



Primitivo Moacyr and historiography: between the IHGB's *modus operandi* and INEP's authorization

Rosana Areal de Carvalho* and Raphael Ribeiro Machado

Departamento de Educação, Instituto de Ciências Humanas e Sociais, Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto, Rua do Seminário, 35420-000, Mariana, Minas Gerais, Brasil. *Author for correspondence. E-mail: rosanaarealdecavvalho@gmail.com

ABSTRACT. Topics for a better understanding of the publications of Primitivo Moacyr's books in the complex scenario of the 1930s and 1940s in Brazil are analyzed. They are foregrounded on the intentionality of historical production and the scientific status applied to education by the signatories of the 1932 Manifesto. Under the aegis of the *modus operandi* of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (IHGB), Moacyr produced a history of education disseminated in historical congresses and published by the Companhia Editora Nacional. Further, he became a researcher for the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (INEP) and several books were published by the government press. In fact, he achieved national acknowledgement. INEP's aimed at acknowledging and systematically retrieving educational experiences to intervene in, reform or revolutionize Brazilian education, to which Moacyr's contributions were highly relevant. Results show that Moacyr started a type of History of Brazilian Education retrieved from archive research.

Keywords: History of Education, Educational historiography, public education.

Primitivo Moacyr e a produção historiográfica: entre o *modus operandi* do IHGB e a chancela do INEP

RESUMO. Tendo como premissa a intencionalidade da produção historiográfica, articulada à condição científica aplicada à educação pelos signatários do Manifesto de 1932, buscamos apontar elementos para melhor compreender a publicação dos livros de Primitivo Moacyr no complexo cenário das décadas de 30 e 40 do século XX no Brasil. Sob os auspícios do *modus operandi* do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro - IHGB, Moacyr produziu uma história da educação divulgada em congressos históricos e publicada pela Companhia Editora Nacional. Em seguida, vinculou-se como pesquisador colaborador ao Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos - INEP, publicando vários volumes pela Imprensa Oficial, alcançando a chancela pública. Para intervir, reformar ou revolucionar a educação brasileira, era preciso conhecer as ações já impetradas e recolher, sistematicamente, as experiências educacionais. Esta foi a meta perseguida com a criação do INEP, para a qual a contribuição de Moacyr foi lapidar. Concluímos que Moacyr inaugurou uma escrita da história da educação brasileira com as pesquisas arquivísticas.

Palavras-chave: História da Educação, historiografia educacional, instrução pública.

Primitivo Moacyr y la producción historiográfica: entre el *modus operandi* del IHGB y el sello del INEP

RESUMEN. Teniendo como premisa la intencionalidad de la producción historiográfica, articulada a la condición científica aplicada a la educación por los signatarios del Manifiesto de 1932, buscamos señalar elementos para comprender mejor la publicación de los libros de Primitivo Moacyr en el complejo escenario de las décadas de 30 y 40 del siglo XX en Brasil. Bajo los auspicios del *modus operandi* del Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro - IHGB, Moacyr produjo una historia de la educación propagada en congresos históricos, y publicada por la Compañía Editora Nacional. Enseguida, se vinculó como investigador colaborador al Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos - INEP, publicando varios volúmenes por la Prensa Oficial, alcanzando el sello público. Para intervenir, reformar o revolucionar la educación brasileña, era necesario conocer las acciones ya impetradas y recoger, sistemáticamente, las experiencias educacionales. Esta fue la meta perseguida con la creación del INEP, siendo la contribución de Moacyr lapidaria. Concluimos que Moacyr inauguró una escritura de la historia de la educación brasileña con las investigaciones arquivísticas.

Palabras clave: Historia de la Educación, historiografía educacional, instrucción pública.

Introduction

The conditions surrounding the publication of Primitivo Moacyr's books have been a privileged object of investigation in our research. We understand the decades of 1930 and 1940 as a time in which great strides have been taken towards the modernization of the Brazilian State, with emphasis on the deployment of a bureaucratic apparatus. Due to the field in which this study is inserted, i.e. educational historiography, we highlight the creation of the Ministry of Education and Health (1931) and the National Institute for Educational Studies and Research - INEP in Portuguese (1937).

From the 1920s, educational interests were focused on newschooler premises that, unlike the European and North American trajectories, found in Brazil defenders of this practice in public spaces. Not by chance, among those who signed the Manifesto of the New School Educators (1932), few did not lined up the ranks of the New State (1937-1945), because since the creation of the Ministry of Education and Health, the Vargas administration waved positively for their actions. The manifesto itself – originally an article widely published by the press, *The national reconstruction in Brazil: for the government and for the people* (*A reconstrução nacional no Brasil: ao governo e ao povo*), added afterwards of the symbolic value of a manifesto – was written from an invitation of President Getúlio Vargas to the educators at the IV Congress of the Brazilian Association of Education – ABE in Portuguese, in Rio de Janeiro, December 1931, to present a proposal for the national education aligned with the revolutionary government. The movement in support of public education in Brazil is featured in the educational reforms promoted by educators that signed the 'Manifesto' and affiliated with the ABE, established in 1924.

