

**THE PRESENCE OF THE LAY TEACHER IN THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO**

***A PRESENÇA DO PROFESSOR LEIGO NO ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO***

***LA PRESENCIA DEL MAESTRO LAICO EN EL ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO***



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**ABSTRACT:** This article analyzes the idea of a lay professor in the state of São Paulo, as part of the reflections of the History of the Teaching Profession, based on the scope of the history of education, based on the past works that consolidated such research. The study is based on the examination of educational laws and decrees approved during the Old Republic (1889-1930). The results achieved indicate the presence of the lay teacher in the primary education of the State of São Paulo, configuring a reality of the Brazilian rural schools, being, in the majority, organized in the multi-grade format, governed by a teacher, strictly speaking, a teacher whose form of performance revealed the precariousness of this profession and a gender issue in the feminization of teaching.

**KEYWORDS:** Lay teacher. Rural school. Teaching profession.

**RESUMO:** *Esse artigo analisa a ideia de professor leigo no estado de São Paulo, como parte das reflexões da História da Profissão Docente, fundamentando-se no âmbito da história da educação, tomando-se por base os trabalhos pretéritos que consolidaram tais pesquisas. O estudo está calcado no exame das Leis e Decretos educacionais aprovados durante a República Velha (1889-1930). Os resultados alcançados indicaram a presença do professor leigo no ensino primário do estado de São Paulo, configurando uma realidade das escolas rurais brasileiras, cuja maioria era organizada no formato multisseriado, regida por um único professor, a rigor, uma professora que, por sua forma de atuação, revelava a precariedade dessa profissão e uma questão de gênero na feminização do magistério.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Professor leigo. Escola rural. Profissão docente.

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**RESUMEN:** *Este artículo analiza la idea de un profesor laico en el estado de São Paulo, como parte de las reflexiones de la Historia de la Profesión Docente, basada en el alcance de la historia de la educación, en base a los trabajos pasados que consolidaron dicha investigación. El estudio se basa en el examen de leyes y decretos educativos aprobados durante la Antigua República (1889-1930). Los resultados obtenidos indican la presencia del maestro laico en la educación primaria del Estado de São Paulo, configurando una realidad de las escuelas rurales brasileñas, siendo, en su mayoría, organizadas en el formato multigrado, gobernado por un maestro, estrictamente hablando, un maestro cuya forma de desempeño reveló La precariedad de esta profesión y una cuestión de género en la feminización de la enseñanza.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Profesor laico. Escuela rural. Profesión docente.

## Introduction

In this article, we analyze the lay teacher in the state of São Paulo, as part of the problem of the teaching profession, being, therefore, tributary of research on the History of Education, whose qualitative and quantitative richness denotes a field already consolidated, according to the concept engendered by Pierre Bourdieu (1983).

The scope here is to reflect on the education professional, called the nickname "lay", explaining the reasons for their uncomfortable and persistent presence in schools. In addition to the ambiguity and its regulation by the State, this professor also faced the instability of the function, resulting from his provisional occupation in the exercise of teaching.

The study is based on the examination of the Educational Laws and Decrees approved during Brazilian Old Republic (1889-1930). The results indicated the presence of the lay teacher in primary education in the state of São Paulo, configuring a reality of Brazilian schools, which, for the most part, were organized in multiseriate format, governed by a teacher, strictly speaking, a teacher, whose form of action revealed the precariousness of this profession and a gender issue in the feminization of the magisterium.

In the conception advocated by Ferreira and Carvalho (2011), the schools called | 3  
multiseriate and constituted by a teacher who taught elementary education to a group of students of different levels or stages of learning in the same room. These schools were largely located in rural areas, especially in far communities of the municipal headquarters<sup>1</sup> and often operated in various types of buildings, as Cardoso (2013) points out, from tiny rooms to places that had been used for chicken coops, and can be governed by lay teachers.

The reach of his performance refers to the very history of education in Brazil, from which the expression "lay" may be linked to the absence of the diploma recognized for the magisterium, or in opposition to the teaching taught by religious, replaced by the royal classes in the period of the Marquis of Pombal (1750-1777). The vacancy of qualified teachers, resulting from the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Colony of Brazil (1759), aggravated an already precarious situation of schooling, which is also a literacy system (CARVALHO, 1978; ANDRADE, 1978; FONSECA, 2010).

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<sup>1</sup> In the state of São Paulo, during the Old Republic (1889-1930), several laws and decrees altered the organization chart of primary education, organized, according to the study by Costa (1983), in the following nomenclatures: Model School, School Groups, Urban Schools, Night Schools, Walking Schools and Rural Schools. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that such denominations have undergone changes in the period.

