removed from where the historian carries out their work (CARVALHO E CARVALHO, 2011, p. 38).

Our temporal cut-off is explained by the fact that in 1890, the first regulation for public education was issued during the provisional government of Justo Chermont. This is a noteworthy document aimed at addressing the need for the reorganization of education, a point reinforced by the governor in the same regulation, which emphasized that “education was deficient, falling short of the standards adopted by science and not achieving its goals of moral and civic education for the youth” (PARÁ, 1890a). As a final landmark, we chose the year 1896, when the last law directed at the organization of public education was published during the government of Lauro Sodré, the first governor elected indirectly by the Constituent Congress.

Box 1 - Governors

Name	Period	Observations
Justo Chermont	□ December 17, 1889 to February 7, 1891	□ President appointed by the Federal Government
Gentil Bittencourt	□ February 7, 1891 to March 25, 1891	□ Vice Governor in the role of titular
Huet de Bacelar	□ March 25, 1891 to June 24, 1891	□ President appointed by the Federal Government
Lauro Sodré	□ June 24, 1891 to February 1, 1897	□ President, indirectly elected by the Constituent Congress

Source: Prepared by the authors based on documentary research.

Our documentary corpus consists of the provisions and laws aimed at organizing public education in Pará, through which we can better understand the lawmakers' determinations in their efforts to structure public education during the adopted period.

Thus, we understand that the conception of education at the end of the 19th century sought to achieve efficiency and productivity in what it prioritized: the formation of the republican citizen. To achieve this, the leaders needed to ensure that the republican ideology reached the students, which was carried out through the teachers. In this way, we will examine in this article, which is the result of an ongoing historical research with documentary and bibliographic nature, the constitutive aspects of the organization of public education through an interrogation of the provisions present in the regulations.

Box 2 - Documents researched

Document	Date of publication
Decree No. 149 – Provides Regulation for Public Instruction	May 7, 1890
Decree No. 149 – School Regulations. Programs, schedule, and pedagogical instructions for public schools in the state of Pará	July 4, 1890
Decree No. 372 – Reorganizes Public Instruction in the State	July 13, 1891
Law No. 436 – Provides a new organization for public education in the State	May 23, 1896

Source: Prepared by the authors based on documentary research.

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In methodological terms, at first, we will carry out the gathering and preparation of the documents to be analyzed, and in the second phase, we will develop the analysis of their content itself, aiming to "select, process, and interpret the information, with the goal of understanding its interaction with the source" (KRIPKA; SCHELLER; BONOTTO, 2015, p. 55).

Using educational legislation as a primary source is challenging, as we must consider that not everything stated in a document is effectively implemented, since "we understand legal texts as permeated by the social groups' influences, as part of the processes of social pressure, allowing historical interpretation to reach deeper layers of reality" (MIGUEL; MENEZES; SANTANA, 2021, p. 04).

The Beginning of the Republic in Pará and Educational Policy

With the Proclamation of the Republic in 1889, there was a need to organize a new model of public instruction in order to adapt the population to the new regime and form republican citizens. To achieve these objectives, the government had to develop actions – in this case in the form of regulations – that would organize public education in Pará.

The process that attempted to civilize the population consists of the proposition of very specific behaviors aimed at a particular objective. To achieve this, different instruments legitimizing these intentions are used. This process can mainly be realized through mechanisms such as government institutions. In this way, the school assumed a new role in the Republic, becoming responsible not only for the education of its students but also for the dissemination of the ideals of the new regime, as it was a space accessible to the population as a whole.

It is within this context that, during the period covered in this article, four regulations were published with the objective of organizing public education in the state. These regulations represent the direct action of the government in public education, as we understand that "when we refer to educational policy, we are dealing with ideas and actions. And, above all, with government actions, recognizing that 'the analysis of public policy is, by definition, studying the government in action'" (VIEIRA, 2007, p. 56, emphasis added).

Educational policies expressed the political goals and ideas of the time, and it is important to observe that "policies are not only fed by differentiation; hence, when examining them, it is also necessary to observe the elements of continuity" (VIEIRA, 2007, p. 57). Educational policies and public instruction, as social processes, are shaped by situations involving a back-and-forth movement between social forces. Thus, public authority initiatives are subjects of interest in educational policy, both at the municipal and state levels as well as at the federal level.