The process of urbanization and industrialization in vogue, responding to the capitalist development, also contributed in double to the educational activity. On the one hand, by establishing new interests to be achieved by schools regarding education; on the other hand, by accelerating the migration process, taking to the cities a population who, in order to enter the expanding labor market, increased the demand for public schools. Education as a main agenda can also be linked with the then resumed republican projects, reaffirming the mission of schools in the establishment of a new time.

Seen from this angle, it is perfectly understandable the creation of the Ministry of Education and Health by Decree nº 19,444 of 1930,

headed by Francisco Campos until 1932 and by Gustavo Capanema, from 1934 to 1945, when the New State comes to an end. The set of reforms brought by Francisco Campos in 1931 demonstrates the willingness of the Vargas administration to treat education as a national issue; such posture was maintained by the Organic Laws of Education, put into force between 1942 and 1946.

The Constitution of 1934 continued the federalism outlined by the Constitution of 1891, while contemplating the many aspects related to the changes in course. On the economic and social order, on family, education and culture were included titles non-existent in previous constitutions, concerning the expansion of civil and social rights. It established the principle of free primary education and compulsory attendance, with elective religious education, open to all faiths.

To Cury (2005), only in the Constitution of 1988 we will have such a thorough chapter on education, considered then as a social right inherent to citizenship. Many commitments were constitutionally assumed, and if not all of them were fulfilled, they were not devoid of value:

And these commitments will be flags of the fights for a quality public education even when the dictatorial authoritarianism has imposed its explicit stamp on Brazilian society. It is the case of 1937 with the coup that established the dictatorship of the New State (Cury, 2005, p. 23).

Cury states that there is a retrocession regarding the role of the State, placing it as "[...] subsidiary of the family and the private segment in the provision of school education" (Cury, 2005, p. 23). Have the catholic conservatives won?! The question and exclamation marks are in line with the complexity of the political scenario of the New State. Complexity because the coexistence of diverse political positions was constant between 1937 and 1945; antagonistic forces remained present in key offices of the government.

According to Velloso (1987), contradiction and antagonism were at the root of the New State's educational project. The Ministry of Education, headed by Gustavo Capanema, and the Department of Press and Propaganda – DIP in Portuguese, under the rule of Lourival Fontes, were examples of this.

Among these entities, a division would take place: the Ministry of Capanema was directed to the formation of a classical culture, worrying about formal education, while the DIP, through control over communication, tried to guide the manifestations of popular culture (Velloso, 1987, p. 4).

There was a group of intellectuals connected to the vanguard of the modernist movement around Capanema that included Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Lúcio Costa, Oscar Niemeyer, Mário de Andrade and Portinari. Composing the DIP, were Cassiano Ricardo, Menotti Del Picchia and Cândido Motta Filho, intellectuals characterized by a centralist and authoritarian thinking, thus contributing to the strict control of the media. In common, they established an intimate relationship between propaganda and education: "Presenting itself as the more enlightened group of society, the intellectuals seek to 'educate' the collectivity according to doctrinal ideals of the system" (Velloso, 1987, p. 4.).

In this exercise of analysis and reflection that we share here is inserted the purpose of clarifying some elements that outline the ties that are weaved around the process of modernization of the State through the reconfiguration of State Agencies, both by their agents and, why not, by the purpose attributed to the educational system in order to form citizens for this new country. Primitivo Moacyr was one of these agents.

The foundations – Moacyr and the imperial education

Born in 1867 in the city of Salvador, Moacyr had his first contacts with public education as a primary school teacher in the city of Lençóis, in the countryside of the Province of Bahia. He was then transferred to the city of Recife, by invitation of the President of the Province of Pernambuco, where he worked at the Lyceum of the capital. To crown this evolutionary journey, probably instigated by the experiences and the environment he experimented there, he moved to the city of Rio de Janeiro. The republican capital, instead of the Imperial Court, continuously exerted a strong attraction over the youths of the Northern provinces. In 1894, he graduated in Law by the Free Faculty of Rio de Janeiro.

The beginning of the 20th century met him already as an employee of the House of Representatives. To the position of editor and rapporteur of parliamentary debates he devoted more than 30 years of his life. Since he has not been the subject of many bibliographical works, there is little information available about the trajectory of Primitivo Moacyr. The thesis defended by Luiz Antônio de Oliveira in 2014 presented important data about him, both in the personal and familiar context and in the professional. From his contemporaries, there are many compliments. Francisco Venâncio Filho, for example, in an article dedicated to Moacyr in the Journal Political Culture

(*Journal Cultura Política*), repute to him the initiative to elaborate the Parliamentary Papers, which aimed to publicize the debates on the varied themes held in the plenary sessions of the Legislative House.

Moacyr's *debut* in the bibliographical production happened in 1916, with *Public Education in the National Congress: brief bulletin* (*O ensino público no Congresso Nacional: breve notícia*), gathering some passages from parliamentary debates on education. To Carvalho and Mesquita (2013),

[...] by exposing such documents, Primitivo Moacyr produced elements to support an emphatic criticism to the Brazilian legislative production, whose ineffectiveness appears in every project, regardless of its quality or arrangement. Thus, it is possible to justify and cultivate a disbelief regarding the educational future if it depended only on the legislative actions (Carvalho & Mesquita, 2013, p. 52).