The solution to organize the first-letter schools was to appoint improvised teachers, since they did not compete for such a trade, but used and tolerated by administrations due to the scarcity of master graduates. This situation has gone through the history of Brazil, from the Colony to the raters of the twentieth century, and can infer that the schooling of the population took centuries to overcome and, in many regions, the deleterious of governments still prevail.

However, the studied literature on the lay teacher, despite being fruitful, presents distinct time characteristics of the present study, finding themes, among others, such as: the evaluation of programs, statistical examinations of the percentage of unqualified teachers, the expectations of complementary training. These are studies limited to periods in which educational policies sought to mitigate these problems of Brazilian schools, especially since the 1970s<sup>2</sup>, but with precarious results, according to the researchers' analysis.

Based on these reflections, we organized this article with the following structure: in the first part we briefly expose the context of the historical process in Brazil, in which we demonstrate how education began to be standardized by the Republican region, presenting the forms of organization of the state of São Paulo under federalism, since the Constitutional Charter of 1891 attributed to the Union units the responsibility for primary education; in the second part we present the forms of institutionalization of the lay teacher in São Paulo, resulting from the examination of the documentation, demonstrating the political injunctions proper to Brazilian patrimonialism and, in the third part, we discuss how the lay teacher was part of a project of schooling and the precariousness of isolated schools, most in the rural world.

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### **The process of republican schooling in the state of São Paulo**

Disagreement with an expression attributed to Aristide Lobo, at the advent of the Republic, the people attended the scene "bestialized" (CARVALHO, 1991, p. 9). Whether by the Military Coup imposed or by the rapid conversion of monarchists to the winning cause, the "Old Regime" was denied by the past defenders, now legal representatives of an announced modernization of Brazil towards civilization. The constituent process followed its process, despite the political turbulence in the streets unchecked by the people<sup>3</sup> and also repressed, in

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<sup>2</sup> There is a myriad of studies on the lay teacher in Brazil, the list here, includes the following publications: Luz *et al.* (Garcia (1988), Garcia *et al.* (1991), Dreifuss and Souza (1986), Cenafor (1984).

<sup>3</sup> Here we make an important remission regarding the expression "people". This is not a reckless generic use, but a polysemic political classification with serious ideological contours to frame social groups that are on the margins of citizenship.

addition, with the censure of the defenders of Pedro II, such as Eduardo Prado and the Viscount of Ouro Preto<sup>4</sup>.

The Federalist Regime triumphed in the Magna Carta of 1891, characterizing a Liberal Republic around the prerogatives of states, making central power the national unity, but conferring on its members a marked degree of autonomy, federalizing power, as Silveira (1978) analyzes, especially by the appanage of export collection, favoring the most dynamic and thriving economies, like São Paulo, Minas Gerais and to a lesser extent, Rio Grande do Sul, although the condition of the latter changed in the first decades of the 20th century (LOVE, 1982, 1975).

Republican schooling received a distinct treatment from the deposed regime, as it was not enshrined in the Magna Carta as the mandatory precept of primary education, as its predecessor stipulated it. Nevertheless, the accountability of primary and secondary education came under the auspices of the States, according to their respective Constitutions.

In the state of São Paulo, given its opulent economy (SALLUM JR., 1982; DEAN, 1971; LOVE, 1982) reforms were carried out in Education, meeting the pressing needs of modernization, whose meaning, guided by its elites, recommended to insert Brazil in the civilized world. Thus, urban transformations gradually became an assignment of the physician and engineer. Despite the bachelor of law was still the politician, the decisions of Government began to live more systematically with the prophylaxis dictated by science, classifying society, defining standards of hygiene and the respective taxonomies of social groups.

Euclides da Cunha's assertion (2001, p. 157, our translation) summarized the vision of social eugenics from the early days of the Republic: "We are doomed to civilization or progress, or disappear". What to do with the backcountry, a sub-race in the expression of this author? Many Republicans believed in the ideology of bleaching as a solution for Brazil to enter the civilized world and immigrants were the panacea against delay and the best option for coffee plantations.

Under this prism, the schooling began to shape the efforts to educate the citizen of the Republic. Not in the dimension of citizenship, but as a component of subordination to the ruling classes and the prevailing order. To caboclo and the immigrant, the school should contribute to

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<sup>4</sup> Eduardo Prado, from the São Paulo oligarchy, although he did not have an effective political performance during the monarchy, was pursued by the Republicans taking his book *The American illusion* (PRADO, 1961), seized at the printing press by the police, as well as other retaliations such as the jamming of the *Trade Journal*, acquired by him. The Viscount of Ouro Preto (who led the last Cabinet of the monarchy) published, together with other intellectuals, a scathing analysis of the first republican decade (VISCONDE DE OURO PRETO *et al.*, 1986). We must remember that the War of Canudos was associated at the time as a conspiracy and its leader, Antônio Conselheiro, accused with the same epithet (BARTELT, 2009).

linguistic and moral development. Thus, the work to impose hygiene precepts, moral values and instruct the population, counted on actions to prevent diseases and epidemics that could curb the entry of immigrants into Brazil. However, once they have been splinted here, they should be integrated into society through public instruction.

