



The institutionalization of primary and secondary public instruction in the *Parahyba do Norte* Province (1836 -1849)

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ABSTRACT. This text aims at analyzing the process of institutionalization of primary and secondary public education in the *Parahyba do Norte* Province between 1836-1849 and also links of this movement with government initiatives and possible relationships with the subjects of instruction in the period. Using sources such as regulations for Education enacted on the 15th and the 20th of January, 1849, respectively; and the statutes of the *Provincial Lyceum* enacted in 1846; it is compared the reports of Presidents of Province and the various documents on Education, with the analytical intention of understanding the government initiatives as well as the responsibilities assigned to teachers as responsible for the organization and class maintenance. We conclude that the form of organization for methods, the behavior of teachers and the supervision and control by the provincial government announced in the regulations and statutes, intended gradually to standardize the teaching and to build spaces of schooling for part of Paraíba population.

Keywords: public school, primary education, secondary education, schooling.

A institucionalização da instrução pública primária e secundária na província da Parahyba do Norte (1836- 1849)

RESUMO. Busca-se analisar o processo de institucionalização da instrução pública primária e secundária da Província da Parahyba do Norte entre 1836 a 1849 e os nexos desse movimento com as iniciativas governamentais e as possíveis relações com os sujeitos da instrução, no período. Utilizando-se de fontes como os regulamentos para a instrução, decretados, respectivamente, em 15 e 20 de janeiro de 1849 e os estatutos do Lyceu Provincial decretados em 1846, cotejam-se com os relatórios dos presidentes da Província e os documentos diversos sobre instrução, com a intenção analítica de entender as iniciativas governamentais e as responsabilidades atribuídas aos professores como responsáveis pela organização e manutenção das aulas. Conclui-se que a forma de organização pelos métodos, a ação dos professores e a fiscalização e controle pelo governo provincial, anunciados nos regulamentos e nos estatutos, pretendiam, gradativamente, uniformizar o ensino e construir espaços de escolarização para parte da população paraibana.

Palavras-chave: escola pública, ensino primário, ensino secundário, escolarização.

La institucionalización de la escuela pública primaria y secundaria en la Provincia de Parahyba do Norte (1836 - 1849)

RESUMEN. Este estudio tuvo el objetivo de analizar el proceso de institucionalización de la educación pública primaria y secundaria de la Provincia de Paraíba do Norte entre 1836 a 1849 y los nexos de este movimiento con las iniciativas gubernamentales y las posibles relaciones con los sujetos de la instrucción en el periodo. Se utilizaron fuentes como los reglamentos para la Educación decretados, respectivamente, el 15 y el 20 de enero de 1849 y los estatutos de Lyceu Provincial decretados en 1846, que fueron comparados con los informes de los Presidentes de la Provincia y los diversos documentos sobre Educación, con el propósito analítico de entender las iniciativas gubernamentales, así como las responsabilidades atribuidas a los profesores como encargados por la organización y por el mantenimiento de las clases. Se concluye que la forma de organización por los métodos, el comportamiento de los profesores y la supervisión y el control por el gobierno provincial, anunciados en los reglamentos y en los estatutos, pretendían, gradualmente, estandarizar la enseñanza y construir espacios de escolarización para parte de la población de Paraíba.

Palabras clave: escuela pública, enseñanza primaria, enseñanza secundaria, escolarización.

Introduction

In researches done on the history of education in Imperial Brazil, especially for the first half of the nineteenth century, there are two visions of denial about the achievements of primary and secondary public education. Either one or the other refers to the combat in which education was considered a strong ally to the political dispute. Republicans, in the late nineteenth century, in attempts to criticize the imperial government and mischaracterize the actions of the monarchy for instruction, and the renovators, particularly Fernando de Azevedo, from the 1920s and 30s,

[...] presents it as crowning of modernization yearnings and socio-cultural homogenization [...] as opposed to the past, considered archaic to the resolutions required for schooling [...] (CARVALHO, 2000, p. 332).

During the years that followed, these visions and interpretations, often reinforced a narrative that denied those made on public education in the imperial period presenting it more as “[...] time passage quite a few times it [was] also understood as our dark ages or as a world where, strangely, the ideas [were] continually out of place [...]” (FARIA FILHO, 2010, p. 135). Playing a story that would be retold more by their absence than by the possible actions of both imperial and provincial governments for education.

