

Rationalization of the offer and strategies of social distinction: relationship between school, city and family in the nineteenth century (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo)¹

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Abstract: The aim of this article is discuss the effects of schools allocation taking into consideration the tensions between the statistical rationalization, the State administration and the mechanisms of distinction and selection formed by social groups as ways of survival and social mobility, in three moments of the relationship between school and city: the installation, maintenance and consolidation of the school in a given region. For this purpose, we work with cases of the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in the nineteenth century. It was observed that families and social groups had active participation on the selection and hierarchy of the offer and on the orientation of the demands for public schools. The geographical location of a school was not the only determining factor in the configuration of the public who attended that school.

Keywords: schooling, school government, statistics

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Racionalização da oferta e estratégias de distinção social: relações entre escola, distribuição espacial e família no Oitocentos (Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo)

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Resumo: O presente artigo possui como objetivo discutir os efeitos da distribuição das escolas, levando em consideração as tensões entre a racionalização estatística, a arte administrativa do Estado e os mecanismos de distinção e seleção constituídos pelos grupos sociais como formas de sobrevivência e promoção social. Focalizam-se três momentos da relação entre escola e cidade: o da instalação, o da manutenção e o da consolidação da escola em determinada região. Por meio de documentos relacionados a casos das cidades do Rio de Janeiro e de São Paulo no século XIX, observa-se que famílias e grupos sociais participam ativamente na seleção e na hierarquização da oferta, bem como na orientação da demanda por escolas públicas. Conclui-se, diante disso, que a localização geográfica de uma unidade escolar não é o único fator determinante da configuração do público que a frequenta.

Palavras-chave: escolarização, governo das escolas, estatística escolar, família e sujeitos escolares

Racionalización de la oferta y las estrategias de distinción social: las relaciones entre la escuela, la familia y la ciudad en el siglo XIX (Río de Janeiro y São Paulo)

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Resumen: En este artículo se ha tratado de analizar los efectos de la distribución de las escuelas teniendo en cuenta las tensiones entre la racionalización estadística, el arte de administración del Estado y los mecanismos de diferenciación y selección realizada por los grupos sociales como formas de supervivencia y de movilidad social, en tres momentos la relación entre la escuela y la ciudad: la instalación, el mantenimiento y la consolidación de la escuela en una región determinada. Para esto, trabajamos con las ciudades de Río de Janeiro y São Paulo, durante el siglo XIX. Hemos observado que las familias y los grupos sociales participaron activamente en la selección y jerarquización de la oferta y de la orientación de la demanda de las escuelas públicas y, así, es posible ver que la ubicación geográfica de una escuela no es el único factor determinante de la configuración del público que atiende.

Palabras clave: escolarización, gobierno de las escuelas, estadísticas escolares, familiares y sujetos escolares

Introduction

At the end of the 18th century the Portuguese government was trying to make a census throughout its domains on the number of inhabitants “who might be able regularly and prudently to usufruct the benefits of Primary Schools” so that it would be able to take decisions on “the number of Teachers required in each class of the Primary Schools, their distribution in each District, in their Cities and Villages that may be Educational Centers, where Boys and Students of the neighboring hamlets may easily frequent so that they may be instructed” (Portugal, 1772). The strategy within the public administration has always been the same, or rather, the use of statistics to control the distribution of schools within a given territory, intertwining population density and the establishment of public schools.

Recent studies on current institutions have revealed that the geography of a school unit does not determine the characteristics of the population that attend it. Contrastingly, they give evidence to strong competition by families in the selection of government-run schools, providing them with differentiated status to rank supply and enhance student migration between schools (Costa & Kolinski, 2011). Chapoulie and Briand (1994) analyzed schooling in France in the 19th century and pinpointed the network within the distribution of school units that combined public and private supply network, relationships between subjects and institutions and the governability designs established by families and groups in their different frequency to school institutions.

Current paper investigates the relationship between statistical rationalization and administration policies of the State and the mechanisms of distinction and selection formed by social groups as survival and social promotion modes. So that the two factors, coupled to legislation, may be analyzed, several documents on cases which occurred in 19th century Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo were investigated to investigate the strategies used by families and to show that, even when school supply was scanty, the families and social groups actively participated in the selection and ranking of the supply and in the demand direction of public schools.