Government policies, following presidential messages, have turned to the sanitation of many<sup>5</sup> regions, fighting the recurrent epidemics in the First Republic, such as yellow fever, malaria, in addition to the Spanish flu and the problems of Typhus, as well as the construction of houses (lazarettos) for the isolation of contaminated people.

The coffee economy grew rapidly, suffering, without embargo, the oscillations of the price of this product in the world market, starting regulatory measures such as the artificial preservation of prices through the policies of valorization of coffee<sup>6</sup>, encamped by the state of São Paulo, but demanding that the Federal Government assume the debts (DELFIN NETTO, 2009; HOLLOWAY, 1978; LOVE, 1975, 1982).

The modernization of São Paulo, revealed especially with the expansion of railway tracks, consolidated the occupation of the *hinterland* converted into coffee farms at the expense of the massacre of indigenous people, the murders of squatters and, above all, the land grabbing. | 6  
The urbanization with and despite the trails changed the composition of dominant social groups with segments of immigrants of various nationalities, whose social rise can be measured in land properties, creation of industries and occupation of spaces in intellectual sectors (MICELI, 2001).

The effects of modernization engendered drastic changes in social groups with traditional values, especially with the market economy resulting, in Weber's (2005) meaning, in the "disenchantment of the world", a process through which these groups are gradually inserted in impersonal relations of capitalism. It is also the process of affirming the State, by standardizing the practices, all of them secularized, recognizing the civil and political existence of individuals (Diplomas, Identification Documents, voter registration, taxes, etc.), which only have an effect on the legality of the norms of power. To be a citizen, in this perspective, it is sat to read, write and count to be recognized as a voter, remembering that women were excluded from this right, despite the Constitution of 1891 not to explain such a prohibition.

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<sup>5</sup> We analyzed the messages of the governors (called Presidents during the Old Republic) addressed to the São Paulo Congress, which was bicameral in the period on screen, and repeated mentions of the health measures carried out in the State.

<sup>6</sup> The valued operations occurred in 1906, 1917, 1918, 1921, 1924, according to a classic study by Delfim Netto (2009).



The republican paradox was symptomatic, especially with the persisting of social problems that modernization does not resolve, either because of the neglect to which these populations were subjected, or because of the precariousness of schooling in many regions of the state of São Paulo. Thus, investments in education allow them to increase the number of schools, school groups, secondary schools (Normal Schools), technical schools and higher education institutions (Polytechnic College). Although the basis of the economy was agricultural, the origin of a rural school was guided by different curricular developments when compared to those located in urban centers.

In this perspective, Souza and Ávila (2014, p. 15, our translation) clarify that there was a differentiation between urban and rural schools,

[...] hierarchizing them and corroborating the negative representations to the rural environment, considering lower in relation to the level of civilization and progress verified in urban centers and with lower needs of schooling. Thus, in rural primary schools, a shorter primary course was consolidated, two to three years, when in urban schools it was four years, with more simplified programs and teachers' salaries lower than those of teachers in isolated urban schools.

The school was organized from a diachronic nature. At the same time that sumptuous buildings were built as an expression of civilization and republican modernization, there were also the teacher problems that were accompanied by precarious material, since many buildings were adapted and rented with furniture, not exactly the necessity of the students, in addition to the teacher's burden in relation to school meals and bureaucratic functions provided for in the operation of the teaching unit.

In relation to politics, literacy was a necessary search for the state's electoral claims, hence the investment in education to increase participation in the elections, however, the increase in voters was not in line with the existing demands between, on the one hand, the most urbanized regions with greater infrastructure perks and, on the other, the mobile frontier of coffee expansion, whose railroad was, without embargo, the only alternative of transport for the teacher appointed in places of difficult access, such as the walking schools defined by Law No. 88 of 1892 (SÃO PAULO, 1892).

The unqualified teacher was a constant presence in the São Paulo magisterium, in the analyzed period, since he was legally admitted to the legislation. What draws attention in the process of establishing a school report in São Paulo is the peremptory affirmation of a public tender for admission to the teaching profession or, which results in the same situation, the

equalization or complementation of the qualification of teachers who took their courses under the aegis of monarchical norms.