However, nowadays, considering, in particular, from the 1980s, in many parts of Brazil, it is envisioned initiatives as part of a process of historiographical renewal that sought to contradict this guidance. The academic production prioritizing issues about the action of the subject of education, teachers and students, as builders of a school routine and participants of the creation and the maintenance of their educational institutions, as well as initiatives to understand the educational and school phenomenon, from specific dynamic of the universe of instruction/education, have indicated the direction of research in the history of education. The present article is part of this movement.

From the above stated intention, it will be analyzed the regulations for education, emphasizing the part about the organization of primary education - enacted, respectively, on 15th and 20th January, 1849 - and the statutes of the Lyceum Provincial of *Parahyba do Norte*¹, in the year 1846. The considerations are based on the historical context of the drafting of legislation on education in *Leis e regulamentos da instrução da Paraíba no período imperial (Education laws and regulations of Paraíba in the imperial period)*, published in *Coleção*

documentos da educação brasileira (Collection documents the Brazilian education), between the years 1836 and 1849, prioritizing the Lyceum very creation in 1836, through the publications of its statutes in 1837 and 1846 and, finally, considering the initiative to standardize the primary education in this legislation in 1849 (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004).

The comparison of regulations and statutes to the reports of the presidents of the Province and the various documents on education, found in State Archives of Paraíba Waldemar Bispo Duarte will permeate the analytical intention of the work, considering the actions of the provincial state, erected from the clashes between government initiatives and the responsibilities assigned to teachers as responsible for the organization and maintenance of primary and secondary school instruction in the chosen period. The narrative will consider the limits of the documentation when seeking government initiatives and possible relationships with students and teachers for the organization of primary and secondary public education. For the latter, the sources showed their actions indirectly. In this paper, the dynamics of relationships between the subjects was mediated by the analysis of documents produced by the Provincial Government and, therefore, marked by the political character of control and disciplining of education through the government initiatives (FARIA FILHO, 1999).

Considering this context, it is intended that the analysis of the actions of the authorities in the field of education enables understanding the educational process prescribed by law and which included teachers and students at the time of institutionalization of primary and secondary public education.

For this purpose, the text will be presented as follows: after the introduction, we will discuss the actions of provincial governments to build the public classes. Then, the statutes of the Lyceum will be indicated as input to the standardization of secondary education in the province. Following, the regulations of primary education will be used to demonstrate, from the organization by teaching methods, the possible arrangement of classes of first letters, and finally we will consider some conclusions about the discussions during this work.

The provincial government and the actions for education

In Brazil, the National State and the Nation were gradually constructed from 1822 with the political independence of Portugal as a guarantee of the sovereignty, the territorial unity, of ownership and of slavery (ANANIAS, 2005).

¹The institution will be identified throughout the text as Lyceum.

[...] It is worth remembering, however, that there was an element that established a link between most of the major political and economic groups then in scene: the desire to safeguard the constitutive elements of an economy based on agriculture for export- for internal regional markets, whether for international markets, in a very particular way the slavery, which seems to underlie the ways to produce and circulate all agricultural production then underway in the country (GOUVÊA, 2008, p. 20).

This connection allowed, despite the differences of opinion between the existing political groups, building a way to Brazil in “[...] search for a new political and administrative organization that could better promote the construction of the new state [...]” (GOUVÊA, 2008, p. 20).

The performance of the presidents of the Province and the members of legislative assemblies was understood as a representation of the initiatives to build this new State and, for this text in particular, the Provincial Government. In Paraiba:

[...] the big landowners, representatives of the exporter with their allies (senior officials, military leaders, professionals, mainly bachelors, priests, etc.) often formed the basis of support for maintaining the monarchy (MELLO, 1996, p. 100).

The installation of the Legislative Assembly of the *Parahyba do Norte* Province date of April 7th, 1835 (PINTO, 1977). Its creation part of the requirements arising from the Additional Act published in 1834, which expanded the powers of the General Councils, named them, since then, the provincial legislative assemblies. Over the period studied, they were composed in enclosures marked by debate and defense of education as an element of modernity and civilization of the people.

