

TEACHERS' PEDAGOGICAL WORK IN THE SCHOOLING PROCESS (1844–1910):

The Case of the Present-Day Municipality of Lavras do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul

O trabalho pedagógico dos professores no processo de escolarização, entre 1844 e 1910:
o caso do atual município de Lavras do Sul – Rio Grande do Sul

El trabajo pedagógico de los profesores en el proceso de escolarización (1844–1910):
el caso del municipio actual de Lavras do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul

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Abstract: The historicity of the schooling process and pedagogical work in the current Lavras do Sul, in Rio Grande do Sul, between 1844 and 1910, during the implementation of a local public education system, is discussed. The study was guided by the Analysis of Movements of the Senses (AMS), a theoretical-methodological foundation with a dialectical basis. The data production techniques were bibliographic research and document analysis. Afterwards, the data produced was analyzed and systematized. It was observed that, in that community, public education was a slow project, impacted by political-partisan decisions, marked by successive changes in the teaching staff, with frequent relocations, destabilizing pedagogical work and workers.

Keywords: pedagogical work, History of Education, Lavras do Sul, educational policies.

Resumo: Aborda-se a historicidade do processo de escolarização e do trabalho pedagógico na atual Lavras do Sul, no Rio Grande do Sul, entre 1844 e 1910, durante a implementação de um sistema público local de educação. Pautou-se o estudo pela Análise dos Movimentos dos Sentidos (AMS), fundamento teórico-metodológico de base dialética. As técnicas de produção de dados foram pesquisa bibliográfica e análise documental. Após, deu-se a análise dos dados produzidos e a sistematização ora registrada. Observou-se que, naquela comunidade, a educação pública foi um projeto lento, impactado por decisões político-partidárias, marcado pela sucessiva alteração do quadro de professores, com remanejamentos frequentes, desestabilizando o trabalho pedagógico e os trabalhadores/as.

Palavras-chave: trabalho pedagógico, história da Educação, Lavras do Sul, políticas educacionais.

Resumen: Se discute la historicidad del proceso de escolarización y del trabajo pedagógico en la corriente Lavras do Sul, en Rio Grande do Sul, entre 1844 y 1910, durante la implementación de un sistema de educación pública local. El estudio estuvo guiado por el Análisis de los Movimientos de los Sentidos (AMS), fundamento teórico-metodológico con base dialéctica. Las técnicas de producción de datos fueron la investigación bibliográfica y el análisis de documentos. Posteriormente, los datos producidos fueron analizados y sistematizados. Se observó que, en esa comunidad, la educación pública era un proyecto lento, impactado por decisiones político-partidistas, marcado por sucesivos cambios en el cuerpo docente, con frecuentes deslocalizaciones, desestabilizando el trabajo pedagógico y de los trabajadores.

Palabras clave: trabajo pedagógico, historia de la Educación, Lavras do Sul, políticas educativas.

INTRODUCTION

It was during the imperial period that a network of literacy schools was established in Rio Grande do Sul. Slowly, decade after decade, the rulers, between few advances and many setbacks, determined the creation of schools and legalized the hiring of teachers, through competitive examinations. Thus, each locality experienced a specific process. Rio Grande, Pelotas, Porto Alegre, General Câmara, Taquara, Rio Pardo, São Sebastião do Caí, Cachoeira do Sul are places where the process was faster, perhaps due to the influence and investment of local politicians, the extension of the territory and/or the result of taxes paid. In other places, citizens were slow to have schools and teachers for their children (Ferreira, 2020b; Schneider, 1993).

Lavras do Sul was among the places whose investment in Education was too slow. The territory was inhabited by a population that registered, in the leadership of economic production, cattle ranchers, workers in the gold mines and small merchants, and these did not count on school education as an investment for the future of their families, since, for their production, they considered it unnecessary to know how to read and write.

From this perspective, the objective of this article is to systematize an analysis of data about the schooling process and, in this, the number of the pedagogical work of teachers, in Lavras do Sul¹, in the period between 1844 and 1910, considering the historicity of that locality as a context². It has been sixty-six years, covering the imperial period until the first years of the Brazilian republican government, covering from the first class implemented in the locality to the strengthening of a public education system. It is understood that the analysis of the schooling process, associated with that of the pedagogical work, considering "[...] school and social spaces and times (and pedagogical methods)", allows us to reflect on historicity, "[...] its production, changes and permanence, contributing to the discovery of infinite possibilities of living and, within life, infinite ways of doing and doing the school and its subjects" (Faria Filho & Vidal, 2000, p. 21, our translation).

It should be clarified that pedagogical work is presupposed, as a category/concept of analysis. It is an elaboration related to the present, it is inserted and has as a reference the moment of capitalism, its phase in evidence. However, its description denotes universal and timeless characteristics, insofar as it focuses on the

¹ In this period delimited for the study, the locality went through several stages in its historicity, and, consequently, several denominations. It is not understood to be an anachronism to refer, at some points in the text, to Lavras do Sul in order to be identified by readers, since the previous names (mentioned below) were elaborations from which this denomination was derived.

² The production of data had the collaboration of researchers from Kairós – Study and Research Group on Work, Education and Public Policies/UFSM, from the Casa de Cultura José Neri da Silveira/Lavras do Sul; of the teachers born in that municipality, Elvira Soares Ferreira, Elenice Delabary Soares, Maria Margarida Delabari Soares (in memorian).

subjects, their elaborations and actions. In other words, the planning, execution and evaluation of the work carried out by teachers, although influenced by the time and space in which they take place, being susceptible to educational policies and the influence of the facts in the surroundings, that is, even if determinant, do not exclude being pedagogical work. Therefore, as a category/concept, elaborated in the present, it can be a key to reading for any time, given its semantic flexibility and conceptual historicity. In these terms, the concept of pedagogical work is the following:

[...] It is the work of teachers, involving the sum of choices that are not always the object of reflection, due to lack of time and space in school and outside it, so that teachers can reflect on what they do. This work, by its nature, is related to how the group that makes up the school is organized, how it understands and produces education. It transits between the individual and the collective, in a dialectical way, elaborating and happening daily at school (Ferreira, 2018, p. 594, our translation).

Regardless of the time, the context, the teachers, then, carry out a job. It is understood that, due to its characteristics, because it aims at the production of knowledge, because it is authorial or not, because it is restricted to the reproduction of certain models or not, it is configured as pedagogical work.