It is necessary to consider the *geographical space or hinterland*, or the São Paulo hinterland, explored by coffee plantations, and interconnected by railways, a process that accompanied not in a syncretic way, the expansion of the schooling of this State, but allows us, at an analytical level, to reflect on the persistence of the lay teacher in schools, with causes that are not, strictly speaking, only demands for vacancies or scarcity of teachers formed, but the result of multiple factors that extend through the duality of schools created (rural and urban), by the generalized reprovals, whose conception of evaded used by official statistics did not consider the aspects of the damming of students in the same period, generating the false idea of the demand for vacancies and the construction and opening of more schools<sup>7</sup>.

This is an important point in the aspects of state consolidation, organized at considerable levels of rationalization, which implies asserting about the role of statistics as a state science. The numbers, in addition to their naturalization, acquire the force of reality, since their measurement is collimated to practice, consubstantiating a pedagogical discourse, making exist, by the effect of the appointment, a set of categories that, once made official by the measurement, is incorporated into pedagogical narratives, as well as educational policies. | 8

There was a need for the republican regime, in its federalist aspect, to modernize society through the expansion of schooling, as we have already stated above, explaining what the autonomy of states meant: regional oligarchies began to dispute the monopoly of power through elections at the state and municipal level, whose hegemony achieved would revert to the control of the National Congress and the federal executive, especially with the rise of Campos Salles (1898-1902) to the presidency that, as an uncompromising defender of federalism, skillfully imposed the Governors Policy (also known as the *Café com Leite* policy, or “coffee with milk, in English), of which its most latent expression was the control of votes and elected officials, provoking a political clearance of any opposition, according to analyses by Ricci and Zulini (2013) and Viscardi (2016).

It was the only way to control all bureaucratic structures of power within the state and by extension, to draft laws that could serve allied groups, as well as to use as a co-opting currency the available public positions, among them, for example: leaders, inspectors, principals and teachers in the existing institutions.

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<sup>7</sup> In another paper, we discuss the relationship between statistics and repetition in primary schools.



In fact, the cultural crucible that engendered the clientelist practices is ancient, highlighting the pioneering study of Faoro (2001), having in this wake the studies of Schwartzman (1982a, 1982b) and Uricoechea (1978), although the latter is the case for the Imperial State. Close to this theoretical line, Carvalho (1991, 2003), author of consistent works on the Empire and the Republic, especially in his moments of transition, wrote works that bared some historiographical aspects that sought to attribute to the "Old Regime" the stigma of belated and slave, especially with statistical data, comparing the effective of voters during the Empire and, then, with the declaration of universal Republican suffrage.

The historiographical line, close to Max Weber's (2005) push-ups, contributes to thinking about the ambiguities of the republican regime, enshrined in a federative Constitution. The policy was organized by a ruling class, formed during the ratters of the monarchy, which reproduced, *pari passu*, the clientelist practices inherent to the oligarchies of the States, denoting a marginalized society, under the effects of economic backwardness, living with low investments in schooling, a situation distinct from São Paulo, which promoted in basic sanitation and expansion of schooling, despite serious illiteracy rates in the period under examination.

According to the aforementioned author, the percentage of voters was reduced during the Republic, when the Constitutional Charter did not contemplate the vote of the illiterate, prevented from voting since the approval, still in the Monarchy, of Decree No. 3,029, of January 9, 1881 (Saraiva Law), but aggravated by the distortions of Federalism during the Old Republic (1889-1930), since poorer states have not had the same success in building their education systems in order to meet the growing demand.

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**Table 1** - Participation of voters in presidential elections (1894-1930)

Winning candidate	Number of voters (thousand)	% of voters over the population	% of the winner's votes over total voters
Prudente de Morais (1894)	345	2,2	84,3
Campos Sales (1898)	462	2,7	90,9
Rodrigues Alves (1902)	645	3,4	91,7
Afonso Pena (1906)	294	1,4	97,9
Hermes da Fonseca (1910)	698	3,0	57,9
Venceslau Brás (1914)	580	2,4	91,6
Rodrigues Alves (1918)	390	1,5	99,1
Epitácio Pessoa (1919)	403	1,5	71,0

Artur Bernardes (1922)	833	2,9	56,0
Washington Luís (1926)	702	2,3	98,0
Júlio Prestes (1930)	1.890	5,6	57,7

Source: Adapted from Ramos (1961, p. 32). The voter data for 1910 were corrected according to: Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce (1914, p. 244-245 *apud* CARVALHO, 2003, p. 103)

Participation in presidential elections, as shown in Table 1, is indicative of social marginalization and lack of citizenship in most of society, noting that these rates are only for men, since women could not vote. The Republican Government did little to resolve the high rates of illiteracy, even in São Paulo, the richest state of the federation, schooling behaved the defaults of teacher training, imposing lay people to teach in schools with scarce material resources, a daily situation in many places of the state, especially in the regions of agricultural frontier, but also in urban spaces.