For the republicans, the monarchy symbolized the archaic and backward, which is why education was "conceived as an instrument to overcome this degraded condition and as a creator of the national character, of the patriotic citizen" (MORAES; COSTA, 2014, p. 128). Despite this, on the one hand, the people were kept away from political life, while on the other hand, they were encouraged to participate passively, fostering in

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citizens the view of a "Republic as the highest and most civilized form of government" (MORAES; COSTA, 2014, p. 128), which relied on the participation of the population. It is from this perspective that Moraes and Costa (2014) argue that Governor Lauro Sodré was concerned with carrying out his educational reforms, establishing,

"links of continuity" with the institutional changes implemented during the Provisional Government (1889-1891) of Justo Chermont, under the administration of José Veríssimo in Public Instruction. [...] the educational reforms of his government were guided by the political-educational conception formulated during the Provisional Government, which is unequivocally the institutional synthesis of José Veríssimo's educational thought: the reform of primary education as an educational goal and the formation of patriotic and regenerated citizens as a political objective (MORAES; COSTA, 2014, p. 129).

The continuity of ideas and actions would bring legitimacy and political coherence to the republican governments, which is why the strengthening and consolidation of the new regime became one of their main governance strategies. This made it clear that certain provisions were present over several years in educational regulations.

Benno Sander, in an essay aimed at "discussing some educational management conceptions in dispute, defined as socio-cultural constructions" (SANDER, 2009, p. 69), explains that administration is an ancient organizational practice, but its "systematic study is a recent phenomenon, imposed by the organizational explosion resulting from the consolidation of the Industrial Revolution in the modern era" (SANDER, 2009, p. 70).

In this work, the author also informs us about the existence of three key moments that mark the historical process of producing knowledge about educational management. What interests us is precisely the end of the 19th century, the period in which we locate our study object. It is in 1890 that we identify the first republican initiatives aimed at organizing public education in Pará and when the school acquires greater importance due to the idea that it would form a new generation of citizens.

Nevertheless, the school, before the cited period, already universally represented an important dimension of disciplinary power used to achieve the goals of the emerging Republic. It is within the school that children are persuaded to adopt behavior considered normal and appropriate, and whenever a student deviates from this standard, "it becomes necessary and urgent to discipline him, that is, to transform him into a docile and useful student. All of this so that he will be, in the future, an upright man—honest, yes, but fundamentally hardworking and obedient" (MENEGETTI; SAMPAIO, 2016, p. 137). Along the same lines, Foucault (2014) argues that the ultimate goal of disciplinary power is to "train," which does not aim to reduce forces but to tame them for later use. This is how we see disciplinary power in the General Directorate of Instruction, as it, through rules, punishments, and fines applied to teachers, seeks to tame them in their actions, in order to ensure the education that was intended Especially if we consider the strong influence of Positivism – and its apostolate – among the republicans, which would come to define the school as

a privileged target of the apostolate, sometimes denying, sometimes affirming, sometimes relativizing its importance. The Republic, eagerly awaited by the apostolate, was seen as a

The organization of public education at the beginning of the first republic in Pará (1890 - 1896) natural, therefore inevitable, event, whose success was conditioned by the incorporation of the majority of the population, especially the proletariat, into urban-industrial life. The state of anarchy in which the world found itself and the need for effective changes called for a mental and moral reform, with political actions capable of promoting a complete reform in the institutions. (SILVA, 2008, p. 100).

In this logic, with the aim of transforming students into republican citizens, attempts were made to standardize public education in Pará. On May 7, 1890, Governor Justo Chermont issued Decree 149, which established the General Regulation of Public Instruction and Special Education of the State of Pará (PARÁ, 1890a).

In its first chapter, the regulation addresses the organization of education, which at the time included primary, secondary, and professional or technical levels. Primary education was offered in elementary schools, primary schools, the Amparo School, the Paraense Institute of Artisan Students, night schools for adults, and other institutions. The Paraense Lyceum and normal schools provided secondary education, while professional and technical education was offered by the Institute of Artisan Students.