Thus, as a result of the study of documents, texts from newspapers and books, the pedagogical work was analyzed in correlation with the educational policies that determined the constitutive movements of schools and public education. In this effort, the historical was started, but social, cultural and political elements that determined this work at the time were also included. As a result, it follows the systematization of the analysis, with arguments organized in sections that include a description of the theoretical and methodological choices, an approach to the municipality, education, teachers, analyses of the pedagogical work and alignments in the final considerations.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The theoretical-methodological foundation adopted in the study was the Analysis of Movements of Meanings (AMS). It is a framework that organizes research in Education, based on the notion of discourse³ as materiality (Ferreira, 2020a), the

³ Discourses are felt "[...] organized and expressed by the subjects, through an intentionality, an objective in relation to the interlocutor(s), pre-established and teleologically elaborated, because anticipate reactions, understandings, interactions to be achieved through the expressive organization of language. [...] Through discourse, subjects narrate, describe, plan, project, evaluate, reconstruct and record their work" (Ferreira, 2020a, p. 4)

differentiation between senses and meanings (Costas & Ferreira, 2011; 2022) and the orientation to procedures aimed at:

[...] to study the senses in their variations, incidences, repetitions, faults and exaggerations, etc., that is, in their movements. Methodologically, it is characterized as a language study, carried out based on organization, reorganization, comparison, collation and systematization of discourses. The AMS combines interpretation, analysis, understanding, aiming to enter the discourses, evidencing meanings that will be confirmed or not, when compared with others (Ferreira, 2020a, p. 151, our translation).

In short, it is "[...] a way of dialectically studying, deeply, and creatively the data" (Ferreira, 2022, p. 5, our translation). The discourses, data produced by the research, were analyzed in several situations:

- a) in the annual reports of the Presidents of the Provinces, between the imperial period and the 1910s, understood as historical documents that make it possible to understand the projects for public education. They were reports presented, annually or at the end of a government, to the Provincial Assembly, with the interest of being accountable to the government, in addition to convincing about its effectiveness in meeting public demands, namely, those related to security, militarization, housing, religiosity, health and education;
- b) these discourses were compared with studies on the History of Education in Rio Grande do Sul;
- c) in the materials that are part of the collection of the José Neri da Silveira House of Culture, in Lavras do Sul. Among these, access was given to works and reports that, with permission and in the presence of the members of that Institution, were digitized;
- d) in texts from newspapers, serials and almanacs of the time, understanding that they are very rich materials to understand the meanings, contexts and perceptions about the educational process being implemented in the State.

By assembling tables (which are organized records of the discourses from which the inquiry takes place and, as a result, arguments are elaborated and, for this reason, are not included in the text) and reading the discourses, it was possible to analyze the movements of the meanings within the discourses. These movements interpreted compose the arguments in this text, relating the historical, the cultural, the economic and their impacts on the pedagogical work, including the subjects-teachers, their references.

AMS⁴ has been applied to historical research for some years, which can be proven in the publication of books, chapters, Master's and Doctoral research reports in university repositories, as well as articles, which are found in Scielo and Google Scholar. It is consistent with the finding of Santos and Vechia (2019, p. 2, our translation), who, after analyzing the production published in the Brazilian Journal of the History of Education, found the emergence of differentiated approaches over the period 2001-2019: "Investigations in the History of Education have experienced new theoretical-methodological conceptions". This heuristic that is formulated daily in Education Research and contributes to the formulation of subsidies for the History of Education renews and feeds the collection of possibilities and approaches.

At the beginning of the research, a search was carried out for academic productions on themes related to pedagogical work in schools in Lavras do Sul. The search in repositories of universities in Rio Grande do Sul and in the Catalog of Theses and Dissertations of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel – CAPES resulted in few abstracts in annals of events and a single production on education in the municipality, a Course Completion Work, addressing the history of a state school located in the center of that city⁵. The other references are contextualized in the municipality, however they are mostly dedicated to the experiences in the Institutional Program of Scholarships for Initiation to Teaching – PIBID, without containing historical data of Education.

For contextualization purposes, historical and social aspects of the municipality are narrated.

LAVRAS DO SUL: HISTORICAL NOTES

According to data produced, the municipality, today called Lavras do Sul, appears for the first time in the history of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, in 1746, in reference to a village led by Jesuit priests, called "Povoado de Santo Antônio" (Teixeira, 1992, p. 257). The first historical references, already in the following century, can be summarized in Table 1

⁴ Given the brevity of this text, for a deeper understanding of the AMS, it is possible to find productions in several national and international books and periodicals. The articles published in the Brazilian Journal of Education (RBE) stand out: Ferreira (2020a; 2022) and Braido et al. (2023).

⁵ This is the course completion work defended in the Course of Letters – English and Spanish and respective literatures, in 2015, at the Federal University of Pampa - UNIPAMPA, Bagé campus, authored by Simone Munhós de Freitas, supervised by Dr. Alessandro Carvalho Bica, available at [this link](#).

Table 1 – Historical references of the current Lavras do Sul

1806	It belonged to the territory of the municipality of Rio Pardo
1824	It belonged to the territory of Cachoeira do Sul
1829	A chapel was erected and a parish was established
1834	It became part of Caçapava do Sul, which, during the years 1839-1840, was the capital of the state, during the Farroupilha Revolution
1847	Elevated to the parish of Santo Antônio das Lavras (Law No. 82, of November 13, 1847)
1882	It was considered an autonomous village, emancipating itself from Caçapava do Sul, calling itself Lavras (Provincial Law No. 1,364, of May 9, 1882)
1937	Elevated to municipality, with two districts: Ibaré and the seat
1944	It was named Lavras do Sul
1950	Installation of the first City Council

Source: Prepared by the author based on data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (2025) and Teixeira (1992).

After the golden cycle, led by Portuguese miners, with the apparent exhaustion of the product, the owners of international companies that explored the territory withdrew. The economy began to focus on livestock, especially cattle and sheep breeding. This was because agriculture in that region was scarce, given the rugged terrain and soil impoverished by excess sand and aridity.

In 1859, there were 322 voters, which indicated the adult population. For comparison purposes, in São Gabriel, a neighboring municipality, in the same year, there were 912; in Caçapava do Sul, there were 427 (Ferraz, 1859, p. 96), according to RPPB⁶. In 1895, there were 7,025 inhabitants, of which 3,394 were women plus 118 foreigners among them. 1,828 were literate, generating a proportion of 73% illiterate (Almanak Litterário e Estatística da Província do Rio Grande do Sul, 1895, p. 232), according to ALERGS⁷. In 1919, there were 8,071 inhabitants, with 1,639 residents of the village and the rest in the rural area (A Federação, 1919, p. 1). This number of inhabitants is directly related to economic aspects, it increased in periods of production and decreased in periods of scarcity or centrality in livestock, since this requires fewer workers.