Norms and statistical criteria

A comparison between aspects of the laws and rules on distribution criteria of schools may exhibit the different modes juridical thought and education agents tried to regulate the establishment of schools within a

determined geopolitical space. Three juridical norms with different amplitudes are discussed, namely, within country as a whole, the 1827 General Education Law; within the provinces, Law 34 published on March 16, 1846, in São Paulo; within the capital city of Rio de Janeiro, the 1854 Rules for Primary and Secondary Instruction.

In its very first article, the 1827 General Education Law determined that schools should be established as many as it was necessary “in all cities, towns and highly populated districts”. The president of the province had the obligation to determine the number and site of schools that must be established. Likewise, he had the duty to close schools in under-populated places “informing the General Assembly for a final decision”. Law 34 published on March 16, 1846, in São Paulo, stated: “Article 3 – The Government establishes, where appropriate, Primary Schools in all the towns and villages and in other groups, giving special attention to the number of people, petitioning the approval of the Assembly”. In the case of the Empire’s capital city, Rio de Janeiro, the Law presented three schooling alternatives: government-run schools, subsidized schools and schools under the supervision of the Catholic Church.

Art. 51. At least one Primary School should be established in each parish, for each gender.

[...]

Art. 57. In spite of the dispositions of Art. 51, if a parish, with a small population, or lacking money or any other circumstance, fails to have a sufficient number of students that would justify the establishment of a school or its maintenance, and if there are vacancies in a good private school, the General School Inspector, counseled by the District Delegate, with the approval of the Government, should maintain an agreement with the teacher of this school with regard to the admission of poor students, and the said teacher will receive an additional salary.

Art. 58. If there is no private school in the parish and the parish priest or his vicar wishes to cope with teaching, the Government may accept the suggest of the General Inspector and provide him with a salary referred to in the previous article (Câmara dos Deputados, 1854).

The 1827 General Education Law coupled to the Statistics criterion the gender factor as another school distribution parameter. Within a situation that seems to be restricted to boys' schools, the 1827 Law determined that it was the role of the Presidents of the provinces, in unison, to establish girls' schools in highly populated towns and villages when deemed necessary. The above aspect admits statistics referring to gender and educational concepts related to females within school distribution

The gender criterion was included in the rules published for the Province of São Paulo and by the Imperial Court for Rio de Janeiro. In the Province of São Paulo, the number of students was linked to the establishment of schools, pedagogy and subject matters. In the capital cities and in highly populated towns, teaching would be complementary. Rules on subject matters comprised:

Art. 4. –More than one class should be established in towns where boys' schools are attended by more than sixty students; in this case, the following subjects will be added in the second class to primary instructions determined in the first article: general introduction to History and Geography, especially the History and Geography of Brazil; introduction to Physics applicable to day-to-day life. In the case of a class attended by more than forty girls, another class will be opened and should include general introductions to History, Geography and Music (São Paulo, 1846).

Exceptionally, the Law also allowed mixed gender classes in places where separate classes for boys and girls were impossible to be established (Art. 8). The number of students rather than gender was the determining factor for the establishment of schools, coupled to popular vindication. Although slightly enhanced, the mechanism was included in the law.

Government reports and manuscripts written by school inspectors showed that other political, economic and social criteria, such as school budget, organized demand, political intervention and student frequency,

were included for the establishment or closing of schools. The statistical report included in these documents was always accompanied by the above-mentioned factors. One may predict the number of students required for the educational administration of the population. However, these numbers may be employed also in the wake of public interests rather than in the rational use of statistics. One may not state that the production of statistical data by the government was an objective and neutral exercise and that only their use was political. On the contrary, several research works in the History of Education have problematized the criteria for the construction and interpretation of statistical surveys (cf. Faria Filho, Neves & Caldeira, 2005; Gil, 2007; Caldeira, 2008; Vidal, 2008, and others). However, current paper shows the permanent tension between the Law and the agents that are active within the school network, with special underscoring of power exercises linked to different subjects and coupled in several forms to the 19th century schooling movement.

