



The presidency of province and public instruction as a factors for expansion of the public space in the brazilian Empire¹.

A presidência de província e a instrução pública como fatores de ampliação do espaço público no Império brasileiro

La presidencia de provincia y la instrucción pública como factores de ampliación del espacio público en el Imperio brasileño

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to present a discussion about the behavior of provincial presidents, integrants of of the national political elite that after Independence, became one of the responsible groups that keep the unit and guarantee the political stability of the imperial State. Unlike the former Spanish colonies, which resulted in several republican states, the monarchy was adopted in Brazil with a stable civil government which centralized all the decisions in the Emperor's hands, including the appointment to the post of provincial president. The focus is on the work of Herculano Ferreira Penna (1811-1867), politician who administered more provinces in the imperial state in the attention he conferred on public education in the provinces where he passed . We understand that, besides the weapons na politics, the population schooling was a fundamental strategy in the construction of the states and also contributed to the expansion of public space in Brazil.

Keywords: Presidency of the province; public instruction; public place.

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Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é apresentar uma discussão acerca da atuação dos presidentes de província, integrantes da elite política nacional que, após a Independência, se tornou um dos grupos responsáveis pela manutenção da unidade e garantia da estabilidade política do Estado imperial. Diferentemente das ex-colônias espanholas, que deram origem a vários estados republicanos, no Brasil adotou-se o regime monárquico, com governo civil estável, que centralizou todas as decisões nas mãos do Imperador, inclusive a nomeação para o cargo de presidente de províncias. O foco é na atuação de Herculano Ferreira Penna (1811-1867), político que administrou mais províncias no Estado imperial e no tratamento que ele conferiu à instrução pública nas províncias por onde passou. Entendemos que, além das armas e da política, a escolarização da população foi uma estratégia fundamental na construção dos Estados e que, também, contribuiu para a ampliação do espaço público, no Brasil.

Palavras-chave: Presidência da Província, Instrução Pública, Espaço Público.

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es presentar una discusión acerca de la actuación de los presidentes de provincia, integrantes de la elite política nacional que, tras la Independencia, se ha convertido en uno de los grupos responsables del mantenimiento de la unidad y garantía de la estabilidad política del Estado imperial. A diferencia de las ex colonias españolas, que dieron origen a varios estados republicanos, en Brasil se adoptó el régimen monárquico, con gobierno civil estable, que centralizó todas las decisiones en manos del Emperador, incluso el nombramiento para el cargo de presidente de provincias. El foco es en la actuación de Herculano Ferreira Penna (1811-1867), político que administró más provincias en el Estado imperial y en el trato que él confería a la instrucción pública en las provincias por donde pasó. Entendemos que, además de las armas y la política, la escolarización de la población fue una estrategia fundamental en la construcción de los Estados y que también contribuyó a la ampliación del espacio público, en Brasil.

Palabras clave: Presidencia de la Provincia; Instrucción Pública; Espacio Público.

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Introduction

This article approaches the theme of the public instruction in Brazilian empire in the sphere of the provincial administration. In the interface between the political history and the educational history investigates the established relations between the dynamics of the Imperial State organization and the administrative actions aimed at institutionalisation of the schooling processes of Brazilian population in order to discuss some ideas related to the enhance of the public space.

There have been some decades that some historians of the Brazilian education have been dedicated to the studies of school and educational experiences developed both by the governments and by different individual persons or by civil associations which inspired, mainly, by enlightened ideas acted in order to promote the spiritual progress of the Brazilian population. That investment emphasizes the movement of discussion, rereading, discovering or reinterpretation of different developed initiatives which were developed during that period, inspired by the new approaches and methodological and theoretical intakes of historical investigation and it has been allowed to find out an intensity on debates propositions and actions aimed to imperial society schooling until then concealed a large widespread literature on the educational area. By schooling, we take in consideration Veiga (2002, p.99), the

[...] net which establishes itself face to heterogeneous elements which involve the speeches, the school space, the ideas, the subjects, the school supplies, the administrative procedures etc; the nature of the relations among these elements is in the sphere of the power's relations and it is strategic, confirming them as the product of knowledge,

Thus, we understand the universalisation of elementary instruction, engendered by schooling, not only as an inherent part of the monopolized attributions by the State, as also fundamental element of your own construction, inserted on the main processes of political imperial decisions. As responsibility and Imperial State attribution has its first incursions in Brazilian society from 1827, when the first national law of elementary instruction determined to the provincial president that decisions must have been taken in order to disseminate the letters through the creation of elementary school in the cities and most populous places on the Empire.