Still with regard to the supply of labor, curiously, the year 1884 marked the beginning of abolitionist propaganda in Lavras (A Federação, 1884, p. 3). And before the end of that year, the newspaper reported the liberation of 562 enslaved people,

⁶ RPPB stands for Report of the Presidents of the Brazilian Provinces, a requirement of the Ministry of Empire Affairs published in the form of Notice 49/1885 (Brasil, 1885)

⁷ ALERGS is an acronym for Almanak Litterario e Estatistico do Rio Grande do Sul. The almanacs constituted, for a large part of the population, a source of social, cultural, historical, geographical and economic knowledge. They resembled a variety magazine, with a more or less common structure. Its periodicity was annual (Ferreira, 2020b). It should also be noted that it cannot be said that his texts are faithful historical records. Therefore, the data were compared with other materials.

161 of them unconditionally, and 22 people had not been freed, because they belonged to orphans and absentees (A Federação, 1884, p. 1). The newspaper, linked to the Republican Party, praised this occurrence, stating that residents "[...] they faced abolitionism from a broad social point of view, momentarily forgetting the small hatreds resulting from a political school of the bell tower" (A Federação, 1884, p. 1, our translation). With this, the different parties came closer together, joined forces against a "[...] common enemy – slavery" (A Federação, 1884, p. 1, our translation). He pointed out that he was an example for the Province and that other municipalities, such as Caçapava do Sul, bordering, had not followed the same path. Reiterated:

Lavras, a small municipality, recently created, empty of resources compared to ours [Porto Alegre], struggling with all sorts of difficulties inherent in weak organisms, begins the abolitionist movement much later than we do – on September 28 of last year [1884], and on December 2 of the same year, it ends it brilliantly with complete emancipation (A Federação, 1884, p. 1, our translation).

This fact is significant because it contains a paradox: school education was precarious, there was a lack of teachers; the economy of the locality was based on the large rural property; Mining was one of the sources of income and generated enrichment for free workers. And even so, the references in the newspapers, because they are republican and abolitionist, exalt that the residents are sensitized to the liberation of enslaved people, being ahead of their time, in a country that would enact the law that would officially determine abolition only five years later.

The advent of the Republic, a year after the formal abolition of slavery, was eagerly awaited:

The Republic was seen as the regime capable of keeping pace with Brazil in advance. It was argued that the modernization of the central countries was accompanied by significant events in their well-established education systems, which ended up disseminating science and, in this way, promoting and sustaining economic progress (Carboni & Maestri, 2000, p. 146, our translation).

Such measures, however, did not impact education as expected: "[...] however, the doctrine established since the Empire was in force, according to which the Federal Government was exempt from popular education, which was entrusted to the exclusive competence of the States" (Nagle, 2001, p. 360, our translation). The collaboration between the state and municipalities was conflicting and slow in the adoption of initiatives: "[...] the Federal Government was, therefore, given the

competence to impose the model that was deemed convenient and the conditions of equivalence that were deemed appropriate" (Nagle, 2001, p. 360, our translation).

Once again, the political influence derived from economic power was a factor that established priorities for public policies, among them, Education. From its point of view, the state justified its absence in the educational scenario, claiming that it would be responsible for Primary Education, especially lay and free education: "[...] Since the State cannot have either science or official religion, it cannot have an academic or ecclesiastical budget" (Soares & Silva, 1992, p. 30, our translation).

In these conditions, the locality enters the twentieth century. To contextualize the municipality in this historical moment, an advertisement of the time is used. In order to advertise a farm for sale, a man from Lavrense named Alberto Vandecapelle publicized his image of the village as promising: "[...] It has a doctor, pharmacía, church, post office, schools, first-rate commercial house and a regular service of diligences with a fixed itinerary to the station of S. Sebastião" (A Federação, 1903d, p. 3, our translation).

The slow adherence to an economic dynamic with relatively changes in the mining and cattle ranching cycle, adhering to the industrialization cycle, propagated by the Republican government, kept the place susceptible, with no alternatives to offer greater employment opportunities. Public education also remained staggering, without significant investments. The teachers were pedagogical workers, acting in the midst of precarious working conditions, with salaries below what was deserved and necessary and, not infrequently, without receiving them at the end of the month. The record of these historicities, in the sequence, indicates the dissonance between the pedagogical work consistent with the characteristics of a society that transited between the Empire and the Republic and the hardships experienced by these subjects.

TEACHERS AND PEDAGOGICAL WORK IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF LAVRAS DO SUL BETWEEN 1844 AND 1910

It is noteworthy, as a prolegomenon, that the Secretariat of Public Instruction, installed by Law No. 14, of 1837, in the Province, published regulations regulating the pedagogical work and maintained a staff of inspectors to inspect and report compliance with the regulations in the classes. Through these norms, associating them with the registration in the newspapers and provincial reports, there was the possibility of inference and systematization of meanings.

This inspection was a big problem, it didn't always serve its purpose. The distances and the lack of access and transportation, associated with the fact that these inspectors do not being educated for this work, generated little effectiveness in the verification and regulation of pedagogical work. Schneider (1993) pointed out that

the school inspection "was null" because there was "[...] elements without competence for this function and, often, the seat of the municipalities and the residence of the Justice of the Peace⁸ were six, eight or more leagues away from the schools" (Schneider, 1993, p. 285, our translation).

In this context, in 1846, based on Provincial Law No. 44, of May 12, the school of first letters for boys was created and, with Provincial Law No. 269, of November 7, 1853, another school for girls was created (*Almanak Litterario e Estatístico do Rio Grande do Sul*, 1902, p. 188). The differentiation was made according to the hiring of male teachers, who worked only with boys, and female teachers, who were destined to teach girls. Once these professionals were obtained, classes were offered. Then, officially, based on the data produced, the Villa's public educational system began in 1846.

In allusion to this period, it is known that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the economic and, consequently, cultural situation of the Captaincy of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul was chaotic. Paulo José da Silva Gama, president between 1803 and 1809, was one of the first rulers to denounce the lack of access to education. His arguments centered on opening more schools, securing good teachers, and convincing families to send their children to the institution rather than keeping them working from home. As for the pedagogical work, specifically, there were many demands. The case of the Villa in question is representative of the entire state, with several similarities. There was a lack of schools and teachers. In such a way, that the situation in those times would be characterized as such:

The a, b, c, was totally unknown no longer in the fields, in the estancias, in the small villages, but even in the villages themselves where the population was more compact. The royal government had no funds available for education. Paulo Gama said that the inhabitants had as much knowledge and education as the savage tribes that surrounded them (Lima, 1935, p. 78, our translation).