While primary education institutions were governed by a common regulation, others required distinct regulations; however, they should "comply with the provisions and principles of this Regulation" (PARÁ, 1890a, Article 5), dated May 7, and adhere to the norms contained within it. Likewise, all institutions were to be subordinated to the general direction of state education, and all establishments should offer secular education, with primary education being free and mandatory.

Private education, in turn, was free and independent, and anyone, Brazilian or not, could open an educational institution, subject only to certain conditions that emphasized the idea of control by the general direction, which also included private institutions, such as:

I – Prior communication to the general director of public instruction, declaring the names of the owner and director, the institution's name, and the location where it will operate.

II – To present, within the non-extendable period of eight days, whenever requested by that official, detailed lists of enrollment and attendance, indicating the names, nationalities, classes, and ages of the students (PARÁ, 1890a, artigo 8º).

Failure to comply with these requirements would result, for the first violation, in a fine of one hundred thousand réis; for the second violation, double that amount, and furthermore, in case of "failure to comply with legal provisions, the closure of the establishment" (PARÁ, 1890a, Article 10).

At the end of this regulation, in its general provisions, Article 204 established that, as soon as possible after its publication, the general director should issue, "in accordance with what is determined in it, the internal regulations of the schools and the detailed programs of the courses, with the distribution of work and time" (PARÁ, 1890a, Article 204), and this was done.

In less than two months, on July 4, 1890, the then general director of public instruction, José Veríssimo, in compliance with the General Regulation, published a School Regulation with teaching programs, schedules, instructions, and guidelines for the operation of the primary public schools in the state. This detailed guidelines

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mainly for teachers regarding their behavior within the school and how they should treat their students. The importance of the teacher is emphasized because "the formation of a patriotic, devoted, and obedient citizen, according to the idealizers, passed through education, one of the main instruments responsible for the creation of the desired society, of order and progress" (COSTA, 2015, p. 09).

In Article 8 of this School Regulation, it was established that when the school operated in the teacher's residence, the best room, with the best facilities for school needs, should be reserved (PARÁ, 1890b). Furthermore, it was expressly prohibited to allow "communication between the students and individuals, especially household servants³, with strict enforcement of the isolation between the two" (PARÁ, 1890b, Article 31).

In Article 17, it was stated that the three courses could be divided into two classes each, according to the students' advancement or instructional needs. These classes would "not only allow for better distribution of teaching but also facilitate quicker progress for the best students" (PARÁ, 1890b, Article 17). Thus, this division into levels of advancement allows for more detailed control, with specific interventions to achieve better results, which corroborates the interest in organizing the school and its administration in order to "achieve a growing increase in the effectiveness and efficiency of the work, or its productivity" (RUSSO, 2004, p. 28).

In schools with assistant teachers, these individuals were designated to lead the elementary course, always under the direct supervision of the main teacher, who "at least twice a week, will dedicate one hour in the afternoon session to this course" (PARÁ, 1890b, Article 28).

As seen in the previous passages, the disciplining influence of the management bodies is evident, whether when establishing school contents, setting norms and rules of conduct, regulating, guiding, and correcting the knowledge to be transmitted, as well as the behavior of those who transmit it and those who receive it.

The Organization of Instruction Management

Through Article 11 of Decree 149 of 1890, the Superior and General Directorate of Public Instruction was established (PARÁ, 1890a), with its responsibilities outlined in Article 12:

- I – The direction, supervision, and management, both administrative and economic, as well as pedagogical, of all the educational levels established and to be established in public education in the state, in the institutions created, maintained, or subsidized by it.
- II – The supervision of private education as established by this regulation.
- III – The statistics of education.
- IV – The organization of plans, regulations, projects, teaching programs, and the organization of public instruction.
- V – The supervision and management of the Museum, the Public Library, and other public institutions created or to be created that are related to popular education.

³ Fâmulo: Criado; familiar, servo, funcionário, que porventura habitasse o mesmo ambiente.

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VI – To promote, by all available means, the dissemination of education and assist public authorities in this endeavor, as required.
VII – To execute and ensure the execution of all provisions and regulations of public instruction (PARÁ, 1890a).

From the moment the Directorate of Public Instruction was created, we can observe the concern with direction and supervision, understanding it as a mechanism aimed at ensuring, alongside the efficiency of public education, the control of those who carry out school practices.