This book opens a trajectory of unparalleled dimension, which will take place between the years of 1936 and 1942 when, already enjoying retirement, Moacyr devoted himself to educational writing. In this short span of six years – he died in October 1942, he published fifteen books about Brazilian education in the imperial and republican periods until the 1930s, and two papers presented in conferences organized by the Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute – IHGB in Portuguese.

Moacyr's production on the education in the times of the Empire is composed by six volumes, present in the publications of the Brazilian Collection (*Coleção Brasileira*), under the auspices of Fernando de Azevedo, by the National Publisher Company (*Companhia Editora Nacional*). There are three volumes entitled *Education and the Empire* (*A Instrução e Império*). The other three volumes cover *Education and the Provinces* (*A Instrução e as Províncias*). All volumes were thematically organized, according to the author's classification.

The first volume of *Education and the Empire* (Moacyr, 1936) assembles the most relevant documents on the Brazilian History of Education between 1823 and 1853, though also going back to the activities of jesuits and the administration of Dom João. It begins with the Constituent of 1823 and the reforms that followed, featuring school programs and the related statistics, in addition to several educational lines ministered at the time, such as legal, medical, professional, artistic, scientific and military. The second volume (Moacyr, 1937) covers the period between 1854 and 1888, in which the author presents and analyzes the main reforms that affected education at that moment of Brazilian History, promoted by Paulino de Souza, João

Alfredo, Leôncio de Carvalho, Rui Barbosa, Almeida de Oliveira and the Baron of Mamoré. The last three chapters are based on the documents relating to the plans, the suggestions and the information of Manuel Dantas, Leão Veloso and Antunes Maciel for public education and a congress performed in 1883. The third and last volume (Moacyr, 1938) covers the period of 1854 to 1889 and brings again documentation about the different sectors of legal, medical, polytechnic, professional, normal, religious and artistic teaching; they also approach preparatory examinations, free higher education and scientific and literary institutions.

The foreword by Afrânio Peixoto, a personal friend, born in the city of Lençóis – Bahia, in the 1st Volume of *Education and the Empire* (1823-1853), which came out in 1936, gives some clues and highlights a virtue of Moacyr, also acknowledged by Francisco Venâncio in the article *Primitivo Moacyr and the History of Education (Primitivo Moacyr e a história da educação - 1943)*. Peixoto (1936, p. 8) states that the author ‘modestly’ thinks his books will contribute to “[...] the future history of Brazilian education [...]”, to each the author of the foreword answers, stating:

It is already here, in this new, original, useful and, sometimes, melancholy book about initiatives, the sequence of our ideas, the discontinuance of our actions [...] Brazil is, mainly, Brazil, concerning education [...] (Peixoto, 1936, p. 8).

About the historiographical operation, Afrânio states “[...] there is no research in Brazil. [...] History in these conditions is repetition, is commented, is interpretative fantasy” (Peixoto, 1936, p. 7). In contrast, Moacyr

[...] investigated the national education in the archives, libraries, books, government reports, and of all of it composed an objective book, without comments or conclusions. Therefore, a rare piece that will produce generations of historians, who will not cite him... What does it matter to him? What does it matter if they execrate him, after copying him? (Peixoto, 1936, p. 7).

A letter by Anísio Teixeira opens the 3rd Volume (1854-1889, addressing the several levels of education). In this letter, he acknowledges the second volume (1854-1888, in which he particularly approaches the educational reforms), formulates some considerations and also praises the work by Primitivo Moacyr. Teixeira interprets the meaningless efforts in the Brazilian education, characterized by “[...] big overall plans, with great debates on principles, brooding educational ideals [...]” instead of “[...] studying concrete problems

[...]”, “[...] analyzing real and typical needs [...]”, in order to “[...] examine the characteristic difficulties and easinesses of execution, of implementation [...]”. He affirms that Moacyr’s work “[...] is the first step for the intellectual study of national education. With its volumes, we presently feel that there was never a lack of ideas [...]” (Teixeira, 1938, p.11-12). Conversely, the generalized inoperativeness opposed the profusion of ideas. He concludes with the statement:

If we put, alongside his four volumes on the history of educational ideas in Brazil, the history of Brazilian educational realities, maybe we will achieve nothing but a thin, weak little volume. We are, thus, so leafy and exuberant with ideas, and so poor and sterile with fruits. His great service is showing us this reality, not only mentioning it. (Teixeira, 1938, p. 12).

Though counting on extensive and rich documentation, the passages are not exposed without presenting introductions or further comments, presenting itself not as a mere accumulation of sources, but as a work that offers a documentary selection, methodologically prepared by the author. Thematic organization of each volume, as well as the differences between them, provide accuracy in the proposition and the composition of work.