“Public economy plus teaching facility and commodity”: Statistical reports and the distribution of schools

Primary school teacher Candido Matheus de Faria Pardal said the above quote in 1872, when the school premises were being inaugurated in Rio de Janeiro. Faria Pardal was principal but he preferred smaller and more efficient schools to attend to the demands of several districts. He did not see any advantage in big and expensive schools in a particular district since this fact made difficult class frequency and caused non-productiveness. Within the context of the establishment of schools, the coping with populations spread through a geographic continuum was an issue discussed from the start and mentioned in reports by the General Inspector of Primary and Secondary Schools in Rio de Janeiro. A year after the 1854 Regulation Act, the general inspector Eusébio de Queiroz wrote:

The proportion between the number of students of both genders who frequent government-run schools, the number of inhabitants of the different districts in the municipality and the probable number of children at school age, according to statistical data is not very comfortable when one compares them to students in more developed countries and thus better off from this point of view [...] (IGIPSC, 1855, p. 16).

Government reports on public schooling provide several factors on the administration of education in Brazil. When contrasted with other sources, they reveal the complexity by which schools were distributed throughout a region and how they became related with the neighborhood.

It must be underscored that statistical proceedings, with all their rationality, were not always successful in defining a site for the establishment of a school premise. The town or city with its organization and social, economic and political structures produced by the specificity of geographical space had its share in the definition. In other words, it was not always possible to establish a school on a site described as the most adequate. These circumstances required the displacement of teachers and students to another site, following the supply of physical space. Frequently government's and people's demands clashed against the political and economic structure of the town.

On the other hand, similar to different interpretation of data, the strategies used in surveys and in the production of number required to justify an act or to legitimate a demand may have different shapes. The production of statistical data with agoal in mind, in this case schooling, could have been undertaken either by the government or by the teacher, or by the inhabitants of the district or by the police, and for several reasons, not merely for the establishment, maintenance or subsidizing schools within a certain region.

Due to such complexity, current paper deals with three issues related to three moments in the school – city relationship: establishment, maintenance and the consolidation of the school in a determined region. The analysis of these moments copes with the different processes triggered and articulated by the government, teachers and inhabitants, which do not always coincide in time or lie in the same direction. Every instance is characterized by a different order of issues and their specificities are a help in the understanding of the schooling process locked to a geographic space, either urban or rural.

The documents reveal that debates for the establishment of a school are characterized by certain aspects. In fact, aspects which refer to its maintenance are imbued by others. When the school is established in the day-to-day life of the place, with several relationships and within conditions that make its closure improbable, issues inherent to its consolidation are raised. The participation of local people may be perceived within the discussion, namely, government representatives

(school delegates and police agents), parish members, teachers and families, vying in a power strife that intervene within the three moments.

The establishment of schools: strives and conflicts

The documents under analysis identify issues on the place where the school would be established, namely, population dispersion; the geographical characteristics of the region (distance, natural impediments); lack of a proper premise, making mandatory the establishment of the school in another place, frequently in more distant areas or in places with difficult access, or even in another district; lack of funding that either impairs its establishment or demands that teachers buy school equipments and furniture. Certain issues involving different agents (government, teachers, inhabitants) will be dealt with below.

The Imperial Court's Education Inspector, Eusébio de Queiroz, believed that an increase in the number of schools in the most widespread and most popular districts coupled to regular inspection by the school authorities (receiving salaries or asking the help of parish priests) would decrease discrepancies between the number of enrolled students and school-age children (Borges, 2008). He underscored that schools were not equally spread between the genders and that only two schools were reserved for girls in the farthest districts. Since no private schools which would be financially subsidized, were extant in these areas, the establishment of a government-run school was the only option. However, difficulties abounded, according to the school inspector:

[...] the population of these districts is so dispersed that even if there were another school in each district, the distances are too far for the girls. They will surely be deprived of schooling. The only solution I think of in this case is the establishment of a boarding school in these districts (IGIPSC, 1858, p.7).

Consequently, boarding schools was the alternative for female education even though it was linked to the government's difficulty to cope with statistics in regions that could be filled with schools and whose inhabitants were widely spread. However, the same statistics could be more favorable in the wake of the collective demands of families (Gondra & Lemos, 2004) for the establishment of schools. When parents organized themselves and demanded a school, they committed themselves to enroll their children, and thus its installation would be justified and attendance warranted.