The general director of the Directorate was to be appointed by the governor "from among citizens with recognized special qualifications, morality, and the aptitudes required for the position" (PARÁ, 1890a, Article 16), which leads us to conclude that the director was to be someone trusted by the governor, since the director was responsible for communicating to the state governor on various matters concerning education. The general director could not engage in another profession or accept any position, whether paid or not. The director was entrusted with specific responsibilities:

- I – The direct supervision and management of all public educational institutions.
- II – The study of all matters related to public education, its application and practice in the state.
- III – The management of the department under its charge.
- IV – To call and preside over the superior council of public education.
- V – To appoint teachers and other public education officials.
- VI – To preside over the teacher recruitment exams, providing the governor with a confidential report; offering an opinion on the progress of the exam, the value of the presented tests, the literary and professional capacity of the candidates, and anything else deemed appropriate for the interests of education.
- VII – To issue, after consulting the superior council, instructions and pedagogical programs to public educational institutions.
- VIII – To directly and indirectly promote the development of education in the state.
- IX – To submit an annual detailed report to the governor on the general state of public education and the development of public instruction in the state.
- X – All other duties inherent to the position and responsibilities outlined in this and other regulations concerning public education (PARÁ, 1890a)

The Directorate of Public Instruction had, in addition to the aforementioned functions, the authority to impose fines for non-compliance with rules in the schools of the capital, because "effects of power, such as self-control of gestures and attitudes, are produced not only by violence and force, but primarily by the feeling of being watched" (CANDIOTTO, 2012, p. 20), which refers to Foucault's idea that surveillance is one of the most effective instruments of discipline, and power is largely produced by the perception of being watched (Foucault, 2014).

The general director of public instruction was also required to receive certain information from teachers, such as "any impediment that prevents them from functioning and occurrences that, due to their seriousness, should be brought to the attention of those authorities" (PARÁ, 1890a, Article 142). Teachers were also required to,

- IV – To send quarterly to the general directorate a nominal list of enrolled students, with a declaration of the number of absences of each student, sending a copy of the same to the

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school board.
V – To send, likewise, to the same authority at the end of the academic year and after the exams, the general list of annual enrollment, a brief report on the main events of the school during the year, and the results of the exams. This list must accompany the report of the same school board (PARÁ, 1890a, artigo 142).

The theme of inspection and supervision received special emphasis at the end of the 19th century in the state of Pará, so much so that, in addition to the general director of instruction, there were other figures who collaborated in these tasks, such as the inspector, the director, and the teacher, who formed

a fundamental and structuring tripod for the functioning of the educational system of the time. Their target was the student, who, with the help of the family, was responsible for acquiring good habits of behavior, health, and hygiene, as well as incorporating and practicing the moral and patriotic values necessary to become a respectful citizen and a reproducer of the new republican order (DAMASCENO; PANTOJA, 2019, p. 5).

In this tripod, each member had a defined role. The school director, for example, was responsible not only for overseeing and organizing the operation of the school but also for managing the school's human resources, such as granting leave and replacing teachers. The teacher was expected to have control over their classes with discipline and to be a moral example for their students, guided by dedication, devotion, and commitment. Finally, the school inspector was considered the guarantor of the proper functioning of public education at the time, because

it would not be very effective if the teacher were free and unimpeded to perform their duties or if the director ensured the smooth functioning of the school structure. To prevent fraud or forgery, it was essential that the entire process be under the supervision of the inspecting officials, so that the machinery of the system operated within the parameters set by the authorities (DAMASCENO; PANTOJA, 2019, p. 6).

At the helm of this triad is the general director of public instruction; the first individual known to have held this position in republican Pará was José Veríssimo, the signatory of the School Regulation of July 4, 1890, a document that most intensively clarifies the general director's position regarding the importance of public instruction as a reproducer of the republican ideals of order, morality, and civility. The regulation emphasizes attention to the established schedules, which allowed for greater efficiency in the execution of activities. We also identify what the general director deemed essential for the teacher's role and the students' behavior, as it was through the teacher that “the new teaching programs would be realized; therefore, it was essential that the teacher be well-trained to be the executing agent of the reforms implemented” (MORAES; COSTA, 2014, p. 132). Hence, the importance of the teaching profession, recognized by the government, as the relationship between school administration and the transformation of society depended on the “correct” and “appropriate” performance of the teacher.