The few existing classes were located in the teachers' homes or in rented properties. The situation generated, at the same time, a kind of familiarization of the school and a control of the activity of the teachers. Thus, to the government, from the point of view of financing, it seemed more profitable to assign a salary and a bonus to pay for the place, its cleaning. Between 1844 and 1847, for the first educational initiatives, in total, the government of the Province paid 3:00\$000 for the rent of houses for public classes in that village. Throughout the state, at the time, there were

⁸ In many locations, he was responsible for inspecting classes.

no public buildings designated by the government for the holding of classes. Thus, it was up to the municipal government and even the teachers themselves to rent this

space, or even give up their housing (Ferreira, 2020b). The amount paid in that locality was significant compared to that of municipalities with a larger extension of land, such as Jaguarão, São Leopoldo, Osório, and higher than São Jerônimo, Santo Amaro (General Câmara), Dois Irmãos, Santana do Livramento, Camaquã, Encruzilhada do Sul, Rio Grande, among others, in the same period (Sinimbu, 1854,

p. 98). It was only in 1859 that the government of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul created a table with a maximum value of 13\$000 for renting an environment for public classes in the parish of Santo Antônio das Lavras (Ferraz, 1859, p. 30).

Often, the precariousness of the places where the classes took place overlapped and made pedagogical work difficult. Even so, it was crucial that students had access to knowledge and were evaluated. One strategy to record the benefit of the investment was the submission of the teachers' work to the scrutiny of an external evaluation board. Therefore, it was necessary to ensure, with his work, the minimum access to reading, writing and basic calculation.

For the organization of what to teach in schools, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the following article of the Law of Instruction, published in 1837, was in force:

Article 6. The teachers will teach reading, writing, the four operations of arithmetic, practice of broken, decimals and proportions, the most general notions of practical geometry, the grammar of the national language, and the principles of Christian morality and the doctrine of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion, proportional to the understanding of the boys; preferring for readings the Constitution of the Empire and the History of Brazil (Province of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul, 1837, *on-line*, our translation).

The appropriate materials were provided by the government, by hiring supplier companies or by the municipality. Restricted and precarious, they limited the scope and possibilities of pedagogical work. Books were rare and students had no way to acquire their materials. It was then a pedagogical work that demanded the effort, commitment and dedication of teachers to achieve the goal of student literacy. This situation was only addressed in 1871, with the publication of Law No. 771⁹, which

⁹ Law No. 771: "created a Board of Directors of Instruction with six paid Members; imposed certain obligations on the directors of Private Establishments of Instruction; he reorganized the primary normal school for aspirants to public teaching, marking for them the circle of studies that they should go through, and gave some other measures for the sake of teaching" (Mello, 1872, p. 10, our translation).

made school education mandatory in the Province. For their part, in their speeches, in the reports presented to the Legislative Assembly, the governors narrated the economic difficulties for the expansion of the school network and for the hiring of teachers.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, an editor recorded: "Instruction is almost abandoned. What a contrast to the natural riches and the abundance of the soil!" (Almanak Litterário e Estatística do Rio Grande do Sul, 1902, p. 192, our translation). At that historic moment, with 16,000 inhabitants in the entire territory of Lavras and 600 in the village, there were five classes in the municipality: one for girls and two for boys in the village; one in Santo Antônio, which was the 2nd district and another in Taboleiro. Of the five classes, only two had teachers. The editor continued: "The men who have administered Lavras have little realized the need to teach that very rich territory" (Almanak Litterario e Estatística do Rio Grande do Sul, 1902, p. 192, our translation).

In the midst of this lack of teachers and schools, in 1902, because it did not meet the minimum number of students, the 5th boys' school was transferred to the current Veranópolis, further reducing the opportunities for boys to study in Lavras do Sul (A Federação, 1902, p. 2). Not satisfied, the state government, the following year, transferred the 4th mixed school of Taboleiro to the 3rd district of São Sepé, converting it into a boys' school (A Federação, 1903b, p. 2). Only in 1922, news was found about the reverse movement. A male class, previously located in Santa Cruz do Sul, was transferred to the suburbs of Lavras do Sul (A Federação, 1922, p. 5).

These transfers of schools from one municipality to another occurred because, according to chapter IX, article 44 of the Public Instruction Regulation, in force since 1884, schools with a small number of students, less than 15 enrolled, should be relocated. It was also considered, according to chapter IX, article 44 of the aforementioned Regulation, that schools that were little attended could be transferred to another location, always guaranteeing minimum attendance to maintain the class of fifteen students (Brasil, 1884).

That was, in broad strokes, the context. It was described as a possibility to understand the teachers and their work to be recorded below, considering that "[...] historical knowledge can contribute to dispel illusions or ignorance that, over time, disorient collective memories" (Chartier, 2009, p. 24, our translation). In that context, teachers and students lived together, in search of opportunities for public education, but this record, as it does not exist so far, entails limitations for understanding educational, cultural and social aspects of the community under study.

TEACHERS: THEIR LIFE AND PROFESSION

Teachers, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were literate subjects who took on individual classes¹⁰, becoming lifelong in the position by force of law. His life was dedicated to being representative of the position in the way he acted, dressed, and related socially. In the eyes of the people, they were configured as the teacher and the teacher, then the citizen. This way of describing the subjects, inherited from the Catholic and, especially, Jesuit influence, determined aspects that invaded their private lives. Especially women, watched over and framed in the values of vocation, moral integrity and willingness to marry, suffered the setbacks of a society that demanded of them the fulfillment of their profession combined with the moralization of childhood.

Their pedagogical work, governed by the policies elaborated by the rulers, was based on "teaching" or "transmission of what they knew". The "contents" were distributed in the order deliberated in the legal documents and the didactic choices were guided by two principles: to ensure that everyone knew how to reproduce what was "taught" and to demonstrate morals and good customs. For this reason, rigid teaching was part of the class, associated with church attendance and catechesis, with the urgency that students be accompanied by teachers on these occasions. In this bias of understanding, the political-partisan influences are observed in the way in which the installation of classes or, later, schools, and in the maintenance and transfer of teachers from one location to another. In addition, by political-party determination, there is the maintenance of the financing of teachers and their pedagogical work. As will be seen below in the text, depending on the government, teachers move through the State, even requesting to return to their places of origin, given their approximation or resistance to the party in power.