When the site for the establishment of a school premise was inadequate or improper, the families rallied themselves and demanded removal to another premise or a more favorable site for the local school children:

I have constantly received complaints from these inhabitants (of external districts) against the school's conditions and place, with great forfeiture of education as civilization demands and our Constitution claims. Eliminating such flaws is one of the greatest difficulties within present circumstances. In fact, in spite of great efforts, it is highly difficult to find premises that meet the desired advantages, in the center of the district and in the midst of the population (IGIPSC, 1860, p.5).

If removal was not possible and the distance between the school and the home was considerable, a change in the school period was the alternative mechanism. In other words, while the premises were maintained, discussions arose with regard to school periods. Francisco Valladares de Toledo, the primary school teacher of the Freguesia do Ó district in São Paulo prepared a report on December 27, 1851, addressed to school inspector José Ignácio Silveira da Mota, and revealed the ensuing tension:

I am sending the roster of students enrolled in the class I teach. I would like to demand that, due to the distance of the homes of most students, the [illegible] commission authorizes the start of classes at 8 in the morning till noon during [illegible] in both spaces (Toledo, 1851).

Education delegates were agents that activated their relationship networks to demand the establishment of a school. The physician and school inspector José Theodoro da Silva Azambuja, from the Lagoa district in Rio de Janeiro, wrote 'that due to the delegate's persistence' a second primary school was established for boys:

It was established without any funding by the National Treasury. In fact the Brotherhood of the Chapel of Our Lady, on the way to the Botanic Gardens, offered through the delegate the school benches and tables, a blackboard for calculations, an armchair and two chairs. The Delegate also provided other items such as a wooden Crucifix fixed in a niche with a glass door, a picture of

His Majesty the Emperor, a gilded frame, a tablet with the imperial arms made of tin and copper, a wall American clock, a table with dais for the teacher, a locker for books and other papers, a blackboard for writing, thirty hangers etc (IGIPSC, 1866, p. 3).

The quote reveals the items provided by the Delegate for the establishment of the school. Since it was established at the Praia de Botafogo, one immediately perceives that it was close to the delegate's home at Rua São Clemente. The distance between the district's schools and the house of the respective delegate is another aspect within school administration run by school inspectors. In the district Ilha do Governador it was a source of contention. Although the occurrence was between the teacher and the school delegate, the documents reveal the conditions that families had to cope with to send their children to school. The same occurred in the district of Irajá, which will be dealt with presently.

The distance between the government-run school of the district of Ilha do Governador and the Fazenda São Bento, where the delegate Friar Luiz de Santa Theodora França lived, was the basis of a strife between the delegate and his subordinate and teacher José de Moraes. Reports show the complaints of both on the distance (Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro - AGCRJ, codex 10.4.38). Due to old age, the friar had difficulties in going to the school and admitted that he failed to make his usual visits during January and February because of the sun and rains. On the other hand, the teachers reported to the inspector Eusébio de Queiroz that he had not been to the Fazenda São Bento and made his complaints against the delegate. The report shows that the friar tried to bypass the distance issue by inverting the displacement role, or rather, he tried to make the teacher displace himself to the delegate for inspection. However, José de Moraes defended himself as follows:

What I want to say to your Excellency, an intelligent and honorable person, is to acknowledge the impossibility of an aging civil servant, with poor health, to walk miles and miles, on foot, without the need for such sacrifice. A simple written correspondence will have the same effect that the Reverend Friar is demanding (AGCRJ, codex 10.4.38, 2 may 1856, f. 148 - 152).

The teacher argued that due to the lack of a beast of burden for transport and due to his impossibility to go on foot, the friar should have

provided him with transport or communicate with him by a written message (AGCRJ, codex 10.4.38, 28 april 1856, f. 151). On the other hand, the friar reported to the general inspector that the teacher José de Moraes, although presumably incapable of going to the friary where the education office stood, used to travel to the city almost every Sunday and on feast days, when the education office was in between (AGCRJ, codex 10.4.38, 29 april 1856).

Complaints boiled down not only with regard to the distance that had to be run in the course of school inspections but also to the number of establishments under their responsibility. Space and time converge within the school network. Ildefonso Ferreira, a school inspector in São Paulo presented the following complaint to the General Inspector of Public Education Diogo de Mendonça Pinto, on December 19, 1853:

The district is provided with too many schools. Regular school inspection would take all the time of a jobless person or a person without many tasks. What shall I do since I am burdened with so many tasks? My work would be truly deficient. On the other hand, giving all my attention to the relevant studies that I teach, I have no time to meditate on the means by which Public Teaching would be successful (Ferreira, 1853).