### The lay professor in the legislation of São Paulo of the First Republic

It is symptomatic that São Paulo's legislation did not explicit property practices ostensibly, which does not mean that they were absent during the study period. However, to better demonstrate the intent of this article, what is the idea of lay professor in the state of São Paulo we proceeded to the scan of 115 documents between Laws, Decree-laws and Decrees. Despite the subjects were not cohesive due to the multiplicity contained in them, the taxonomy obtained allowed us to observe the administrative rationing that, strictly speaking, attested to the concern with the schooling of the population, supervising the functioning of schools, either through the teaching inspectors, or also by blaming the municipalities and their ability in the application of the standardized principles.

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**Table 2** - Educational reforms in the state of São Paulo (1892-1929)

Document type	Description	Year
Law No. 88	Reform the public education of the State	1892
Law No. 95	Modifies laws No. 88 of September 8, 1892, and No. 169 of August 7, 1893, and their regulations	1894
Decree No. 383	Gives instructions for the implementation of Law No. 430 of August 1 this year	1896
Decree No. 518	Approves and has the regulation to be observed for the implementation of Law No. 520 of August 26, 1897	1898
Law No. 1,341	Reform of normal secondary schools	1912
Decree No. 2,225	It has to observe the Consolidation of laws, decrees and decisions on primary education and normal schools.	1912

Law No. 1,579	It lays down several provisions on the Public Education of the State	1917
Law No. 1,750	Reform of Public Education of the State	1920
Decree No. 3,205	Regulation for the implementation of Law No. 1,710 of December 27, 1919, which provides for the organization of	1920
Decree No. 3,356	Regulates Law No. 1,750 of December 8, 1920, which reform public instruction	1921
Law No. 2,095	Approves Decree No. 3,858 of June 11, 1925, issued by the Executive Branch, and which reformed the Public Instruction of the State	1925
Decree No. 4,101	It regulates Law No. 2,095 of December 24, 1925, which, approving, with modifications, Decree No. 3,858 of June 11, 1925, reform the Public Instruction of the State	1926
Law No. 2,393	It establishes several measures with respect to the Public Education of the State	1929
Decree No. 4,600	It regulates Laws No. 2,269 of December 31, 1927, and No. 2,315, of December 31, 1928, which reformed the Public Instruction of the State	1929

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the Laws and Decrees of the State of São Paulo between 1892-1929

The legislation on reforms, most notably the most comprehensive, is listed in Table 1 above. We found that the state's regulatory extension met the policy of schooling the population of São Paulo, covering the regions, from its coast to the pioneer areas of the agricultural frontier, where coffee and railway lines, in many cases, were vital for the flowering of cities. The São Paulo Division<sup>8</sup> was not held so much by geographical or administrative criteria, but by the form of demographic occupation and economic development with its corollary factor of urbanization.

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In fact, there was no standardization in the State Constitution of 1891, in relation to public education, however, in the Transitional Provisions of that charter, it was established that the organization of teaching, in the form of the Law, should be subsequently regulated, being an attribute of the legislative Congress (bicameral) and the state executive.

The first Education Law, promulgated in the Republican period in São Paulo (Law No. 88, 1892) organized public education, which was divided into primary, secondary education and higher education. The nomenclatures of primary schools were changed meanwhile from 1892 to 1930, following the criteria of jurisdiction due to the demographic mobility of agricultural expansion areas, the flowering of cities in the interior, the creation of agricultural colonies, as well as the use of immigrant labor in the crop of coffee on the rise.

<sup>8</sup> According to Love (1982), São Paulo presented 10 regions, named according to its historical occupation: 1- Zona da Capital, 2- Zona do Vale do Paraíba, 3- Zona Central, 4- Zona Mogiana, 5- Zona da Baixada Paulista, 6- Zona Araraquarense, 7- Zona da Alta Paulista, 8- Zona da Alta Sorocabana, 9- Zona da Baixa Sorocabana, 10- Zona Litoral Sul.

In 1912, by determination of the State Government<sup>9</sup>, a consolidation of laws, decrees and decisions concerning public instruction was published, in effect, an exquisite compilation of educational norms, covering primary and secondary education in the State.

However, this publication is possible to observe how detailed education was, reaching the bureaucratic aspects of public functionalism, stipulating the competencies of the state and municipal bodies, as well as the teaching career, the classification of schools, the hierarchy of teaching functions and the teaching programs to be followed. It is worth noting an important data about the approved standards, which also recommended the teaching programs, the subjects to be taught, how the class schedule and how the final evaluations of the students should take place.