In a world where the place of professionals was to guarantee formal education and moralization, situations were established in which teachers sometimes persisted, sometimes gave up, in movements that historically constituted education in the village that is now Lavras do Sul. Anonymously or intensely socially involved, the teachers lived their work and bequeathed contributions in the process of establishing the Lavrense education system. The research indicated elements that allow these contributions to be recorded. Therefore, the meanings of the data produced are exposed, in order to record names, historical information and the period in which

¹⁰ These were classes derived from the royal classes instituted after 1759, by the Marquis of Pombal, Prime Minister of Portugal. From then on, these classes, according to Saviani (2010, p. 108, our translation), "were extended in Brazil, although facing precarious operating conditions, reduced salaries and frequent delays in the payment of teachers". In the nineteenth century, they assumed the version of single classes, due to not being affiliated to an educational system, nor to an institution, being offered according to the availability of professionals and payments by the local government or the students themselves. As for attendance, "students could attend one or the other indifferently, because in addition to being separate, they were isolated, that is, without articulation among themselves" (Saviani, 2010, p. 108, our translation).

teachers worked in Lavras do Sul, striving for information related to the pedagogical work required of these professionals.

According to the data produced by reading the Reports of the Presidents of the Province of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul, Felício Pereira de Oliveira was considered the first public teacher in Lavrense. Since April 30, 1844, he was included in the public class of mutual and individual education in the locality where today is the city of Lavras do Sul. It had been provisionally designated for the conservation of the school, by the Count of Caxias, in the period after the Farroupilha Revolution. On May 12, 1846, by Provincial Law No. 44, this public class was institutionalized. In 1847, he became a professor for life, with a salary of 600\$000, serving 90 students. Transferred to Caçapava do Sul in 1847, it was there until 1850, serving 60 students (Lima e Silva, 1846, p. 38).

Teixeira (1992) refers to a Bahian teacher in the municipality in the early 1840s and claimed to have no data on him. Caution is suggested in relation to this nickname "Bahian", since, on his trip accompanying the Emperor, on a visit to this Province, Count D'Eu recorded in his diary that, for the native gauchos, there would be throughout the universe "[...] three classes of inhabitants: 'riograndense' or the 'son of the father'; Castilian, or Hispanic-American; and Bahian" (Conde D'Eu, 1936, p. 103, our translation). And he reiterated: "For the gaucho from Rio Grande do Sul, whether a man was born on his doorstep, in the province of Sancta Catharina, or comes from Lapland, he is always a Bahian" (Conde D'Eu, 1936, p. 103 our translation).

The period of work of Prof. Felício coincided with the implementation of schools in the villages, at a time when the current Rio Grande do Sul was emerging from a long and exhausting war conflict, such as the Farroupilha Revolution (1835-1845). It is worth remembering that the locality was part of the territory of Caçapava do Sul, one of the capitals of the Farroupilha movement, and was even the scene of struggles. For this reason, it is significant to note that, despite a territory worn out by the war, in that village, 90 students attended the boys' school (Galvão, 1847, p. 56).

In 1847, Manoel João Pereira replaced Professor Felício, in the then Parish of São João das Lavras, remaining there for ten years, as a lifelong teacher of public classes of mutual and individual education, with a salary of 600\$000 réis, with 8 students, in his own house for which he received 153\$600 réis in rent. The fact that he was a teacher of mutual and individual teaching indicates aspects of the pedagogical work carried out, that is, having only 8 students to attend, he offered more than one type of class, aiming to diversify his professional possibilities and justify public investment. This effort seems to have been successful, since in 1850 it served 25 students. The data allowed us to infer that he remained in the locality as a teacher until 1857 (Câmara, 1857, p. 97).

On October 1, 1860, Antônio Libânio Pereira Maciel was responsible as an "effective teacher" for the boys' class. In 1867, it was named as "fabriqueiro" of the

Matriz (Teixeira, 1992). Three years later, he was fined by the government, for 20 réis, for not having delivered the semiannual maps required by the regulation in force. In 1872, he is referred to as an ensign, and his time as a military man is added to the count for retirement. The following year, he was a lifelong professor and, since two years before, he had served, on average, 30 students. In 1882, he was still in that village and became a municipal judge for orphans until 1890, detached as a member of Freemasonry. He retired in 1887. For this reason, he is the teacher who, at this time, remained the most in the territory of Lavrense, that is, for his entire time of work, 27 years (Rocha, 1862, p. 102; Sertório, 1870, p. 111).

During this period, which lasted until the 1860s, schools were segregated by sex, and male teachers were responsible for male classes, and female teachers. Exceptions were allowed to classes in the homes of married male teachers, when there were no female teachers to attend to the girls. In these cases, men could attend mixed classes.

In the female classes, the first teacher mentioned in the documents is Úrsula Arouche de Moraes, between 1857 and January 14, 1858, when she was removed. She had come from Triunfo, where, in 1853, she was listed as a public teacher for life. In 1859, it was again included in the 3rd district of Triunfo and, in 1862, transferred to Cruz Alta, remaining until 1872. He died in 1903, in Porto Alegre (Câmara, 1857, p. 97; Rocha, 1862, p. 103; The Federation, 1903c, p. 2).

Ubalдина Brito Uriarte is highlighted. In 1858, she worked as an interim public teacher of the female chair in that parish. In 1870, she was fined by the government, for 20 réis, for not having delivered the semiannual maps required by the regulations in force. She retired in 1887, due to having completed 25 years of work without interruption (Rocha, 1862, p. 103; Sertório, 1870, p. 111).

The Provincial Law of Primary Education No. 14, of 1837, published during the government of President Antônio Elzeário de Miranda e Britto (in periods between 1836 and 1839), regulated education. For the purpose of maintaining public education, this law determined that the primary school should be divided into three classes of education: a) reading and writing, four operations of arithmetic, fractions and proportions, Christian morality, State religion, grammar of the National Language; b) theoretical and practical notions of geometry; c) Geography, French Language and Drawing (Province of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul, 1837, p. 21).

With regard to teachers, it determined that they could be for life if they demonstrated, in competitions, that they knew the program of the three classes of education mentioned above. In case there are no lifelong teachers to fill vacancies, temporary professionals with lower salaries would be hired. Thus, until 1850, teachers were hired for life, that is, as long as they lived they would occupy the position without losses, except for heinous crimes (Província de São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul, 1837, p. 22).

Another highlight of Law No. 14 referred to school-age girls. For these, the three classes would be maintained, minus the teaching of decimal fractions and

proportions, and content related to embroidery, sewing and home education would be added. The teachers would receive six hundred thousand réis per year and another 5 thousand réis for each student considered ready before the evaluation period (Província de São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul, 1837, p. 23).