The first volume features a page with references – ten in total – ranging from the collection of Laws of the Kingdom of Portugal (1759-1808) and of the Kingdom of Brazil (1808-1850) to the Reports of the Ministry of the Empire (1830-1850) and the Annals of the General Legislative Assembly (1823-1850). It brings up a conference given by Serafim Leite at the Institute of Education in 1934, and two works in French: *Essais statistiques sur le Royaume de Portugal et D’Algarve*, by Adrien Balbi, 1822, and *Instruction publique au Brésil*, by Pires de Almeida, 1882. It quotes Afrânio Peixoto’s book – *One Hundred Years of Primary Education (Cem anos de Ensino Primário - 1826-1926)*, highlighting the chapter ‘Centenary of the Legislative Power’ (*Centenário do Poder Legislativo*) and the article by Moreira de Azevedo – *Education in colonial times (A Instrução nos tempos coloniais)*, published in the IHGB Journal. It also mentions the Journal of the University of Rio de Janeiro (nº 2 – December 1932). The other volumes do not present bibliographic references, considering that the references in the first book were the basis for all the books, and its introductory character.

The citations at the end of the first volume indicate the diversity of literature read by the author, merging the use of documentary sources, such as statistics, official pronouncements, school reforms,

political speeches, with the literary production of Brazilian and foreign intellectuals of his time and of previous times. The bibliographic indications prompt us to think on the appreciation and consideration of Primitivo Moacyr for the existing production about Brazilian public education at the time.

In each volume, Moacyr presented a set of notes that reflect different modalities of the historiographic office. At first, the notes focus on explanations of the various chapters. Each note is composed of excerpts of the documents and works mentioned above, in communion with expositive comments of the author. In the second and third volumes, Moacyr presents notes referencing passages from the book of the famous traveler Louis Agassiz about education in Brazil, commenting on each one of them. Still in the third volume, he cites excerpts from the Speeches of the Throne (*Falas do Trono* - the messages from the Emperor to the Parliament), also concerning public education between 1854 and 1889, besides other entries.

In the three volumes of *Education and the Provinces* (*A Instrução e as Províncias* - Moacyr, 1939, 1940) the methodological work follows the same line of the compilation about the Empire. Under the regional theme and using overwhelming documentation about the history of education in the provinces of Imperial Brazil, Primitivo Moacyr covers different sectors of education, the examinations and cultural institutions, scientific and literary, between 1834 and 1889. The first volume covers the provinces of Amazonas, Pará, Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco and Alagoas. In the second volume, he discusses the provinces of Sergipe, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Mato Grosso. Information about the provinces of Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul and Goiás compose the third volume. We do not know the reasons for the distribution of the provinces in each volume; however, it is possible to affirm that the chronological presentation corresponds to the organization of the various official sources consulted, exposing the educational proposals, school reforms, education acts, among others, from 1834 to 1889. These are provincial sources, produced in every corner of the country, and others, of national character, intertwine in the fabric Moacyr weaves in each chapter.

As well as the volumes on the Empire, the bibliography is only found in the first volume of *Education and the Provinces*: reports of Presidents of Provinces (*A Instrução e as Províncias: relatórios dos presidentes de províncias*), the Collection of

provincial laws, the reports of the general directors of public education; with the addition of a journalistic text by Tavares Bastos published in 'The Province' (*A Província*), of 1870; *Travels to Brazil* (*Viagens ao Brasil* - 1866/1867) by Louis Agassiz, whose excerpts were in the notes of the collection about public education in the Empire; and, finally, *A Brazilian Inventor* (*Um inventor brasileiro*), by Ataliba Nogueira (1934). Such works and how they were used show a methodological discipline by using wide-ranging official documentation together with national productions about education.

Also in these volumes, Moacyr makes use of notes. In the first volume, the notes are concentrated in explanations about what was exposed in each chapter, using the references contained in the same volume. In the second volume, we find a diversity of sources such as *Statistics of education in the provinces* (*Estatística da instrução nas províncias*), by the Imperial Minister Paulino José Soares Ferreira, of 1869, completely transcribed, with comments by Moacyr; the main laws of our education, taking the French Law of June 28, 1833 enacted by the Minister Guizot, as a reference to all provincial legislation until 1854; statistical data about education in Europe and the United States and brief texts about magisterium, school buildings and books, produced from notes taken in *Administrative essays* (*Ensaio administrativo*), by Francisco Octaviano, published in the *Commerce Journal* (*Jornal do Comércio*), in 1851. In the third volume, the notes focus on the Educational Plan or public education (*Plano de educação ou ensino público* - 1826), which was based on the 12th Letter of Americus (*Carta XII de Americus*), cited by Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida. Each passage of that plan was commented with long paragraphs by Primitivo Moacyr. Thus, both in the volumes on the Empire and on the ones on the Provinces, we can perceive a concern with the use of sources and their presentation, as well as the voice of the author, always present.

The sources used by Moacyr that allowed such productivity were the documents of State, both from the legislative and the executive spheres, in federal and provincial/state levels. He used copious official documentation, including parliamentary papers, legislation, reports of presidents of provinces, directors of the public education and other subjects involved in the educational setting, particularly in the field of school administration in its various levels. To Saviani (2004), the term 'source' (*fonte*), in Portuguese, points to two meanings.