Excuses were necessary. The General Inspector had the authority of fining district inspectors amounts ranging between 20\$000 and 50\$000 if they failed to do their job properly (São Paulo, 1851, cap. 1, art. 4º, parágrafo 15). The above case implied one visit a month to the schools of the district.

Choosing a place for the establishment of a school was an issue that affected the whole population, inspectors and teachers. José Theodoro Burlamaque was successful in a public examination to give lessons in the district of Irajá, Rio de Janeiro. He sent a document explaining why he had not complied with his duties and revealed his problem with regard to the site of the school where he also had to live (Borges, 2008, 2010):

I had no knowledge of the district and the scanty information that I gathered made me believe that I would have all possible amenities. However, I was totally misinformed since the place is devoid of all. The homes are distant one from another. In fact, the house in which the school is installed lies in an isolated place; it is very difficult to obtain food and water due to the distance.

There is no one who may be hired for housing, washing of clothes and other indispensable services (AGCRJ, codex 10.4.38, 19 may 1856, f. 4).

After being contracted and since the problems listed above persisted, the teacher reiterated his requests and asked for payment in advance. He had appointed his cousin Carlos Burlamaqueas attorney to receive it. Excusing himself for his demands, he concluded: "I shall remain in this stupid place at the order of your excellency to do what I have to do" (AGCRJ, codex 10.4.38, 5 June 1856, f. 6). Similar documents evidenced that the sites chosen for schools were a source of conflict among the people involved and influenced schooling and other related activities.

Maintenance of schools on the chosen sites: strategies and connivances

The documents revealed several tensions for the establishment of schools based on statistics and for their maintenance or exclusion also based on statistics. After the installation of the school, tensions existed to maintain the number of students that justified its establishment. Statistics required that teachers produced documents and used certain strategies, sometimes spurious ones, to guarantee their job. Roster numbers, frequency lists and, more important still, enrolment maps, were extremely relevant.

In the case of Rio de Janeiro, numbers were the basis of calculations for the funding of schools. "All the government-run schools in the municipality received not only cloths, utensils and other items mandatory by the educational rules, but also a monthly amount of money for running the school, cleanliness and small expenses, which was calculated according to true frequency" (IGIPSC, 1861, p. 10).

Therefore, frequency of students had to be ensured or, in more complicated cases, data had to be camouflaged and counterfeits had to be fabricated. Conniving stances had to be assumed with regard to irregularities on minimal enrolment and frequency data which would be acceptable within the context. Consequently, rules and norms were followed in a flexible way, distorted or even ignored. A case which must be underscored was the requirement that all children enrolled in the schools should be vaccinated and were free from any contagious diseases. They could not be slaves.

In the case of vaccination, several primary school teachers in Rio de Janeiro sent reports to the General Inspector's Office and complained about such requirement. Marcos Bernardino da Costa Passos, teacher at the second government-run school in the district of Ilha do Governador wrote (Borges, 2008, 2010):

Sir, if the school must expel all the boys who were not vaccinated, it should be closed. The district does not even have a public agent for vaccination and thereby the children cannot be benefitted with this high favor of the government (AGCRJ, codex 11.1.4, 5 september 1857, f. 254).

It should be noted that, in the teacher's opinion, the vaccination requirement endangered the continuation of the school in the district. The document is dated in 1857, or rather, three years after the establishment of the Education Act. During the same year, inspector Eusébio de Queiroz was concerned with the decrease in students' frequency due to Article 69 on vaccine and decided to ask the authorities to dispense the mandatory nature of the norm or to introduce vaccination services in the districts jeopardized by the requirement.

However, other aspects were contributing towards a declining frequency. Thereby, agents started obligating families to send their children to school by appealing to the police or to the Catholic Church. A report from the Inspector's Office in Rio de Janeiro mentions a committee comprising the parish priests of each district, the education delegates, teachers and the deputy police officer. Its role was to identify poor children and provide them with the necessary clothes, demanded by the Education Rules, and organize a list of families, including name and age of the children belonging to each parish to comply with article 64 of the Education Rules, according to which it was mandatory for parents and foster parents to send children over 7 years to school. Otherwise, they were fined.