After the end of the Farroupilha Revolution (1835-1845), the priority was to reconstitute the Province, and education was only maintained, without major investments. In this scenario, teachers, questioned for their work and with meager salaries, were left to their fate, carrying out pedagogical work in remote places, in precarious conditions, with little guidance and support.

Between 1888 and 1890, in Lavras, there were two teachers who a) worked hard to publicize public education; b) promoted public exams for students of first letters. The names of the professors were not mentioned in the Almanak (Almanak Litterario e Estatística da Provincia do Rio Grande do Sul, 1902, p. 192). Researching, it was discovered that they are the teachers:

Maria Joaquina Machado Alves: in 1886, in that locality, she worked as a public teacher of the mixed course. She was transferred to Caçapava do Sul in 1890, where, in 1900, she was a teacher of the 2nd female class of the 2nd entry¹¹. In 1907, he was transferred to the Elementary College of Santa Cruz do Sul. However, it remained in Caçapava do Sul and, in 1908, it was declared "compulsorily available" (A Federação, 1886, p. 3; The Federation, 1904b, p. 1; The Federation, 1906d, p. 1).

João Machado Espíndola: in 1890, he was listed as a public teacher in the male chair in Lavras do Sul, coming from Butiá. In 1907, he was a school inspector in Santo Antônio da Patrulha and later was a political leader. He died in 1954, in Gravataí (A Federação, 1890, p. 2; A Federação, 1892, p. 1; The Federation, 1907b, p. 1).

The editor of the Almanac criticized the fact that politicians prevented the continuity of this work (Almanak Litterário e Estatística da Província do Rio Grande do Sul, 1902, p. 192). To prove his argument, he quoted: "This year the schools of Lavras were attended by perhaps 80 or 90 students" (Almanak Litterário e Estatística da Província do Rio Grande do Sul, 1902, p. 192, our translation).

This recurrent replacement of teachers in Lavrense schools was in addition to what was happening throughout the state, reported by Francisco de Paula Soares. This soldier, director of the Normal School, was interim as Inspector General of Public Instruction, in 1866 (Moraes, 1875, p. 60). Described the situation of work pedagogical at the time, exemplifying with reading, calling it "confusion":

¹¹ "From 1887 onwards, schools began to be classified into entrances. The entrances determined a difference in the remuneration of teachers, but all were required to have the same training: qualification by the normal school created in the province in the previous decade" (Werle, 1997, p. 94, our translation). After ten years, all municipalities, except Porto Alegre, Pelotas and Rio Grande, had 2nd entry schools. This was the case of Lavras do Sul.

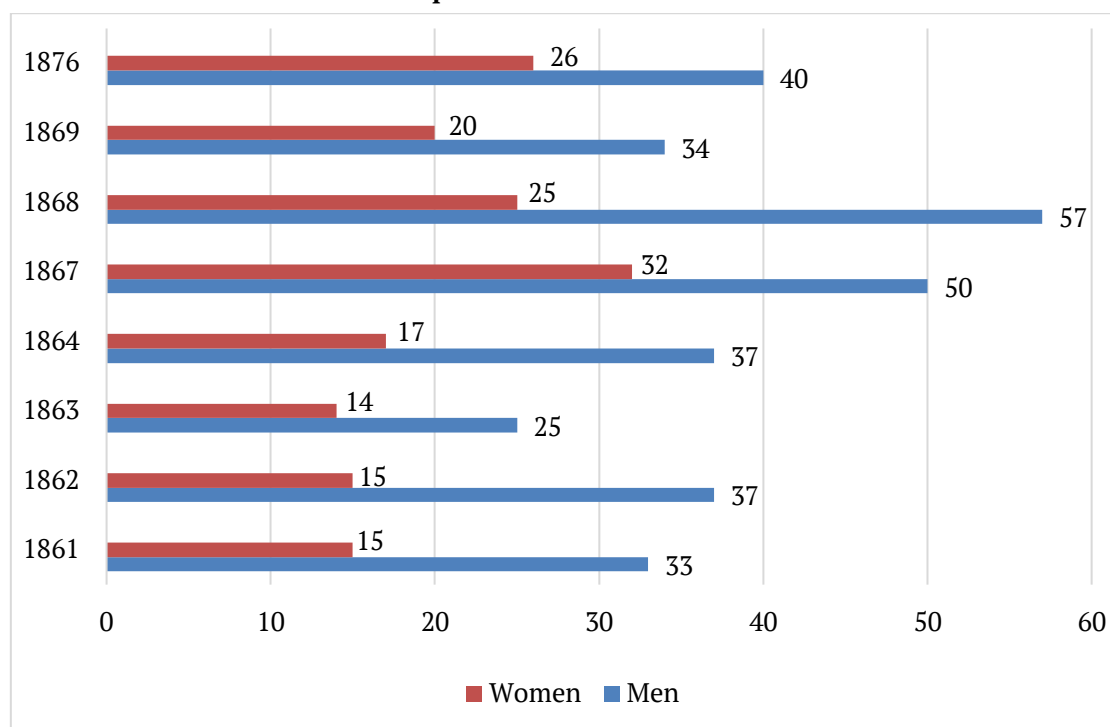
[...] it is always the method of the past century as far as the transmission of the first elements is concerned; rare are the teachers who will abandon the rutina, and ensit for the modern syllabarios, and even rarer are those who have the job of correcting the defects of the boys' pronunciation (Cunha, 1866, p. 71, our translation).

As far as calculations are concerned, the pedagogical work was equally unproductive. For Francisco de Paula Soares, it all came down to mechanical and decontextualized actions:

As far as the teaching of art is concerned, they limit themselves to memorizing some leaflets where there are only imperfect definitions, without connection or relation, and to teaching the boy materially how to solve a problem, often leaving him in his class for whole hours occupied with considering the means of such a solution (Cunha, 1866, p. 71, our translation).

In short, the teachers, in the opinion of that manager, did not make efforts to guarantee the production of knowledge. The solution, according to the leader, would be to institute the Normal School, aiming to educate teachers and standardize education in the state. About this, the news of its creation was verified, so demanded in a report of 1870: "Created by act of April 5, 1869, it was installed on the following May 1. In the first year, 12 students of both sexes will be enrolled, of whom they will complete course 6, who will enroll in the second year" (Sertório, 1870, p. 14, our translation).

An analysis of the data indicates, in Graph 1, that the schools in Lavras were well attended and, in rare periods, there was a change, such as, for example, during the Paraguayan War (1864-1870) and the Uruguayan War (1864-1865).