On the one hand, it means the point of origin, from where arises something that projects and develops

itself indefinitely and inexhaustibly. On the other hand, it indicates the base, the foundation, the repository of the elements that define the phenomena whose characteristics we try to understand (Saviani, 2004, p. 4).

It is clear, therefore, in that concept, the idea of spring, fountain. However, the historical sources are human productions and point to the inexhaustibility as such. Nevertheless, it is not the source of the historical phenomenon: "The sources are in the origin, constitute the starting point, the base, point of support of the historiographic construction, which is the reconstruction, in terms of knowledge, of the historical object studied" (Saviani, 2004, p. 5). The author also notes that the documents, evidences, indications and all the myriad objects produced by men are not sources in themselves, but are constituted as such by historiographical operation, moved by a question, a problem (Saviani, 2004).

Thus, the documents selected by Moacyr become sources for the history of education. Mobilized by the author who, undoubtedly, had in mind a goal, a problem, an issue to be clarified. Although not explained, the purpose that moved him to collect extensive documentation set up criteria, established limits and outlined political positions about Brazilian education, particularly in terms of State actions.

At first sight, the historical design of Primitivo Moacyr reach out for a historicism coupled to a conception of truth, or an official history, profiled in the articles that make up the educational legislation and in the results, justifications and purposes that compose the reports produced by the executive sphere. Therefore, it deviates from the model advocated by essayists contemporary to the author. However, it is in tune with the historiographical current still present in Brazil, which, above all, values the official document that carries a speech of truth. Still, we can consider that this was the "truth" sought by Moacyr: the actions of the State in favor of Brazilian education. And where else would he find this "truth" if not in the official documents?

The training – Moacyr and the republican education

In his first book – Public education in the National Congress: brief bulletin (*O ensino público no Congresso Nacional: breve notícia* - Moacyr, 1916), probably printed in the Typography of the Commerce Journal (*Typographia do Jornal do Comércio*), begins and ends with the theme of the 'unofficialization' of education, assuming the position of 'man of the state', as well of the one who understands education as a responsibility of the

government. This kind of feature allow authors as Cardoso (2002) to affirm that Moacyr favors primary education over higher education.

Concerning primary education, the fundamental education, Primitivo Moacyr makes clear throughout his work that he considered it the most important level of education and the one to which the Government should devote more attention. He often lamented about the little attention that the different Governments, of both the Empire and the Republic, dispensed to elementary school (Cardoso, 2002, p. 918).

As a 'man of the State', Primitivo Moacyr, in *O ensino público no Congresso Nacional: breves notícias* (1916), praised the actions of the republican regime toward "[...] the things of public education [...]", stating "[...] its effectiveness has been copious" (Moacyr, 1916, p. 5). However, this does not stop him from exposing the heated and sometimes useless debates and the archiving or unenforceability of numerous laws. As in the books in which he deals with the education in the Empire, in the volumes about the republican period he seeks to give visibility to the initiatives of the State in favor of public education and the tensions present in the filed as a subsidy for the understanding of the educational stage in which the Brazilian nation was inserted: fundamental requirement for cultural advancement, i.e., 'the educational renewal movement'.

This movement, in the political field, corresponded to the New State. Let us not disregard the added value implicit in the denomination 'New State'. Such denomination contains a game of forces, "[...] an act of power, which historians know as an office duty [...]", state Gomes and Abreu (2009, p. 1). However, we hypothesize that the publication of Moacyr's books is inserted in this "[...] ambitious political-cultural project [...]" that surrounded the governmental actions, according to what the same authors affirm (Gomes & Abreu, 2009, p. 2).

The New State and its ideologists were able to bring to them all the merits of creating a country for all, politically and culturally unified, by building a mestizo population, in festive and musical terms, both in the samba and the carnival, and in several folklore manifestations in all parts of the country. The Vargas administration and the 1930s became the representatives, in the national memory, of a moment of rupture with Brazilian cultural past. The appreciation of popular music, carnival and even capoeira - everything makes us believe - had to wait for these new times (Gomes & Abreu, 2009, p. 9).

Together with this project, the national movement in defense of public school in the 1930s

is obvious. And it is not a mere coincidence the concomitance with the capitalist development, articulating urbanization and industrialization. The expansion of the productive structure implied social demands, among them, the correspondence in the educational field. Anyway, who was responsible for education? For Moacyr, this responsibility rests with the State; and the Vargas administration have not refused to exercise this function. Sanfelice (2007, p. 543) observes “[...] a State that increasingly educates its people [...]”, starting with the Francisco Campos Reform, passing by the Organic Laws of the 1940s, the Constitution of 1946, until the Act of Guidelines and Bases (LDB) of 1961.

Since 1834, there was a decentralization in the offer of educational services in elementary and secondary levels in Brazil, making redundant the existence of a national body that dealt with general issues of education. However, in the early years of the Republic, there have been voices of opposition, calling for a solution for continuity that would only be possible with a stronger presence of the Brazilian State. Moacyr presents many of these voices in the work of 1916, explaining that the debate on the ‘unofficialization’ of education was led by the Positivist Apostolate. Referring to the speech by State Representative Anysio de Abreu (Piauí), he states:

And with this speech, thoroughly documented, ended one of the most memorable debates in the Chamber. And the project was seamless approved. The positivist ideas, embodied in the amendments of Mr. Erico Coelho, only later, 17 years later, thanks to a period of national lightheadedness, became reality [...] for only three years (Moacyr, 1916, p. 40).