Thus, primary schools were initially named in preliminary and complementary, but deployed according to their location at:

- Isolated schools, daytime and night;
- Isolated model schools;
- School and evening courses for adults;
- Schools gathered;
- Kindergarten;
- Schools' models attached to normal;
- School groups (SÃO PAULO, 1912a).

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In this sense, it was foreseen that teachers could only enter the teaching profession by approving public tenders, organized by committees duly recognized by the Secretariat of the Interior, the responsible staff for administering the functioning of public education.

Public primary education was defined as compulsory for students aged 7 to 12 years, but limited in such a way that, in practice, exempted the Government from increasing the number of schools and teachers, even with inflated demand due to disapproval and evasion.

The argument corroborates the provisions determined by the Laws of public instruction of the period, which began to dispense with the mandatory registration of children who lived two kilometers from the study site for boys and one kilometer in the case of girls. Likewise, the public authorities were not responsible for the schooling of children with physical and mental disabilities, completely excluded from any right.

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<sup>9</sup> Decree promulgated during the Government Manoel Joaquim de Albuquerque Lins, being Secretary of the Interior Altino Arantes.

The definition of the criteria for enrollment corresponded to the statistics received and processed by the Secretariat of the Interior through information provided by the teaching inspectors, reducing the way schools are organized, such as their creation or extinction, determined by demand, deprecating a concern about the rationalization of the system, but without efforts to combat abstinence from classes.

For the isolated schools, taxonomy comprised, in addition to those of the capital, the school units considered the headquarters of municipalities in the interior of the state, deployed based on the perimeter of fiscal jurisdiction, neighborhood schools and schools of peace district. For the latter, there was the designation of rural schools, structuring in law the conformation of a primary education "lightened".

In order to request the removal of a school in the capital or for a school of headquarters of a municipality in the interior of the State, the teacher should, in the first case, exercise the teaching for two years in a head school and, in the second case, provide one-year exercise in neighborhood or peace district schools in the localities of the interior (SÃO PAULO, 1912a).

Even with the interstice defined for the removal of teachers to the capital, there was no provision of positions for many schools isolated from the interior, most no longer in rural schools, a remedied fact through legislation that would dispense with the public power to hold competitions for the designation of these vacancies, having the prerogative to appoint teachers at any time of the school year (SÃO PAULO, 1912a).

The appointment, strictly speaking, fell to unqualified teachers, whose officialization for the exercise of the magisterium was attested by a committee composed for this purpose, whose members were chosen by the Director General of public instruction, with the participation of municipal authorities, as well as accredited municipal agents, as determined by Article 1, § 3, of Law 1.358 (SÃO PAULO, 1912b, our translation):

§ 3 - Deferring, the Director General of Public Instruction will have the candidate submitted to examination and the candidate must provide it in the municipality in which he has the teaching, before the state school inspector or designated school group director, who will invite to compose with him the examining committee two persons of notorious competence in the locality.

The teachers thus classified were the lay people who would exercise the magisterium with lower salaries, when compared with the effective teachers, living with the uncertainties of employment, the interference of the *coronéis* and the material precariousness of the place.

A substantial difference was established in the composition of the isolated schools, in their rural sense, starting with the duration of the course. While in the school groups, schools

gathered and those attached to normal schools the students received formal education for four years, with a curriculum and detailed and detailed for each year of the course, rural schools suffered from the reduction of the primary course in just two years, with a flexible and condensed curriculum, in addition to determining that the subjects were taught with less requirement, accordance with and stipulated the laws that regulated the performance of the lay teacher, such as Law No. 1,358/12, signed by Governor Rodrigues Alves:

Article 5 - For the course in charge of the temporary teachers, which cannot exceed 3 years, a simplified and accessible program, especially practical, will be organized within the general lines of the adopted programs, which will be strictly observed in the teaching classes (SAO PAULO, 1912b, our translation).

An important digression is in the educational reform of 1920, promoted by Sampaio Dória (1883-1964), which was alleged to extend literacy to all children, standardizing primary schools to the duration of two years of study. The intention, controversial in its essence, had the desiderate of guaranteeing access to schooling, an aspiration pursued by educators in Brazil throughout the twentieth century (ANTUNHA, 1976).

The reform obtained the approval of the Governor at the time, Washington Luís, with | 14 budget allocation that unfolded in two shifts the schools, reducing to two years the *primário* course, in order to literate all school-age children. The failure of this educational policy, according to statistical data from that period, led the following mandate to suppress this attempt, reverting to the previous situation.

Although during the Old Republic (1889-1930) many reformers proceeded to important reforms in many states, such as Lourenço Filho, Anísio Teixeira, Fernando de Azevedo, among others, the illiterate of illiteracy continued as a worrying social problem, denounced and fought by a growing social layer of assertive intellectuals about the role of a public school in Brazil.