Thus, the precautions determined by the director regarding the teachers are understandable. They were required to arrive at the school a few minutes before starting their work and could only leave the classroom—except in urgent and unavoidable cases—after all the students had left (PARÁ, 1890b). It was also stipulated

The organization of public education at the beginning of the first republic in Pará (1890 - 1896) that teachers should present themselves at school "decently dressed, giving their students a moral lesson through the neatness and cleanliness of their clothing and appearance. They are prohibited from presenting themselves in slippers" (PARÁ, 1890b, Article 3). As can be observed, these are disciplinary provisions designed to prevent behavior outside the norm, and in case such deviations occurred, punishment was always available as a reinforcement of discipline.

Gradually, one can perceive an attempt to control the teacher's life beyond their technical competence. After all, "the docile body, the effect of disciplines, is the same useful body of the factory worker. The political control of the body is accompanied by its productive maximization in the capitalist economy" (CANDIOTTO, 2012, p. 22). Perhaps for this reason, the Regulation, in Article 4, prohibited teachers from smoking, engaging in matters unrelated to the school, especially political and religious issues (PARÁ, 1890b), constituting a prohibition aimed at producing docile, useful, and obedient individuals, investing in the body, "manipulating its movements, gestures, behaviors, creating a *modus operandi* within it. It simultaneously produces, on one hand, aptitude or capacity, and on the other, a relationship of subjection" (MENEGETTI; SAMPAIO, 2016, p. 136).

Another important point addressed in this regulation is found in Article 14, which establishes that "the first half hour in the morning will be devoted in all schools to inspection of cleanliness, checking the condition of students' teeth, ears, hair, and nails, accompanied by moral observations and recommendations on the necessity of personal hygiene care" (PARÁ, 1890b, Article 14). In addition to the evident practice of censorship, which is explicit in Article 15, which states that "no book or pamphlet, printed or handwritten, unrelated to teaching, may be introduced into the school without the written authorization of the General Director" (PARÁ, 1890b, Article 15). All of this allows us to recognize a significant attempt to control the bodies and behaviors of teachers and students, within the

perspective of behavioral administration construction, rooted in the sciences of human conduct, particularly in the studies of psychology and sociology with a functionalist orientation. Behavioral construction consecrates effectiveness, as opposed to efficiency, as the central criterion of administration, competing for space in business, the public sector, and education (SANDER, 2009, p. 71).

Throughout this document, we have identified how the general directorate made its presence felt, through its rules and prohibitions, in the daily life of the school, from the appointment of more administrative tasks to what it deemed most appropriate for school practices. In our view, these passages fit into Foucault's critique of the disciplining power that

thus creates submissive and trained bodies, "docile" bodies. Discipline increases the body's forces (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes those same forces (in political terms of obedience). In a word: it dissociates power from the body; it makes of it, on the one hand, an "aptitude," a "capacity" that it seeks to increase; and on the other hand, it reverses the energy, the power that could result from it, and turns it into a relationship of strict subjection (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 135-136).

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Thus, while the focus of the first regulation was on prescribing duties, competencies, functions, and requirements for compliance, the second regulation delves deeper into the premises and obligations under which teachers and students should behave, shaping their habits, attitudes, and procedures according to what was required.

With the change of government, no structural changes were observed, but aspects that needed to be addressed with greater intensity remained, requiring more detailed organization. This resulted in a more detailed and thorough regulation, maintaining, however, "the foundations of the Regulation of May 7, 1890, which morally and materially raised the level of education among us" (PARÁ, 1891). Thus, on July 13, 1891, the new governor Lauro Sodré reorganized public education in the state through Decree 372, under which public education came to include primary education, normal education, secondary education, and professional and technical education.

Primary education would be offered in elementary and primary schools, as well as the Amparo School, the Paraense Institute of Artisan Students, night schools for adults, and other institutions. Secondary education would take place at the Paraense Lyceum, in courses of sciences and letters, while teacher training would occur at the Normal School, and professional and technical education would be provided at the Institute of Artisan Students. All institutions were subject to the state's general directorate of education. The education should remain secular, and primary education should remain free (PARÁ, 1891).