We can observe the idea of a central body in another dimension – a study center –, implicit in many events, such as the Educational Exhibition of 1883. Between them, there was the proposal by Rui Barbosa. Even before 1889, Rui Barbosa had already presented such proposal. According to Lourenço Filho (2005, p. 181), “He did not wish simply for a collegial body, but also for another one who served to the documentation and dissemination of new ideas about education, with investigation of its problems in the national life”. It would answer to those same requirements, i.e., extending the knowledge and the understanding of the path of Brazilian education, and other initiatives such as the creation of the General Office of Statistics (DGE in Portuguese) and the Pedagogium: “[...] an organ to drive the reforms and improvements that national education lacked” (Lourenço Filho, 2005, p. 181).

In the mid-1930s, with the creation of the Ministry of Education and Health, Minister Gustavo Capanema prepared a project that originated Act 378 of January 13, 1937, creating the National Institute of Pedagogy, with the mission of conducting researches about the problems of education in its various aspects. In 1938, Decree n. 580 of July 30, changed its name to National Institute of Pedagogical Studies. The explanation for the motives of this project is expressed by Lourenço Filho (2005) as follows:

Our country still does not have a central unit intended to perform investigations, studies, researches and demonstrations on the problems of education, in its different aspects. It is evident the lack of a body of this nature, destined to perform original work in the various sectors of the educational problem and, at the same time, to collect, systematize and disseminate the work carried out by educational institutions, private and public. In addition, responsible for promoting the most intense exchange in the field of investigations relating to education with other nations where this problem is being object of particular concern of the public authorities or private entities (Lourenço Filho, 2005, p. 181).

One of the functions of the institute was to organize the documentation concerning the history and the current state of pedagogical doctrines and practices. However, with not enough technicians to take care of the actual pedagogical issues, it was necessary to deal with external researchers. The documentation collected by the INEP encompassed statistical data and a general agenda of the legislation on teaching and education, from the first acts of the United Kingdom of Brazil. According to Lourenço Filho

The actual historical aspect found a spontaneous collaborator in the figure of the unforgettable researcher Primitivo Moacyr, aided, with rare dedication, by Dr. Rui Guimarães de Almeida, who has, unfortunately, also disappeared. To both is owed the publication of the work *Education and the Republic (A instrução e a República)*, in seven volumes, in 1941 and 1942 (Lourenço Filho, 2005, p. 183).

Therefore, Lourenço Filho considers Moacyr a diligent collaborator of INEP, which would have earned him the publication of the seven volumes of *A instrução e a República* (Moacyr, 1941) by the Official Press. As for co-authoring, there is no other source to confirm this information. On the other hand, it is important to mention that, at the same time of the publication by the Official Press, other books by Moacyr were published by The National Publishing Company.

According to Venâncio Filho (1943), the publication by the National Press responded to the understanding of Moacyr that his books did not represent much economic interest.

Scrupulous, Primitivo Moacyr would not keep his work there [National Publishing Company], certainly with reduced economic interest. He found in the educator's clairvoyance of Professor Lourenço Filho the official offering of the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies, which soon begins to publish the republican period (Venâncio Filho, 1943, p. 96).

The volumes on the republican period start on the reforms by Benjamin Constant (1890) until the reform by Rocha Vaz (1930). Thematically organized, the seven volumes were published between 1941 and 1944. The 5th volume – Reforms João Luiz Alves and Rocha Vaz (1925–1930) – was published after his death. Such reforms dealt with secondary education and, in this volume, appeared numerous appreciations of educators about this school level, as well as the responses of many others to a questionnaire sent by the ABE. As part of the plan in this collection, there was a volume on universities, which have not become public.

In addition to the thematic aspect, this collection presents other particularities such as bibliographic references. For the 1st volume, these references are limited to the documentary sources consulted; however, for the 4th volume – Reforms Rivadávia and C. Maximiliano (1911–1924), Moacyr informs 25 titles in the educational bibliography. This is another evidence about the importance of the theme 'unofficialization' of education. Only the volumes on secondary and agronomic education do not present references or sources.

In the two volumes dedicated to public education in São Paulo, during the first republican decade, Moacyr addresses the various levels of education – primary, secondary and higher education, including the specificities of normal, agriculture and arts courses. In higher education, he covers the polytechnic school, and medical and legal education. In the bibliographic references at the end of each volume, he indicates the sources consulted – the Annals of the Legislative Congress of the State of São Paulo, the Collection of Laws of the State of São Paulo and the reports of the Secretaries of Interior and the General Director of education. Among the more general works, he cites *History of the Company of Jesus in Brazil (História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil)*, by Serafim Leite. For the province of São Paulo, he refers to three titles: *A Retrospect (subsídios to the pragmatic history of public education in São Paulo) (Um Retrospecto (subsídios para a história pragmática do ensino público em São Paulo))*, by Professor João

Lourenço Rodrigues, of 1930; *Education in São Paulo (O ensino em São Paulo)*, by José Feliciano de Oliveira, article published in the Journal of Education (*Revista Educação*), in 1932, and *Chronology of São Paulo (Cronologia Paulista)*, by Jacinto Ribeiro. Both volumes were published by the National Publishing Company.