The speeches of the President of the Province, presented, every year, defended the policy, the development and the civility to (and for) the Parahyba population.

In 1837, the first speech after the opening of the Assembly, the President of the Province, thus presented the society,

Fortunately I can assure you that the province enjoys full tranquility, and thanks to the beneficial Providence no disruptions and political commotions are offered by the present time! Thanks to the good people of Parahyba, that are not unaware that what our first necessity is the tranquility, and that only in the backwater of Peace, the free institutions, that we need, can be successful (PARAHYBA DO NORTE, 1837, p. 1)².

The defense of the instruction was understood as part of the building society. While that was the basis for development, it was also its result. In an evolutionary perspective, being educated meant an advance that contributes to social progress, that even slowly, one day would come to the Province.

But; Gentlemen, if for you these precedents are not hidden, neither no doubts that only the progress of civilization could awaken in the hearts of the family fathers the interest of give their children an enlightened education, and to develop themselves the desire of improving their understanding: however, your efforts in this part will be only considered later, and only later you will receive the well-deserved tribute of gratitude (PARAHYBA DO NORTE, 1837, p. 11).

Thus, from the development of the items listed above, will try to understand in this article - and to demonstrate - the institutionalization of primary and secondary education through the regulation and the control of the incipient provincial State. The statutes enacted by the provincial government in 1846 to the Provincial Lyceum and the regulations in 1849, for primary education, will serve as mediators of the proposal.

Normalizing the Secondary Education: the Provincial Lyceum of the *Parahyba do Norte* and the statutes of 1846

The Provincial Lyceum of the *Parahyba do Norte* was created by the law no. 11, of May 24, 1836, after the Legislature took on the task of grouping the called Intermittent Classes, giving them one direction and establishing standards for better functioning. The law was signed by then President of the Assembly, Frederico Almeida Albuquerque, and the first and second secretaries, respectively, Manuel Simplício Jácome Pessoa and Pedro Marinho Falcão. The sanction was given by the vice-chairman, Manuel Maria Carneiro da Cunha (FERRONATO, 2012). The law announced in its first article,

Art. 1. It is established in this city one Lyceum, which will consist of teachers of Latin, French, Rhetoric, Philosophy, and the first year of Mathematics chairs, already created in the same city, as well two replacements, one for these last two chairs, and other for the first three, and finally a doorman (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 92).

The institution was officially regulated by law no. 13 of April 19, 1837, with the approval and publication of its statutes written by the President of Province at occasion, Basílio Quaresma Torreão. In 1839, a new law was published, improving some aspects of the statutes of 1837. Later, the

²For this and other quotes we use the original spelling, as we find written in the document.

government was authorized to reform these statutes that would be modified in 1846, which will be, in sequence, the subject of discussion in this part of the article (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004). The goal of the creation of the Institution was to educate part of the youth of Paraíba, because until that moment, they had to move from Province to conduct secondary studies. It worked, initially, on the first floor of the Legislative Council building. Then it was relocated to a hall of Government House and in 1839 it was definitely transferred to the building of the former Jesuit Seminary, where it remained for one hundred years (until 1939). From there it was taken to the actual building of the Getúlio Vargas Avenue, in the center of the city of João Pessoa, Paraíba State, functioning today as the Lyceum State College of Paraíba (FERRONATO, 2012).

The creation of the Lyceum held from the Additional Act (of August 12, 1834) of the 1824 Constitution (BRASIL, 1986b). The addendum to the Imperial letter was one of the legal instruments considered by historiography as more important for the education of the period, with implications that extended throughout the Empire, sparking a wide debate between centralization and decentralization, with regard to the responsibilities of the primary and secondary public education (CASTANHA, 2007).

The initiative of founding the Lyceum represented an effort by the creators to centralize in a single unit of instruction all dispersed chairs or Intermittent Classes, considering, in particular, those that existed in the provincial capital. The Secondary education³ in the Province, as well as in the rest of Brazil, was fragmented in the called Intermittent Classes, which were heirs of the ancient royal lessons created by Pombal Reform of smaller studies that defined the grounds for the possibility of the organization of formal education and, consequently, the necessary conditions for the gradual professionalization of teachers (MENDONCA, 2004).