The Education Delegate friar Luiz de Santa Theodora França of the Ilha do Governador district asked the General Inspector to demand the list of offending families from the police station (AGCRJ, codex 10.4.37, 1856, f. 200). The list would be a tool so that Education Delegates and the General Inspector would insist on the execution of Art. 64. In his official letter, friar Luiz not only defended the need of the police in mapping the offending families but also described the district and its inhabitants:

The Ilha do Governador district is two and a half to three leagues long, divided into seven blocks, all inhabited by fishermen and workers. They are not easily found in their homes, except during the night. Since the Public Education Delegate has not right in calling them to his office for their affidavits, he should visit them in their homes. He may also write to them, even though he has no servant at his disposal to send the letters. In this case, he would have to wait a long time for their reply since most do not read nor write and they depend on other persons for their reply which would be burdensome and delayed. The block inspectors have provide their affidavits by ordering the Police Official of Rio de Janeiro to demand that the deputy police officer of the district instruct the inspectors on the task so that they may execute precisely what has been indicated. In this case, there will be no random interpretations that would cause delay (AGCRJ, codex 10.4.37, 1856, f. 206).

However, the demand for data may also have the contrary effect. After executing the orders given, the Deputy police officer Inocencio José Machado, head of the Fifth Block of the Ilha do Governador district, furnished the reasons why parents failed to send their children to school. He reported that the heads of the families

[...]replied that they knew their obligations. However, it was not possible to send boys and girls from the Galeão to the public schools since they had to walk along a beach one league long; on certain days, due to high tide that cover the beach, they may go to school by transport which is impossible due to heavy winds. Several parents are not capable of using the boat to send their children to school in such circumstances. These are the reasons they forward to your excellency and they are sufficiently known to you (AGCRJ, codex 11.1.4, 5 julho 1857, f. 177).

At the end of the report, the deputy police officer underlined that the friar knew the island's natural and geographical difficulties. The same problem was presented by other police officers and block inspectors of the same district. Reports also exist that some children paid some sort of transport to go to school and thus revealed that families invested in the schooling of their children. In spite of the above, the friar send another

communication to the General Inspector complained that the police and parents failed to comply with the Education Rules.

The tensions between school agents were not restricted to school agents and students or their parents. Several conflicts existed among government agents and, in this case, between school inspectors and security authorities who tried to solve the same problems according to their specific job.

On the other hand, teachers used their specific strategies to warrant school statistics which were used by the government to 'produce' hundreds of people and were part and parcel of daily life in schools. Within their milieus, teachers used to produce many data on the functioning of the school, such as those systematized in enrolment maps.

In his report of December 19, 1853, Ildefonso Ferreira sent a message to the General Inspector of Public Education, Diogo de Mendonça Pinto, expressing disbelief with regard to the frequency report of the teacher Antonio Augusto d'Araújo:

The teacher's map lists 78 students. When I inspected the school, only 20 students were present. Is it possible that 58 students failed to go to school precisely on this day? It seems to me that their schooling condition is bad. They did not make any progress, either due to the teacher's method or to other causes. I found that the students stood at the same conditions as last year's. He scantily follows the teaching method [illegible]; only the printed letters are read; writing is [?]; Arithmetic, Catechism and Grammar are hardly known. The site of the classroom is not adequate, somewhat distant, and is propitious to naughty pranks by the boys (Ferreira, 1853).

The Inspector suspected that the teacher was inflating enrolment numbers to maintain bonuses for which he had the right for having more than 20 children in the classroom (Law 310 of 16/3/1846, art. 17).

The gap between the numbers given and those verified *in loco* was also focused by School Inspector Ignácio d'Araújo, who was responsible for the Braz district. In his report of December 5, 1857, he wrote:

The boys' classroom, with 26 students enrolled, actually has only 15 to 18 students; rarely this number is exceeded. Progress is slow and imperceptible

due to continuous truanting on many days. The said teacher does his duty although not with the desired regularity, as is well-known.

A similar frequency deficit occurs in the girls' classroom. During my last visit to the school, I just found only 8 students and the teacher attributed this fact to my visits on Mondays. However, I would like to underscore the occurring absenteeism and that progress is under average (D'Araújo, 1857).