Andréa Dantas (2001), treating of the editorial project of the INEP, talks about the design and content of the monthly bulletin, published under the title 'Subsidies for the history of Brazilian education' (*Subsídios para a história da educação brasileira*). The monthly bulletin disclosed the federal law of education and general information on the development of education in the country and abroad, expanded with the inclusion of State laws. This journal was published from 1940 to 1944, being replaced by the Brazilian Journal of Pedagogical Studies (*Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*). For this researcher, the justification for the creation of the 'Subsidies', i.e., the bulletins, was based on

[...] the intention of creating an educational memory of the country focused on the enrollment of legal acts. The organization of the legislative memory tells the reader more about the administrative measures taken by the Federal and the State Government, than the record of occurrences restricted to the educational field (Dantas, 2001, p. 131).

When Moacyr became a member of INEP's personnel as a researcher, he had already published the six volumes on education in the imperial period, using the term 'subsidy' in the subtitle of these volumes. Through the descriptions Dantas makes of these bulletins, other similarities and coincidences with Moacyr's books can be identified. This is, how the evolution of Brazilian education that appears in the bulletins is similar to the organization performed by Primitivo Moacyr in the already published volumes of the Brazilian Collection by the National Publishing Company. Lourenço Filho reports

[...] the effort to collect all the documentation concerning education in periods prior to the Republic, in addition to the preparation for the use of this information.

[...] with the disinterested collaboration of Dr. Primitivo Moacyr, to whom already were attributed excellent studies about the education during the Empire, this Institute has been publishing lately the work 'Education and the Republic', from which four volumes have already been taken, as there will be three more (INEP, 1942 apud Dantas, 2001, p. 132).

Dantas (2001) defends the hypothesis that Moacyr was not invited to publish a work that was

already finished, whereas was in the interest of the Institute to divulge it. The invitation came because of his excellency on systematization of data, since the INEP possessed these data and their organization was required. The author acknowledges that the records present in the monthly bulletin 'Subsidies to the History of Brazilian Education' of INEP guard much of how Primitivo Moacyr organized the data pertaining to the provinces. She adds, then, that such educational occurrences remit to the hypothesis that by disposing, in the monthly bulletin of the Institute, the information from the states in the same way they are pointed out in the publications organized by Primitivo Moacyr, Lourenço Filho is referencing the way the former produces the history of education (Dantas, 2001).

Final considerations

The high contribution of Primitive Moacyr for the consolidation of the ideal intended with the creation of INEP is undeniable, subliminally present in the defense of education as science: it was necessary to know what had already been done to lay the foundations of the future. Whereas the Brazilian education has always been considered in the State field, by having his books published by the National Press, Primitivo Moacyr put himself under the support of the State, continuing the work he was already developing in the INEP.

Inserted in a historiography close to the current valued by the IHGB and sponsored by institutions such as the National Publishing Company and the INEP, we understand the production of Moacyr inserted in a key that stimulates knowledge as a prerequisite for development, namely, science in the service of progress. In this sense, considering the contacts of different intensities with the components of the 'cardinal trinity' of the Brazilian New School, it is not too much to understand Moacyr as a spokesman of the newschoolers, signatories of the 'Manifesto of the Pioneers of the New Education' (*Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* - 1932), who, among other requirements, defended in the manifesto the 'intensive preparation of cultural forces and the development of the aptitudes for the invention and the initiative' as 'fundamental factors of the increase in richness of a society'. They criticized the 'rude empiricism' characteristic of the hitherto educational actions of the Brazilian State, praising the 'scientific treatment of the problems in school administration'.

Moacyr comprehensively exemplified this empirism in his works, which Anísio Teixeira

(1938) skillfully summarized – full of ideas and poor in accomplishments – Afrânio Peixoto (1936) himself also expressed: Brazil is mainly Brazil, concerning education.

Thus, we understand that the bibliographical production of Primitivo Moacyr was not fortuitous; on the contrary, it accuses intentionality. To this end, contributed, and much, to the sociability made possible by the work performed in the House of Representatives and the familiarization with parliamentary and state documentation. The interest in educational issues disclosed in the book of 1916 – *Public Education in the National Congress: brief bulletin* approached him, among other reasons, of intellectuals and educators of the calibre of Afrânio Peixoto, Lourenço Filho and Anísio Teixeira.

He responded to a purpose, to an invitation, even if not officially formulated, but stimulated by those with whom he lived, by the environment, by the perception of an interest that could promote the release of a collection of organized, systematized documents, about what had already been produced on the history of education. From there comes the confidence expressed in the subtitles – *subsidies for the history of education in Brazil*, or even by the foreword by Afrânio Peixoto in the 1st volume published. Not by chance, Moacyr's matrix to present the Brazilian legislation as subsidy for the history of education in Brazil was taken by Lourenço Filho as a model for the educational memory.