The classes worked in the capital and major towns in the Province, offering mostly the Latin studies, in *Parahyba do Norte*.

The dispersion or fragmentation of secondary education, as well as the costs to the provincial treasury justify, thus, the need to group them in institutions such as the Lyceums. However, what we realized was

that with the creation of the institution only the Intermittent Classes of capital were incorporated, while the lessons of the interior continued to work, often, with a greater number of students than the Lyceum itself.

The process of founding the institution, as well as other high schools across the country formed part of the movement to defend education as a means of man improving and the regulation and planning of public education. The existing concern at that time was the construction of the State and the Nation, so the importance of creating spaces to form men who would be the leaders of the State under construction. The school started to have a kind of civilizing mission to guarantee the development of the country (FERRONATO, 2012). Even so, a number of obstacles would prevent the development of the Lyceums, as well as all public secondary school and consequently only a small number of men had access to the institution throughout the Imperial period.

The period between the years 1836 and 1846 was the consolidation and standardization of the Institution. In this process, the main concerns of provincial managers were: the number of students, the financial resources, the methods and the textbooks, the subject and the teachers. After intense debates involving the legislative and executive powers, in this work, the legislation has led us to make a critique about the school organization prescribed for secondary education in the period. The routine of the school organization can be viewed from the approval of the statutes of 1846. Through this document, important aspects of daily life of the Institution could be understood. In the President of the Province, Agostinho da Silva Neves report, in 1844, we visualize,

This Institution march regularly, and I intend to examine more slowly the methods, and compendiums by which teaches, and the statutes that govern it, to make them *those reforms*, which can be so acids, for prosperity of the establishment, and which should be utility for the Province (PARAHYBA DO NORTE, 1844, p. 11, emphasis in original).

The Lyceum received, with the enactment of the statutes of 1846, support from the provincial administration as hiring the staff: seven teachers, five owners of the chairs and two substitutes; one Director appointed by the President of the Province. Besides providing more financial resources.

The institution had a social dimension and importance that were always highlighted by teachers, leaders and administrators of the Province. At the ceremony of publication of the statutes, the

³Here we understand the term as interpreted by Antonio Banha de Andrade (1981, 1984) including the classes of Latin grammar, Greek, rhetoric and philosophy, excluding the reading, writing and arithmetic ones. We emphasize that in the context of the Pombal Reform, applied to generic designation of smaller studies as what is called 'secondary education as to what was to be the school of first letters.

Director, Manrique Victor de Lima stated that the Lyceum had a 'greater stability and firmness' position and

[...] As a senior teacher, I found myself covered in this post then I will tell you frankly, not as an extreme satisfaction, not so much for having the extreme assumption of satisfactorily performing the difficult the duties linked to place that I occupy as the head of one of the most important Institutions of the Province, and even less for the pleasure so sweet to occupy a position that gives me some prominence among my peers, as only by persuasion that it could be usefulness, albeit mediocre from the Lyceum (PARAHYBA DO NORTE, 1846, irregular pagination).

In the Act of Creation, the initial curriculum had the following subjects: Latin, French, Rhetoric, Philosophy and Mathematics. Such matters, as in other secondary schools of the period, had an emphasis on the formation of the civilized man to the European fashion. To this school matrix was added by the Law of 1839, the chair of English; and in 1841, the grammar of the national language and trade (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004). The last, since 1838, was requested by the President of the Province, Joaquim Teixeira Peixoto de Albuquerque,

It would also be interesting the Assembly remembered to create a Commerce class, in which was taught the registration by the double entry method, reduction of weights and measures, Currency, Insurance & breakdowns. The creation of this chair would bring no few benefits, because this Province shall, by its location and excellent Port, be quite commercial, would gain no little, that would implement the market studies, if not all, at least the most necessary, those who wanted to dedicate this life. This class is found in all 'civilized countries', and between us it has already logged in some provinces of the Empire (PARAHYBA DO NORTE, 1838, p. 9, emphasis and symbols in original).