Graph 1 - Number of students

Source: prepared by the author based on the reports of the Presidents of the Brazilian Provinces (Império, RS, from 1830 to 1889).

That community had about 8 dozen students enrolled between 1867 and 1868, but the majority remained around 60 students. If the population oscillates between 8 and 10 thousand inhabitants is taken into account, these are derisory rates. It is also worth noting the unequal number of men and women who attended school.

Almost twenty years later, between 1903 and 1904, there was an exchange of teachers who either came from São Francisco de Assis or went from Lavras to that municipality. The following hypotheses were established to justify such occurrences:

a) the similarity in the number of the population, which would allow the maintenance of teachers and their salary; b) the government's policy seemed to be based on the belief that keeping teachers for a short time in the localities would facilitate the control of their pedagogical work and, in addition, would contribute to their salaries also being measured.

Maria da Glória Tratmann: in 1904, she was listed as a teacher at the 2nd female school of the 1st entry, coming from São Francisco de Assis, where she had taken over, the previous year, the 2nd female school (A Federação, 1904b, p. 1).

Etelvina Krein: in 1904, she was a teacher at the 5th mixed school, coming from São Francisco de Assis and, in that same year, she was on leave for 90 days to treat her health. In 1905, it was again in São Francisco de Assis (A Federação, 1904b, p. 1; A Federação, 1905, p. 4).

Otto Müller: professor, approved in a competitive examination in 1902. In 1904, he worked at the 1st male school in the village, in Lavras, coming from São Francisco de Assis. In 1906, he was in São Vicente do Sul and, in the following years, in Santa Cruz do Sul, Santa Maria and the Elementary School of Rio Pardo. He was director, a position of trust in the government, of São Sebastião do Caí, Bento Gonçalves and Alegrete. From 1919 onwards, he was in Santo Ângelo, as a teacher in an isolated school in the countryside (A Federação, 1904b, p. 1; The Federation, 1906d, p. 1; Caxias do Sul, 1922, p. 3).

In addition to transfers to São Francisco de Assis, teachers were also removed from Lavras to Rio Pardo, Santa Cruz do Sul, Bagé, São Gabriel, among other municipalities.

In 1891, Ignácio Caetano Leite was admitted as a public professor of the male course, in Lavras, from Pinheiro Machado, transferred "for the convenience of teaching". That year, he was also removed, again, to Pinheiro Machado. In 1904 and 1906, he was a captain in the National Guard in Bagé and, in 1909, he installed a *charqueada* there (A Federação, 1891b, p. 2; A Federação, 1906b, p. 1; The Federation, 1909a, p. 4).

From 1891, Celestino Corrêa de Mello worked as a normal public teacher in the male class. He requested an increase in the quota for renting the room, water and cleanliness of the environment from 12\$000 to 20\$000, and the request was rejected. In 1892, he requested removal to the 1st male chair of Viamão. In 1893, he was in Santa Cruz do Sul. In 1900 and 1906, it was in Porto Alegre. In 1913, it was declared separate (A Federação, 1891b, p. 2; A Federação, 1906a, p. 2; A Federação, 1913, p. 2).

As for women's classes, in this same period, in 1893, Maria Parizina Ferrari, for a year, worked as a public teacher in Lavras. In 1894, he was in Cachoeira do Sul. Between 1900 and 1906, he worked in Rio Pardo (A Federação, 1893, p. 2; The Federation, 1904b, p. 1; The Federation, 1906b, p. 2).

In 1895, Balthazar dos Santos Paz was appointed as a teacher for the male chair of Lavras, with a salary of 880\$000, a fee for rent and cleaning of the school environment. In 1905, he was in Rio Pardo and later was a teacher in Cachoeira do Sul, Uruguaiana, Porto Alegre. In 1919, he was a school inspector. In 1921, he received a bonus for completing 25 years of work, as an *attaché* teacher at the Complementary School in Porto Alegre, where he remained until 1925 (A Federação, 1895b, p. 2; A Federação, 1910b, p. 4; A Federação, 1921, p. 1).

In 1899, for two years, Julieta Lydia de Oliveira Guedes had been assigned to the 3rd mixed school, of the 1st entry of Lavras do Sul. In 1901, he was in São Leopoldo. In 1907, in Porto Alegre (A Federação, 1899, p. 1; A Federação, 1901, p. 1; The Federation, 1907a, p. 1).

In reference to the decades from 1900 to 1905, it is noteworthy that Jorge Teiller began as an interim public teacher of the male chair, 2nd district of Lavras, in 1891 and,

in 1903 and 1904, in the same city, in the 1st male school in the village, 1st Entry Teacher. In 1906, in the 7th male school, in the interior of that municipality. In 1918, it was included in São Pedro do Sul (A Federação, 1891a, p. 2; The Federation, 1906c, p. 1).

The teachers of female classes, in this period, also replaced themselves. Between 1903 and 1906, Alice Alves Ramos was listed as a teacher at the 3rd mixed school in Lavrense. In 1906, he lived in São Gabriel, where he worked until 1948 (A Federação, 1928, p. 1; A Federação, 1903a, p. 1; The Federation, 1906c, p. 1).

In the same way as Professor Ubaldina, previously mentioned, Honorina Corrêa Guazzina dedicated many decades of her professional life to the people of Lavra. Before 1903, she was a private school teacher and, that year, she became a public teacher at the 2nd girls' school in the village. She married Adalberto Augusto Guazzina. In 1904 and 1905, she continued at the same school, as a 1st entry teacher. It was deduced that he always lived in Lavras and his grave was observed in the municipal cemetery. In addition, there was information about a rural school that operated in the 1960s and 1970s, a "brizoleta"¹², in the locality of Passo do Lagoão, whose name was named in honor (A Federação, 1903a, p. 1; The Federation, 1904c, p. 3).

In the report and rendering of accounts of the municipality, referring to the year 1905, there is mention of the establishment of 3 public classes. One would have been filled by Professor Honorina Corrêa Guazzina and the others were vacant. Later, in 1924, she was dismissed due to lack of funds to pay her salary. The amount of 800\$000 applied to public education was indicated, and the budget provided for 2,400\$000. However, no explanation was found for this "saving" in a situation of absence of classes in the municipality. The document was signed by Leopoldo Granier, treasurer, and approved by the Municipal Council and by the intendant Samuel José de Souza (A Federação, 1906a, p. 3).