Primitivo Moacyr did not intend to perform an 'interpretation' of Brazil. He was not an essayist, but a historian. Not only was he updated with the prevalent historiographic concept of his time – the documentary history –, as also he was a forerunner in the field of history of Brazilian education by giving visibility to the profuse and inoperative educational legislation.

Reference

- Brasil. (1930). Decreto nº 19.444, de 1 de dezembro de 1930. Dispõe sobre os serviços que ficam e cargo do Ministério da Educação e Saúde Pública, e dá outras providências. *Diário Oficial da União*, Brasília, DF, 25 de dez. 1930. Seção 1, p. 22907.
- Brasil. (1937). Lei nº 378, de 13 de janeiro de 1937. Dá nova organização ao Ministério da Educação e Saúde Pública. In *Coleções de Leis do Brasil* (Vol. 1, p. 12). Brasília, DF.
- Brasil. (1938). Decreto Lei nº 580, de 30 de julho de 1938. Dispõe sobre a organização do Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos. In *Coleção de Leis do Brasil* (Vol. 3, p. 67). Brasília, DF.
- Cardoso, T. M. R. F. L. (2002). Primitivo Moacyr. In M. L. A. Fávero, & J. M. Britto (Orgs.), *Dicionário dos educadores no Brasil* (p. 916-920). Rio de Janeiro, RJ: UFRJ.

- Carvalho, R. A., & Mesquita, I. M. (2013). O ensino público no Congresso Nacional: breve notícia de Primitivo Moacyr. In R. A. Carvalho, & I. M. Mesquita (Orgs.), *Clássicos da educação brasileira* (Vol. III). Belo Horizonte, MG: Mazza.
- Cury, C. R. J. (2005). A educação nas constituições brasileiras. In M. Stephanou, & M. H. C. Bastos (Orgs.), *Histórias e memórias da educação no Brasil* (Vol. III, p. 17-28). Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes.
- Dantas, A. M. L. (2001). *A urdidura da Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos nos bastidores do Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos: a gestão Lourenço Filho (1938-1946)* (Tese de Doutorado em Educação). Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, São Paulo.
- Gomes, A. C., & Abreu, M. (2009). A nova Velha República: um pouco de história e historiografia. *Tempo: Revista do Departamento de História da UFF*, 13(26), 1-14.
- Lourenço Filho, M. B. (2005). Antecedentes e primeiros tempos do INEP. *Revista Brasileira Estudos Pedagógicos*, 86(212), 179-185.
- Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova. (1932). Recuperado de: http://www.histedbr.fe.unicamp.br/revista/edicoes/22e/doc1_22e.pdf
- Moacyr, P. (1916). *O ensino público no Congresso Nacional: breve notícia*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ.
- Moacyr, P. (1936). *A Instrução e o Império (subsídios para a história da educação no Brasil) – 1823-1853* (Vol. I). São Paulo, SP: Companhia Editora Nacional.
- Moacyr, P. (1937). *A Instrução e o Império (reforma do ensino) – 1854-1888* (Vol. II). São Paulo, SP: Companhia Editora Nacional.
- Moacyr, P. (1938). *A Instrução e o Império – 1854-1889* (Vol. III). São Paulo, SP: Companhia Editora Nacional.
- Moacyr, P. (1939). *A Instrução e as Províncias (subsídios para a história da educação no Brasil) – 1834-1889* (Vols. I e II). São Paulo, SP: Companhia Editora Nacional.
- Moacyr, P. (1940). *A Instrução e as Províncias (subsídios para a história da educação no Brasil)* (Vol. III). São Paulo, SP: Companhia Editora Nacional.
- Moacyr, P. (1941). *A Instrução e a República* (7 Vol.) Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Imprensa Oficial.
- Oliveira, L. A. (2014). *Tessituras do ensino público: a unidade em Primitivo Moacyr (1910-1930)* (Tese de Doutorado em Educação). Universidade Estadual de Maringá, Maringá.
- Peixoto, J. A. (1936). Prefácio. In. P. Moacyr. *A Instrução e o Império (subsídios para a história da educação no Brasil) – 1823-1853* (Vol. I, p. 8). São Paulo, SP: Companhia Editora Nacional.
- Sanfelice, J. L. (2007). O Manifesto dos Educadores (1959) à luz da história. *Educação e Sociedade*, 28(99), 542-557.
- Saviani, D. (2004). Breves considerações sobre fontes para a história da educação. In J. C. Lombardi, & M. I. M. Nascimento (Orgs.), *Fontes, história e historiografia da educação*. Campinas, SP: Autores Associados.
- Teixeira, A. (1938). Prefácio. In. P. Moacyr. *A Instrução e o Império – 1854-1889* (Vol. III). São Paulo, SP: Companhia Editora Nacional.
- Velloso, M. P. (1987). *Os intelectuais e a política cultural do Estado Novo*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea no Brasil.
- Venâncio Filho, F. (1943). Primitivo Moacyr e a história da educação. *Cultura Política*, (24), p. 94-97.

Received on June 12, 2015.

Accepted on August 5, 2015.

License information: This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.