The reading and analysis of the articles that made up the 1846 statutes allow, minimally, to understand and to evaluate the functioning of the Institution. The document, composed of 99 articles and several paragraphs, presented in its essay the distribution of textbooks, the regulation of school retirement, the enrollments, the holidays, the routine of teachers, in short, the whole organization of the institution. The main aim of such paper was to sort the functions and internal attributions, such as example the Director, who was appointed by the president of the Province and he was his official representative in the Institution. In Chapter One, Article 10, which deals

with the staff, we can see the issues of appointment and their criteria:

[...] In the Director impediment the former teacher will be as Vice- Director, and during the time of the Directory will be observed the rule laid down in Article 7 [...] this provision will have no place of Vice-Director (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 99).

Since the approval of the statutes, the standardization of staff started with defined roles and responsibilities. Teachers were considered important parts in the composition of the institution, because they were seen as agents of the formation process of students, by applying the precepts and ordinances, thereby fulfilling the ideal of civilizing mission, touted as the responsibility of education.

In this sense, then it is possible, to think of a civilizing process (ELIAS, 1990) that took into account the belief that the individual needed to learn rules of conduct as requirements of the human condition that legitimize him to live in society (AMORIM; FERRONATO, 2013, p 212).

The teaching staff of the Lyceum was basically formed by intellectuals who were known in the Province and encompassed in its midst a large number of priests, as the teaching of morals and religion was an important part in the curriculum. The hiring of teachers occurred after prior examination of competence habilitation and they became lifetime members from five years of work; the recruitment was a constant concern, since the salary was sometimes considered low in a poor Province like Paraíba.

The state controlled the personal lives of teachers who worked in secondary education and the first letters. These should be men of good conduct and duties abiding. However, the secondary school teachers were always seen as better prepared than those who worked in the school of first letters. The teaching staff of secondary education was composed of a group of men intellectually recognized by the society; their formation could be sought in areas such as religion, law, literature and the press.

The Article 23 of Chapter 4th, gave ordination to scholarship term of the Lyceum, setting Feb. 15 as the start of classes and the 31st of October, the end. In this Chapter, in Articles 23 and 24 had also the prescription of activities during school days:

[...] Lessons will be only once a day during the first and second chair lasting three to four hours and the remaining one and a half to two. [...] Every time that they will have at least three lessons at the weekend it

will take place the Sabatini: the form of these exercises will be regulated by teachers (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 100).

In combining the beginning of the school year with the beginning of the year showed the need of time organization as a constitutive element of secondary education. This proposal served as a model to be followed by other institutions of the Province, suiting, thereby, the education to the dynamics of social and productive life.

The Article 17 of Chapter 4th, handled the conditions required for enrollment in the various classes, which should be done in the first fourteen days of February and the student would have to follow the following script:

[...] The students, who want to enroll in any of the classes of the Lyceum, will direct an application for this purpose to the Director, joining the knowledge of having paid in the Administration of Income the enrollment tax on the importance of 3 \$ 200 réis (Brazilian currency at that time). For registration to the third chair it is required a certificate examination of the first and second ones (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 100).

In Article 18:

[...] By order of the Director the student will be submitted to the Secretary to make him the competent settlement, which will be signed by both, having declared in it the name, parents, homeland, and age of the enrolling, and the documents mentioned in the preceding article (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 100).

The statutes also indicated that the textbooks used should be articulated to the requirements of the chairs offered by the Institution. Regarding those compendia we could identify: Latin Grammar by Padre Antonio Pereira; Cornelius, Life of the Emperors; Fables of Phaedrus, Salustio; Poetic Art by Horace; French Grammar by Emilio Savene; Adventures by Telêmaco; Theater by Voltaire; Rethoric by Padre Marino; Poetics by José Pedro da Fonseca; Geography by Úrculo; Chorography by Padre Miguel; History, especially in Brazil, by Bellegarde; Philosophy by Geruses; Arithmetic by Bezourt; Algebra by Lacroix; Geometry and Trigonometry by Legrand (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 107).

It could be perceived though that lis a preference for humanistic education, recommendation of classic works, space given to priests made books in French, as well as the tribute to the imperial life.

The list of textbooks was found by analyzing the reports of the President of Province as referenced. Whereas the Library of the Lyceum, which, until then, had only 63 books, only begun to be thought out and organized with more attention in 1858, after a campaign of donation of books, encouraged by appeals from the Province presidents, the number of volumes reached then to 607.