Between 1905 and 1908, Conceição Carvalho worked as a teacher at the 2nd female school in the village, coming from the girls' class at the district school of São Gabriel. In 1909, he was in Estrela. Three years later, she was enrolled in the Elementary School of Rio Pardo and was transferred to the 1st mixed school of Santa Maria and then to the Elementary School of Santa Maria, in 1913. He retired in this city in 1927, with 25 years of work (O Paladino, 1909, p. 2; A Federação, 1913a, p. 3; A Federação, 1927, p. 2).

Without reference to how many years he remained in Lavras, Hermano Augusto Souza Lobo was appointed, in 1905, as a teacher of the 4th male school in Taboleiro, 1st district. In 1916, it was included in Porto Alegre (A Federação, 1907c, p. 2).

One of the teachers who also stayed in the city for a short time was Mathias Becker, only between 1908 and 1909. His life was marked by tragedy. The records

¹² They were small rural, state schools, opened in the Program "No child without school in Rio Grande do Sul", during the state government by Leonel de Moura Brizola, between 1959 and 1963.

indicated that he was a public teacher at the 5th male school, in Estrela, and, in 1894, he received a two-month leave of absence to close the class and retire due to the Federalist Revolution in the state (1893-1895). She left her son, newly married, living in the house she inhabited. Maragatos invaded the property, looted and took the boy hostage. Three days later, the body was located, beheaded. The justification for the crime was that the boy would have served in Estrela's provisional body. Professor Mathias, perhaps due to disillusionment or political persecution, in 1908, was transferred to the 1st male school in Lavras do Sul. In 1909, he sent a document, requesting removal to return to Estrela and received rejection of the request. He was on leave for 60 days for health treatment. He requested retirement when he was in the 1st male chair of Lavras do Sul, with thirty-one years of work, in 1909 (A Federação, 1891a, p. 2; A Federação, 1895a, p. 1; The Federation, 1909b, p. 1).

Arthur Alves Cruz was also short of time, only the year 1909-1910. Graduated in Law in 1910 in Lavras, he was a teacher at the 1st male school and began to work as a lawyer in Caçapava do Sul (A Federação, 1900, p. 4; A Federação, 1910a, p. 1).

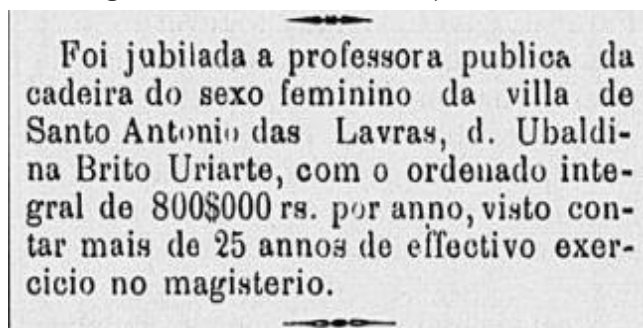
From 1909 to 1912, Maria Joaquina Loureiro Menezes requested Estrela's removal and worked as a teacher in the 2nd female class of 1st entry in Lavras. In 1911, it was transferred to Antônio Prado and, in 1924, to Rio Pardo (A Federação, 1904a, p. 1; A Federação, 1912, p. 1; A Federação, 1924, p. 1).

Sixty-six years after the records of 1844 referring to the first public teacher hired for São João das Lavras, in 1910, there was a system of schools, serving girls and boys. The global analysis of the data indicated that there was an excessive change in the number of teachers, since most of these professionals spent very little time in the locality, with the exception of Antônio Libanio Maciel (1860-1887), Ubaldina Brito Uriarte (1857-1887) and Honorina Correa Guazzini (her entire life as a teacher, from 1904 onwards). The fact that these teachers stayed longer in the locality not only allowed them to better insert themselves into the culture, but also to transpose this insertion to their pedagogical work, adapting it to the context. Knowing these facts and understanding them as evidence of the history of Education in the municipality allows new meanings, in addition to attributing merits to those who actually dedicated themselves to composing conditions for the production of a pedagogical work aimed at the education of the people of Lavrense, in those times.

The pedagogical work carried out by the teachers from Lavra, it is reiterated, was not different from that verified in the rest of Rio Grande do Sul. In precarious conditions, with reduced access to books and pedagogical materials, this work relied on the dedication of professionals and little advice from family members. The professional trajectory and pedagogical work of the teachers, as a result, were painful. In addition, there were several removals, not infrequently from one side of the estado. As a result of this path, retirement corresponded to mandatory retirement, the end of

the contract term. The bonus corresponded to the achievement of 25, 30 or 35 years of work, as a bonus added to the salary, to maintain the professionals (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – Note on Mandatory Retirement



Source: A Federação (1887, p. 2).

It should be noted that she was retired with a full salary of 800\$000. In 1859, his salary was 600\$000, plus a bonus of 200\$000, that is, the advantage, after almost three decades of professional practice, was the fact that the salary and the bonus were unified.

All these reported movements indicated the establishment of schools and public education in the current municipality of Lavras do Sul. After 1910, through competitive examinations and established schools, a new phase of education began in this city: with an educational system maintained by the municipality and the state, aimed at literacy and formal education of citizens.

FINAL REMARKS

This article systematizes a study carried out on the history of Education in the locality of Lavras do Sul, from 1844 to 1910, that is, corresponding to the initial period of the implementation of a public educational system. Information obtained from newspapers, almanacs, documents, books was analyzed, comparing it with the history of Education in Rio Grande do Sul. The result was meanings whose movements indicate how the schooling process was constituted and, in it, the pedagogical work of the first teachers in Lavras in the midst of troubled social processes.

The information on the pedagogical work of the teachers was composed from the educational policies and guidelines emanating from the central political power and, gradually, with the inclusion of the community in the organization and financing of public school education. Being a small community, this process was slow and, it is reiterated, marked by the successive change in the teachers, with frequent reassignments. Rare are the teachers who have remained more than twenty years in the locality.

As a result of these factors, a public education was established subject to political determinations, and the teachers, strategically, experienced the balance of a life marked by unfinished projects, without continuity and belonging to the social. In the same way, the pedagogical work was detached from the immediate reality, making it artificial if the cultural characteristics and demands of the population were considered. Even so, each teacher contributed with their dedication, zeal and compliance with the regulations that governed, at the time, their work.

The research continues in order to understand how school education in Lavras was also composed in the last century. However, the difficulty in accessing official documents, not found or even disposed of without order, prevents greater speed in the production of data. Even so, this difficulty has not been an impediment, as it has the generous contribution of people from the community, previously mentioned. So far, the fact that data unknown to the community can be presented in an organized way and establishing the possibility of being considered in other studies is celebrated.

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