The teacher's reason should be analyzed. She said that the girls were reported as absent because the inspector's visit occurred on Mondays. Report may identify school absenteeism in Brazil when compared to that in other countries. For example, *San Lunes* feast was an excuse for the constant absenteeism of workers on Mondays at the very instance that societies were replacing communal time by rational control. According to Thomas Hardy,

In fact, San Lunes was venerated almost universally where small-sized or cottage industries prospered [...] In England they lasted up to the 19th century, even up to the 20th century due to complex economic and social reasons(1979, p. 263).

The intertwining between space and time (school and social) is a problem when one faces the challenges in school distribution and suggests that the two axes should be linked in the analysis on schooling issues.

“Consolidation” and the permanence of schools in the districts: effects and networks

When a school had an assured permanence in a given place or its existence was inserted within the social network of the district, other issues emerged, possible only under such conditions, showing space as a producer of tensions and strategies, the result of networks within the school and place.

It should be emphasized that the time spent in activities by the agents within the schooling process allows the establishment of lasting relationships of the school with its space of insertion. Regarding the time of activities of the Education Delegates in a district, the example of father Antonio Marques de Oliveira is important. In a document written in 1872, he stated that he knew every occurrence in the district:

[...] in this house in which I have inhabited for the last 22 years, due to the coming-and-going of the inhabitants from one place to another in the district; they come to make business and also to seek public justice; I am knowledgeable of what happens in the district, at least every two days. Due to orders by your excellence, I am bound to declare that all those living in the neighborhood of the school complain of the irregular procedures of the teacher's brother, or better, that of the entire family (AGCRJ, codex 10.4.19, 29 august 1872, f. 94-95.)

Whereas the priest's profession made him close to the people, his job as an Education Delegate, since 1858, made him close to the schooling process. These factors favored the differentiated relationships between the church, school and inhabitants. This long stay in the same parish made him a reference to the people not merely in religious issues but also in problems on schools and teachers.

The engagement of a priest to supervise education was not the exclusive role of the government. Education delegates asked church members for supervision to improve their function as inspectors. The 1855-1883 education delegate of the Campo Grande district, the physician Eugenio Carlos de Paiva, reported consulting the local parish priest to verify the regular activities of a school under his responsibility:

[...] as a physician in the district, I have walked in front of the public school and I have never found its door closed during the week, besides those days that I have mentioned in my monthly reports. The parish priest is nearest neighbor to the school, a highly intelligent person, trust-worthy and respectful, He also testifies to the teacher's good behavior and constancy (AGCRJ, código 11.1.4, 15 february 1857, f. 31).

These two cases show that the district inhabitants incentivized to participate in the schooling process in several ways: they were not linked to the school through enrollment but through its performance, the teacher's moral conduct and pedagogical assessment. The case of the families that complained of excesses in physical punishments employed as a pedagogical disposition by teachers may be categorized within the last aspect.

A long period of activities within the same region also favors a more complex relationship with the teachers. The case of two teachers, each working in his own school during many years, is highly relevant. Francisco Alves da Silva Castilho worked for 38 years (1849-1887) in the boys' government-run school of the Campo Grande district, and Candido Matheus de Faria Pardal taught for 37 long years (1837-1874) in the boys' government-run school of the Santa Rita district, both in Rio de Janeiro.

Castilho and Pardal developed pedagogical methods and programs, authored books and undertook pedagogical experiences in their schools (Schueler, 2002). Their long experience at the same school contributed towards the development of educational experiences that became a reference for other teachers – they also helped in the training of teachers through 'formation by practice' instituted by the 1854 Regulation – and consolidated a relevant status in society. Pardal was chosen as the principal of municipal schools built in the 1870s and Castilho became Educational Delegate during the first years of the Republic.