The lack of books was a problem often cited in the searched documents. Perhaps this is why some teachers began to produce works like Professor Joaquim José Henriques Silva, who published in 1855 a book on Latin grammar, entitled *Manual dos Estudantes de Latim* (Manual of Students of Latin) (GAUDENCIO, 2007).

In Chapter 6, it was about 'The Economics and Policy Lessons', we found the article devoted to the issue of discipline that was very severe, the teacher may punish his disciples and, in some cases, with paddle. The disciplinary rules were presented in Article 57:

The misconduct by the student on the grounds of the Lyceum, or nearby where they usually gather, should be punished conditionally by the Director either by means of reprimand in class, or private, either inflicting other corporal punishment, like standing throughout, or part of class time, or any others that his decision deems appropriate, attentioning to age, previous students' behavior, and the severity of the fault (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004 p. 103).

Understanding on the disciplinary issue, it advocated good behavior and good order, emphasizing that if the punishment does not bring effect, steps should then be taken, such as:

In the most extraordinary cases the Director will address to the President of Province, [...] in order to provide as he understands convenient. The incorrigible student will be excluded from the Lyceum by order of the President of Province (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 103).

We can realize a gradation in the disciplinary system that started from warning to expulsion, at the highest level of punishment and obeying a didactic and administrative hierarchy, the being Beadle the first to rebuke in disciplinary matters.

The Chapter 5 dealt with the examinations in which only students that had sufficient education could do:

To the student who has not been contemplated by the teacher to take the exam at the end of the year, and not to judge himself sufficiently skilled, is allowed to recourse to the Congregation that after hearing the same teacher, may or may not admit him

to examination as the reasons are due to one and the other part (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 101).

The tests were organized into Sabatini. Subjects like rhetoric and philosophy required dissertations thesis every three months. According to the statutes, the student would participate of the examinations only if he deserves the confidence of the direction of the institution. This standardization of the day to day of the Lyceum also organized the school attendance which became gradually mandatory. The student, who came to ten absences without justification, was failed in the school year.

Finally, Chapter 8 organized holidays, covering the end of the school year and the carnival:

There will also be the holiday of Carnival until Ash Wednesday, and the Holy Week from Palm Sunday until the second octave of Easter. They will also be holidays, in addition to Sundays and holy days, the days of festivities, or national mourning, and the Thursdays of every week, in which there are no holy days or other holidays (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 104).

In the first ten years of the Lyceum, we noted that issues of administrative and disciplinary orders took longer their administrators and teachers, and consequently, the didactic and pedagogical concerns were relegated to the backstage.

In the first Statute of the Lyceum, approved in 1837, the procedures of how the Institution should function, highlighting the aspects related to the control of time, to the development of the school year, to the enrollment, to the opening and working of the classes, to the Congregation members, to the examinations, the vacation and holy day days. It also identifies the duties of the Director, teachers and also employees of the institution, such as the Beadle, the Secretary and the Porter's Lyceum. Anyway, this was the general regulations of everyday life in the institution.

Pinheiro (2011) also draws attention to the fact that, similarly to the previous status, the Resolution 1846 remained the same characteristics. For that author, the document aimed to standardize and organize the functions and duties of the director, secretary, teachers and the beadle. Thus, the description and analysis of these imputations imply in demonstrating the operation of the school, because they established rules and criteria that affected inevitably the school life of students. Thus, the norms of the school year, enrollment, qualifications and examinations, the economics and politics classes, awards, holidays, conditioned the daily lives of students and their own school

formalized routine of secondary education, offered in the Lyceum.

The regulations for the institutionalization of the public primary education in the *Parahyba do Norte* Province

The institutionalization of public primary education will be appreciated by the mediation of the law, from the defense that the class of the first letters had teaching methods as a way to organize and direct the instruction; teachers, as holders of the methods, were responsible for this organization.

Pondering on this precept, Souza (2011), while acknowledging the various existing concepts in the nineteenth century that differentiated manner, method and teaching process, decided to use for studies on the Brazilian eight hundred, the terms mode and method in the same direction:

The mode concept was based on the idea of organizing and leading the school, in how to group students and to distribute the subjects putting into question the pedagogical organization more broadly. In Brazil, however, was very common to use the term method to refer to the individual, mutual, simultaneous and mixed learning. So, [...], we will use the two terms in the same direction (SOUZA, 2011, p. 339).