Private education continued to be free and independent, with anyone, Brazilian or not, allowed to open an educational institution, provided they followed certain rules, such as prior communication to the general director and providing information about the name of the owner and director, the institution's name, and the location where it intended to operate (PARÁ, 1891). It was also necessary to "submit, within the non-extendable period of eight days, whenever requested by that official, detailed lists of enrollment and attendance, indicating the years, nationalities, classes, and ages of the students" (PARÁ, 1891, Article 8). Additionally, the conditions required presenting a certificate of the establishment's good hygienic conditions.

Failure to comply with the above requirements would result, for the first violation, in a fine of one hundred thousand réis, and for the second violation, double that amount. Furthermore, in case of "failure to comply with legal provisions, the establishment would be closed" (PARÁ, 1891, Article 10). Still under the government of Lauro Sodré, on May 23, 1896, the State Congress enacted Law 436, which reorganized public education, which now included primary, secondary, and professional and technical education. Primary education was divided into elementary and full courses, with elementary education offered in elementary schools in a three-year course, and full primary education in full primary schools, the Amparo School, the Paraense Institute of Artisan Students, and the schools attached to the Normal School, in a six-year course.

Article 5 emphasized that primary education was "secular and free, in all branches, and private education is free, allowing anyone, national or foreign, to open educational institutions, subject only to the requirements

The organization of public education at the beginning of the first republic in Pará (1890 - 1896) imposed by the general regulations" (PARÁ, 1896, Article 5). It was also established that, when possible, the teaching of subjects in each course of the full schools would be entrusted to a single teacher (PARÁ, 1896).

Secondary education was offered at the Paraense Lyceum "in a full course of letters and sciences, equivalent to the National Gymnasium, with the same privileges, and also in partial courses, according to the laws of its creation, in the Internships and Externships in the interior of the state" (PARÁ, 1896, Article 25).

Professional and technical education was distributed across the Normal School, where the training of teachers of both sexes was provided in a four-year course; in the courses attached to the Paraense Lyceum, such as Surveying and Commerce; at the Paraense Institute of Artisan Students, and at the agricultural school (PARÁ, 1896).

Through the sources used, we can identify an attempt to organize public education as a whole, with regulations that applied to the entire state and with schools being subject to the General Directorate of Instruction. As expected, the organizational provisions repeat and remain in the regulations for quite some time, which conveyed the idea that the republican government was taking effective measures regarding education.

Final considerations

In this article, we aimed to identify some constitutive aspects of the organization of public education through an inquiry into the provisions present in the regulations. We saw that in the first regulation, the general director was tasked with communicating to the government what was happening in the schools and imposing, through specific standardization, what would be convenient for the government.

In the second regulation, we observe the attempt to discipline personal attitudes of teachers, identified as "a mode of exercising power or a technology of power, that is, a specific way in which some exercise power over others" (MENEGETTI; SAMPAIO, 2016, p. 136).

A critical reading of the legislation in effect at the time allows us to assert that, in 1890, Decree 149 established a pioneering and detailed organization, consisting of two complementary regulations that defined the education levels and the appropriate schools for each of them.

A year later, in 1891, through Decree 372, which reorganized public education in the state, we would have a more definitive and detailed version that, beyond repeating some provisions of the previous Decree, introduced important changes that would have greater longevity, to the point that they were not affected by Law 436, of 1896, which would provide a new organization for public education in the state. It is important to clarify that, from one piece of legislation to another, there are no perceptible changes regarding the organization of the school or the moral or civic content that was deemed important at the time.

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In this new model, in addition to the differentiations determined by the school levels where the teacher worked, characterized as levels (1st, 2nd, or 3rd), the establishment of differentiated salary classes was solidified, defined by the teacher's length of service in this public position.

Throughout our study, we found that an important dimension of the management of public education at that time was the explicit attempt to impose a standard of behavior on teachers and students through regulatory provisions that operated in this direction. Hence, there was intense practice of control and supervision over teachers' access to the profession, the content and programs to be taught, the formation of their professional profile, and other aspects related to the organization of the system.

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