But this struggle in defense of a school for all bumped into the political clientelism and economic interests of an agro-exporter country, treating as a sanitary solution the investments in education, promoting ambiguities in the type of school offered to the popular classes, having in the school isolated the expression of a school scare, according to the problems we have pointed out earlier.

A testimony produced by a teacher at the time is symptomatic of the problems for a normalist teacher to enter the magisterium, in isolated schools, as is the *case of a Teacher's Calvary*, a book published under the pseudonym Doralice, also known as Violeta Leme (1952),



which chronicles her career as a teacher, the difficulties with school principals and supervisors and the refusal to receive benefits from a politician to get a place in schools of the Capital.

Nevertheless, the condition of a lay teacher was also an ordeal. He was a chess piece on the political board, a pawn to be moved according to clientelist interests. As we can observe, in the following excerpt, chronologically, the term Lay was increasingly used in the educational norm itself, even stipulating the income of this professional. Not only because of the wage gap and job uncertainty, it is important to highlight the budget allocation for your hiring.

Article 196. - For places far from populated centers and without communication by rail, interim teachers may be appointed, qualified for examination, once there is the impossibility of provision, by standard teachers, of the existing schools. (Art. 42 of Decree 385 8 of June 11, 1925, approved by law 2095 of December 24, 1925).

§ Single. - Among the rural schools under the conditions of this article will only be fulfilled by interim teachers:

(a) those of first provision which, during the school year, are not required by graduate teachers;

b) those of former provision by effective teachers, who remain vacant for three consecutive years.

Article 197. - In the case of the article anterior, the call of lay candidates who want to undergo examination will be called by means of an edict. (SÃO PAULO, 1926).

Article 10. - In cases of eventual absences of adjuncts of school groups and teachers of gathered schools, the principal may entrust the regency of the class to occasional substitute, formed or lay, this in the absence of that, being the payment due by the replacement made by the local collector, regardless of special order, since the substitutions are in the monthly maps of the establishment, indicating the days on which they take place and the name of the teacher replaced. (SÃO PAULO, 1928, p. 2).

Article 109. - Rural schools shall be provided freely by the Government, at any time of the year, by standard teachers or the like and by lay people, who require them, in accordance with this regulation. [...]

Article 134. - Rural schools, isolated or reunited, which are kept vacancies for more than thirty days, without graduated teachers requiring them, may be provided on an interim degree by lay people, by means of a qualification examination (SÃO PAULO, 1929, our translation).

Not only by the precariousness of a hiring of a person not qualified to govern a classroom, many of a multiseriate character, but also the use of a nomenclature which made it clear that it was a provisional condition. It wasn't the replacement or the interim. It was the layman, an individual approved before a competition board organized under debatable conditions, since the appointments took place at any time of the school year, including an important exchange currency for the PRP's claims and control over the *coronéis*, or in a more objective way, the ambiguity of the impersonality of the State, since many governors of São

Paulo were, strictly speaking, belonging to families of farmers, as Love (1982) bet for the Rodrigues Alves family, in the Paraíba valley.

In any case, at the end of the day, the lay teacher remained working in isolated schools, especially in rural schools, but the most significant is naturalization, in fact a practice already rooted in the Brazilian experience of schooling.

### **Patrimonialism and education: the lay teacher**

The state of São Paulo, through its ruling elite, was aware of the political power it retains. The republican generation which he ruled the state, formed in the shadow of the academy of law influenced the direction of national politics until 1930.

The elite agreements, embodied in the Governors' Policy, were, in fact, the averse of federalism advocated by the Charter of 1891, since the oligarchic disputes orbited around the interests of the richest and potentially strongest states electorally speaking.

The ghost of federal intervention surrounded the States, in the shiver of the law, diametrically distinct situation of Rio Grande do Sul, whose leaders wrote their Constitution under the baton of Júlio de Castilhos, imposing a purely advisory legislature, causing bloody civil wars and leading the opponents of this State into exile, with the connivance of the National Congress. But, despite these political ambiguities, would coffee be the mains that guaranteed São Paulo's hegemony?

In part, the answer can be validated, but at the expense of international financial control caused by coffee valuation policies. And in this respect, there are two dimensions and a gordian knot to be placed here: the first is in the modernizing intensification of the State, such as the railways and the advantages. The second, in turn, is expressed in the duality of powers in which the municipalities were important parts in the hegemony of the Republican Party of São Paulo (PRP), having its *coronéis* (LEAL, 1986) a supervisory function, subordinated to the decisions of the capital, despite the political disseminations and tensions caused, while cooled by the Government.