As the author, we are going to use the method term from these guidelines, either, considering the meaning for the period, for the pedagogical organization of classes, chairs and schools of primary education, or the appointment of other teaching models used. Likewise, the teachers have been considered privileged agents to perform such purposes, because they were designed the responsibility to open and maintain the classes in operation. The action of the Province presidency, from monitoring and control announced on regulations, intended to gradually take and build an administrative system to be responsible by the classes, schools, students and teachers, which can be seen from the analysis of first regulation, 1849.

To meet the guidelines of the Additional Act of 1834, the General Directorate of Public Instruction aimed to establish a political and administrative agency, connected directly to the CEO of the Province, which could meet the new demands and responsibilities of education. This filing should resolve the conflict established between the previous legal framework and the new responsibilities that the provincial government would assume. The legislation, in the foreground, would announce the changes and, in the expectation of their fulfillment, it would establish means of control over prescribed.

The post of General Director of public instruction was created to govern the Board and would have as

responsibilities to inspect all educational establishments - both held by the State and by private - the public classes, teachers and students; to regular the public education through monitoring and proposition of branches, subjects, methods, textbooks and regulations. Furthermore, he would inform the government about the conduct of the instruction employees as well as to indicate the compensatory and coercive measures when necessary. All activities performed in these functions should annually be recorded and forwarded to the Province President, with directions and suggestions for improvement of the problems encountered.

The inspection task, according to the regulation, would be shared with the creation of an office in each county to assist the Chief: the commissioner of public instruction. Each of these men would make monitoring their locality and would forward the information not only education, but also about the residence and attendance of teachers and students.

The exercise of public education was free to the teachers, since they showed enabled, with a letter certifying that the applicant take the matter, have a good repute fitness and good health. All public and private classes were subject to inspection. Pending the appointment of commissioners, the certificates of residence and frequency of teachers should be sent, according to previous legislation - October 1, 1828 - to the municipal councils (BRASIL, 1986a).

The second part of the regulation - of January 20th, 1849 - sanctioned in the same year, reinforced the previously prescribed and proposed more specifications in the form of setting and conducting the instruction, particularly indicating the method that should be adopted for the instruction of the Province: the simultaneous (MIRANDA, 2012).

Studies indicate that in the origins, according to Lesage (1999), the proposed simultaneously method was work with collectives of students divided into groups, depending on the subject would be studied. The teaching given by the teacher was not directed to a single student, as the individual method, but 50 or 60 people at one time.

Although this ordinance has been determined using the simultaneous method, in the same text, in Article 11, on discipline, also announced, 'The teacher will choose among the most assiduous, intelligent and better conduct students, some decurions who could help him in various exercises' (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 22).

The existence of monitors or decurions helping the classes marked not only the mutual method officially prescribed by the general law of education of October 15th, 1827, but also other forms of

education and suggests a present reality in other locations, the mix among the proposals for education.

Reports from the years 1836 to 1849 indicated that situation.

In 1843, the speech of the President of Province, José Ricardo Gomes Jardim, stated that,

[...] The two Schools of First Letters at Capital were established by mutual Method for teaching because of Article 4 of the Law of 15 October 1827, and they are still considered in this class; but as I have not had an occasion to visit them personally, and according to information, I believe that believe the system of Lencaster finds well-modified, it is mixed with the old individual method (PARAHYBA DO NORTE, 1843, p. 15).

For the years 1836-1848, as it was commented by the President of Province, the use of the individual method mingled with mutual one. From 1849, these two proposals conformed to the commencement of the simultaneous method.

Since 1835, the law no. 116 of May 19, has prescribed that the classes created must be of 'vulgar learning'. This name also appeared in the various documents in which teachers sent to the Legislative Assembly and to the Province President. The general understanding adopted for the analysis will consider it as a qualifying term of the classes of first letters who adopted the mixture of methods, as subsequently appeared in the Director of Public Instruction report in 1857.