A survey on students who attended school in the Santa Rita district where Pardal taught during 1855 showed interesting data on the group. Students' addresses revealed that the Santa Rita school accepted students not only from the district but also from downtown Rio de Janeiro and also from areas farther away. It must be emphasized that during the same period there were five other government-run schools for boys within the same section of the city (schools in the Santana, São José, Candelária, Sacramento and Santo Antônio districts). The above situation evidences the parents' preference for Pardal's school to that of other teachers. Such practice in Rio de Janeiro was in the report of the 'Visiting Committee of public schools and private establishments' which argued, among other reasons to justify lessons within a single session, that

The boys of each district are not always those who attend the schools of the same district. Parents follow sympathies and relationships; or they trust a teacher rather than another; thus, they send their children to his classes; sometimes they come from a long way off. It is burdensome for them to cover this great distance four times a day, under sun and rain; otherwise they frequently fail to attend the afternoon lessons (IGIPSC, 1873, attachment 7, p. 54).

Reports from other provinces corroborate the families' active participation in their choice of the institution attended by their children during primary education. Fortunato Gonçalves Pereira de Andrade, the inspector of a district in São Paulo, wrote in his report of October 20, 1861, to Diogo de Mendonça Pinto, General Inspector of Public Education of the Province:

Boys' Primary School in the Consolação district – teacher Joaquim Jon Moreira – students enrolled 89 – attendance 81. The high number of students manifests the performance of the teacher and exempts further comments. It should be underscored that students come to the school from distant places of São Paulo. Parents, the best judges in such matter, undergo great difficulties so that their children would benefit from the lessons of a good teacher (Andrade, 1861).

Munhoz (2012) reported a similar phenomenon in Paranaguá where several families opted to transfer their children when another school was established. The authors work with the hypothesis that families' preference for the recently arrived teacher was due to the fact that was a priest. In fact, religion was always associated with quality in teaching. Therefore, families' stance also contributed towards an understanding of school status in society.

Consequently, school space may also be employed for other goals. When Pardal was the teacher of the school in the Santa Rita district, his address at Rua da Imperatriz was the place where audiences were performed when he was deputy delegate and where the enrolment committee of the Santana district used to meet. One may observe that precisely from the moment he became the principal of municipal schools in 1874, the premises were used for the meeting of institutions of which he was a member. It was the case of a meeting at the Municipal School São José for the foundation of the Water and Sewerage Works in the capital city.

Delegates and teachers were actually mediators between the population and the governor. Since they were close to the people, they were more accessible, a task which favored the establishment and development of relationships triggered by several motives.

For instance, several documents show the hiring of a person specialized in repairs who lived close to the school or the occurrence of the name Pardal in a funeral advertisement related to the death of a person whose family enrolled several children in the Santa Rita school. These factors suggest ways the inhabitants inserted themselves in the school and how the school inserted itself within society, coupled to the strategies of social status used.

Final considerations

The various situations reported in current paper reveal that during the establishment, maintenance and consolidation of the school, the geographical and urban aspect influenced schooling and its relationship. A higher or lower urbanization degree became a factor to which the families and the schools had to adapt themselves, bypass or even ignore, with the subsequent strives, concessions, interventions or punishments.

Such situations as that of the teacher Eudoxia Brasília da Costa who complained about the school premises where she resided with her family and which lay in a swampy place (AGCRJ, codex 10.4.19, 5 july 1874, f. 191) were common. Teacher Anna Joaquina d'Oliveira e Silva of the Sacramento district complained of the house where the school was installed: the classroom was close to a gate and to a flight of steps and thus people passing by could observe what was going on in the classroom and vice versa (AGCRJ, codex 10.4.37, 16 january 1856, f. 27).

The vicissitudes of town and rural living may have caused students' early absenteeism: when they somewhat started writing and reading, they opted to start working in the fields or in the shops of the town. There is actually a fine line between schooling demands and survival, both of which are mediated by space and its relationships.

The fact that students failed to be present in the afternoon classes due to work at home or with the other members of the family caused an unfavorable statistical deficit, since it denoted low frequency. The teachers had to exert all efforts to bypass the problem. One solution was lessons in a single time period. Another solution was a change of timetable at the start and end of the daily sessions. The two alternatives were against the rules coming from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, which caused arguments between the agents.

In the analyses on the spatial distribution of schools, school time appears repeatedly and showed the convenience of dealing with two

schooling dimensions within an integrated form. Changes in the relationship of agents with space triggered changes in their relationships with time. Since discussions with regard to the establishment, maintenance and consolidation of schools involved strives on what was being socially built as school territory or perimeter, the permanence of a school within a determined place evidenced the victory of time caused within school and social tensions.

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Rationalization of the offer and strategies of social distinction:
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