It was about the ambiguity of politics when it came around the modernization of the state. The pressure between the impersonality of the public power, which implied neutralizing the Coronelismo and local Mandonismo, or in a more incisive way, patrimonialism, whose potential to transform private interests to the detriment of the public thing, raged in the shiver of the law, practiced in many areas of the State where there was an official state school, but

with a differential: the recruitment of lay teachers in rural schools passed through municipal control.

The Revolution of 1930, through its protagonists, put an end to the political domain characterized by the Governors' Policy, in addition to the "coffee with milk" domain of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, reordering the power of regional oligarchies who began, without embargo, to respond to a central power, whose paroxysm was embodied in the figure of Getúlio Vargas (1882-1954).

Vargas, of Castilhistas formation<sup>10</sup>, shaped Brazil, putting the State ahead of all economic decisions, defined the bases of public functioning, or, in a more appropriate language, the impersonality of power, whose paradox lies in the very figure of this politician who, during his life always tried to build an image to be worshiped. The most emblematic is one of his nicknames as the "father of the poor" or the figure of the figure of the so-called Brazilian populism.

The initial measures of this new Government were characterized by political purges of the old oligarchic disaffected, putting in their places, federals intervenors. In São Paulo, whose presidential candidate, Júlio Prestes, had been prevented by force of the Revolution, his first intervention is Lieutenant João Alberto Lins de Barros (1897-1955), even generating serious discontent from São Paulo's oligarchy.

Without entering into the merits of his government, very short, about a year and a half long, we highlight for the interests of this article the Decree signed by him that dispensed lay teachers from the isolated and rural schools of the state of São Paulo:

Whereas 1000 lay teachers are governing classes in schools where they are in single and isolated schools, not only rural but urban;  
Whereas the qualification procedures of the majority of interim teachers, lay, did not comply with the letter expressed in lei n. 2.269 of 31 December 1927 and their Rules of Procedure which, by virtue of such defects, did not properly found out the professional competence of those officials;  
Whereas the choice of almost all of these teachers complied exclusively with extra regimental rules set by the Board of Directors of the São Paulo Republican Party, as evidenced by the respective nomination processes;  
Considering that, in the process of locating many schools, sometimes governed by lay people, the criterion of personal interest of the majority of candidates prevailed and not that of the public service, with classes with the

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<sup>10</sup> The Castilhistismo dates back to the politician Júlio de Castilhos (1860-1903), republican leader with strong performance as deputy of the federal constituent and formulator of the Constitution (of positivist inspiration) of Rio Grande do Sul, in addition to governor of this State. Its form of political action led this region to the Federalist Revolution and other violent skirmishes, opposing *castilhistas* and liberals until 1923, when an agreement ended political disputes. Getúlio Vargas was heir to this political tradition that some scholars recognize as a *castilhista* current. For a deeper reflection given see Fonseca (2012).

average attendance of four students. Considering that a new location of these schools is necessary, so that they can fulfill their legal purposes (SÃO PAULO, 1930, our translation).

The measures contained in this Decree, more than revealing the changes that were to come, bare the Node of the problem of the lay teacher in São Paulo, and by extension, in Brazil, since the new "owners of power" did not overcome the ills of teaching and many schools continued to accommodate the teacher not qualified. São Paulo was already the richest state of the Federation and, even so, in its schools there was the presence of the layman, a second-rate professional for the public coffers, nevertheless, the only possibility of learning for many children.

The lay professor, therefore, is not a residue of a colonial past, of the ineptitude of an Imperial Government slaver or republican demagoguery, but the result of a historical process of nation-state construction, whose priority of unity was given by the middle of its ruling classes, eliding important sectors of society. The nationality built by the elites faced a paradox. How to enter the civilized world with a miscegenetic population. The romanticism of José de Alencar tried to invent the Indian idealized as a founding myth of a Brazilianness, but the impasse remained. The arrival of the immigrants was an attempt to bleach and the theses of an invention of Brazil denied, throughout the Old Republic, the presence of the negro. Only in the 1930s, especially with the publication of *Casa Grande and Senzala*, by Gilberto Freire, did the idea of miscegenation acquire positive contours or, as Ortiz (2012) states, the half-breed received an identity. Before it was the indolent and the lazy, then asserted it as part of an ideology of work.

Hence the concern of the leaders of São Paulo. To make the school the place of caboclo hygiene, order and productivity. If normalist or lay teacher, this was a minor problem, since the course eased and the program shortened to the isolated rural schools were enough to teach the basics: to empower the voter subjugated to the interests of the countryside leaders of São Paulo and serve the PRP's designs. This issue did not end with the End of the Old Republic, but demonstrated a structural problem until the raters of the twentieth century.

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