In recent times it has been renewed a dispute, related to the methods of teaching, which was intended to have a significance which, in my view, is far from deserving; not that method is not an essential condition for education, but because I think the vulgar method which is a combination of individual simultaneously method and that it meets the needs of education whose progress depends on the zeal, dedication and master sufficiency (PARAHYBA DO NORTE, 1857, p. 3).

Cury (2006, p. 50), when analyzing the texts of the regulations of 1849, in reference to the teaching methods, he stated,

[...] It was used a mixed method in the province of Parahyba. The organization of classes and studies, under the perspective of legislators, should be undertaken with the help of decurions or monitors, but the central figure of the pedagogical action was the teacher. When reading the documents carefully, it is noticed that to the decurions could fit the tasks of teacher support as students rely on arrival and departure from school, making the distribution of notebooks on the desks, sharpening pencils before the arrival of the other disciples, but never the task

of teaching the homeworks in the place of the teacher who should be attentive to any fault of his disciples as reading and writing.

Featuring, here, as in other provinces (SOUZA, 2011), a mixed method, with the teacher as the central figure in driving classes.

The teaching of reading and writing marked important part of the organization from that proposed methods, for organizing both the time and the arrangement of the schools.

Thus, from this regulation, the classes should be organized into three divisions. Not only considering the objects of education - in the Table 1, the phases of reading - but remembering the directions of simultaneous teaching according to Lesage (1999, p. 10), as well as the age of the students, as presented in the Table 1.

Table 1.

Division	Age	Content
1 st Division	6 to 8 years old	Reading aloud; Recitations of prayer; Reading, writing and the first; notions of verbal calculation. Moral and religious instruction;
2 nd Division	8 to 10 years old	Continuation of exercises in reading, writing and verbal calculation. Christian Doctrine;
3 rd Division	After 10 years old	Continuation of reading, calculations and Portuguese language assignments.

Source: Frame mounted by the authors from the January 20, 1849 Regulation (LEIS E REGULAMENTOS..., 2004, p. 26-27).

These precepts can be checked on the suggestion of assessment for use of studies and for direction of deepening of the objects in the passage from one division to another highlighting, thus, elements of a proposal for implementation of free primary education, in response to the requests for creations classes of first letters and innumerable requests for standardization of the instruction. The association of this movement to the intellectual and moral development of the population was made that first moment, after the political independence of the country, of the institutionalization of a primary education.

Final considerations

In an attempt to complete the analysis, we resumed elements that showed how schools of first letters and secondary education were instituted in the Province of *Parahyba do Norte*, drawing on both administrative data, specific officers to the education, as the political and social relations that

made up the universe of the recent independent country.

Our assessment was based on specific questions about the organization of primary and secondary education, by examining provincial regulations for primary education and the statutes, in the representation of the institutionalization of secondary education.

Thus, we found that in reference to the secondary education there were, even after the creation of the Lyceum, some Latin Intermittent Classes, spread by the most important locations in the interior of the Province.

The process of constitution of the secondary education suffered, in its genesis and formation, interference of political, economic and social situations at the time of the formation and of the affirmation imperial states and Brazilian provincial. The Lyceum suffered to consolidate due to lack of resources of the Province, the political debates that questioned the usefulness of secondary education and strong social issues such as drought, which hindered the structuring of a secondary education along the lines of the College of Pedro II, created by the Court, in 1837.

In *Parahyba do Norte*, the Lyceum overlapped the attempts of installing private secondary institutions. Thus, it was created with the goal of forming local elites, to enable them to work in the provincial administration and subsequently insert them into the national and provincial political game. Therefore, it survived as the most important institution of secondary education of the Province until the 1880s.

For the analysis of primary school, our intention was to understand the process of institutionalization of education, considering the importance of the methods/modes of teaching, the teachers actions, the division of subjects and the levels of student achievement, in addition to monitoring and regulations actions announced in the regulations, as contributions to the organization and functioning of the classes of first letters of the Province.

From these results, we associate the movement of instruction defense to population intellectual and moral development as scopes of the reach of people enlightenment. In this way, we want that the narrative, built from the analysis of the documentation, has demonstrated the government initiatives and the possible relationship with the subjects, as opposed to the idea of neglect with the education in the imperial period, in an attempt to rebuild the space of schooling of part of Paraiba population.

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