This movement integrates the process of knowledge monopolization which happened along the XIX century, as part of the constitution of the Nation-States and as a fundamental condition of the civilization process which it would be the "social relational homogenization" through the schooling of poor population (Veiga, 2002, p.100). Therefore, diffusion of the school and the social formal civilized transmissions of behavior, the control of attitudes, habits, gestures and emotions, allowed the production of new sociality and social distinct. On this context, we understand that "the school structures itself as social practice based on the schooling mechanism; and its producer and reproducer of social forms, of socialization, expressed on spread of the writing culture, scientific knowledge, and on the production of talents and individualization" (Veiga, 2002, p.100). The school, as it is understood, is here with a role of constructing the State as a factor of social/national cohesion inserted on the process of production of new social configurations which came from this process. (Veiga, 2003, p.35).

When we take a look at XIX century, we make it convicted that on the Eight Hundred there are the main bases of construction of almost all the foundations- on its conceptual aspects, on the political, cultural, scientific or religious area- from Brazilian school and education which established on the century after, and we still have to know about the educational experiences and political processes related to the public elementary instruction on the Brazilian empire.

We are considering that the Province and its presidency, carried out by a privileged elite and prepared to assume the role of preventing the fragmentation of the huge Brazilian territory, it was established by the State as a powerful interlocutory agent with the civil society redefining the spheres of political participation, in the XIX century.

On the other end, we take the political instruction as an instituted space and also, as a public agent which prepares the civil society contributing for its entry and for the expansion of public space, creating or recreating new spaces of socialities and new spheres of political participation in this territory.

So what we intend to discuss on this article are the ways of understanding and contribution for the expansion of the public space in Brazil of the XIX century, taking as a reference the two institutionalized spaces: the provincial presidency and the public instruction. The first, as a promoter of this expansion or narrowing of the public space; the second as an instrument of the first to convince and organize the ethical-moral procedures to participate in this public space.

We structured this study in seven small sections in order to have a better comprehension of the purpose. From the first to the third part, shortly we expose the distinctive processes their presidents contribute to administrative centralization of Brazil demonstrating how the creation

of provinces and the role developed by their presidents contribute substantially for the consolidation of the imperial unit pointing some support of education to build modern States. From the fourth part on, we dedicated ourselves focusing on the public instruction and on the professor Herculano Ferreira Pena presenting our understanding about how the president of the province and the public instruction will help with the expansion and consolidation of a new way to understand and act on a public space.

For that we tried to identify the comprehension of three categories on journals and literature at that time: the province, the education, the public instruction and the public space.

Administrative centralization and politics in Brazil

Differently from the fragmentation of ex-spanish colonies in America which occurred with the process of political emancipation during the century XIX, the Independence of ex-portuguese colony in 1822, resulted in the administrative centralization and politics in Brazil. While in the beginning of XIX century, "the Spanish colony divided administratively in four vice-kingdoms, four general captaincies and thirteen hearings which in the middle of the century had already become seventeen independent countries" (CARVALHO, 2008, p.13), in portuguese colony, the situation was extremely different because from the eighteen general captaincies in 1820 (excluding Cisplatina) five years later, in 1825, the ex-colony had become in just one independent country under the constitution (CARVALHO, 2008, p. 13).

Another distinction is found on the kind of political system which is implemented in the countries, because while most part of them come from ex-Spanish colonies "it happened a long anarchic period and many of them could only organize the legitimate power based due to the leadership with a caudillesco style, in Brazil besides the political instability and of revolts on the first decades of XIX, there was not one irregular changing and violent of government "and a government of civil supremacy was implemented. (CARVALHO, 2008, p.13). Certainly, Brazil has not been to the fight, but it was not a calm process because:

There were divergences, and some were important, but in general referred to distinct concepts about what the organization model of the Liberal State should be adopted in Brazil. The conservatives were divided in favor to the french centralization, from liberal enthusiastic with english and american model, but without taking the risk to a republican move. (CARVALHO, 2008, p. 138)

According to CARVALHO(2008) there are many explanations for the distinction between the Independence processes which have administrative, political or social origin, but the main thesis of his argumentation about this issue is that the decision of "making the Independence with the representative monarchy, of keeping the ex-colony United, of avoiding the militar predominance, of centralizing the public incomes was a political option among some possibilities at that time."(p.19) That option was considered by one political elite characterized certainly for one social homogeneity but also for one ideological homogeneity and political training"responsible for settling the intra-elite conflicts and offerthe necessary elements to the implementation of the model of political domain"(p.21). The socialization promoted by the education, occupation and political carrer, factors analised by them was what characterized the elite as homogeneous.

Among the elite groups responsible in national level by the internal political stability and the United of Empire, Ministers, Senators, General Deputies, we are calling the attention to the presidents of provinces whose training on carrer, according to Carvalho(2008), consisted in one of the personal worryings of the Emperor. That elite showed up by the good salaries and by the opportunity they had to speed up the carrer electing themselves to the Senate. The training for whom aimed one importante province passed many times by the administration with the least value.

On that training process, during 65 years on the imperial period, 919 politicians occupied the presidency, with na average of 48 per province and with a maximum number in Alagoas which counted with sixty and the minimum on Amazon province with 28. About the settling time, the average was seventeen months of administration in each province. (CORRÊA, 2003). But the situation could also be more complex because the same presidente could govern more the one province.On this was, the total of 919 presidents, "124 of them ruled more than two provinces; 46 ruled three;28 headed 4 provinces; only one ruled five provinces and two ruled respectively, seven and eight provinces, successivelyduring the Empire (CORRÊA, 2003,P.7-8).With a big rotation or geographic circulation, a few presidentes ruled only one province but only one had the Emperor trust and was named to rule eight times.

The presidency of province and the consolidation of imperial power

The political reconfiguration process of the country, after Independence, was the theme of hard debates during the General Assembly Constituent and Legislative of Brazil, summoned

to make and approve the first Constitutional Letter in the beginning of 1823. Slemian (2007) points that the polemics started

When the extinction of Provisory Committee entered in the agenda (institution of Lisboa Court in 1821 in substitution to the authorities of the old general captains whose election was something new, as the creation of presidential occupation and the several deputies that voted against (p.43)

Since the creation of the presidential post, in 1823, the tension about the absence of specific definition and its attributions were constant which became evident that the unbalance among the powers, such as in the interior of province as those to the government which intended to be central and it was the main point of discordance among several positions.”(SLEMIAN, 2007,P.21). With the indication of the Council of Ministers and named by the emperor, the presidency of the province was the Central power direct representative and it meant the consolidation of a political institutional structure built on the constitutional models which were essential to guarantee the unit and political stability on the Imperial Nation (SLEMIAN 2006,2007,2007^a; CARVALHO,2008)

The Constitution which was granted in 1824 supported most part of the measures of the 1813 Regency creating Chambers of Districts and General Council of the Province implementing in the imperial capital. According to that regency, the Advisories were abolished and provincial governments were in charge to President and Council. The president was the “executor and administrator” named by the Emperor and removable if necessary” (BRASIL,1823).

The autonomy in provinces and the attributed definitions of authorities had attention after the Emperor’s abdication which occurred in 1831 and during the discussion of Constitutional reform in 1834 bringing to debate the possibility of a new political arrangement to the provinces in which the administration was centered on president image, despite the Councils. Although several polemics it remained the choice of president as a prerogative by Nation’s chief with the power of sanction the laws the same way it was practiced on National Assembly by Emperor.

Despite all the adverses the Chamber's effort to strenght the local powers reducing the sphere and the power of presidents' actions, the Regiment was approved. In comparison to the law in 1823 a normative transmission contrary to what the Chamber looked for is noticed related to the control of presidents' actions through the expansion of the powers of local Councils. The arragement on this molds was combated by Senate which saw the victorious ideas on Constitutional Letter reform in 1834.

The Constitutional reform which created a normative institutional modern structure consolidated the power and autonomy of province's presidence when the competences were defined such as: execute and make execute the Laws, require from the employess necessary information for that task ; inspect all the sectors,use the power to guarantte safety and tranquility in the Province; provide public jobs,to hand over , release licence and suspend employees in case of abuse, omission, or mistakes made; decide conflicts in jurisdiction;intermediate the requirements or representations sent to the Central Government. The format acquired by the province's presidence after the reform was kept during the Empire and the tensions between the legislative and executive remained in the provinces. Inserted in the political disputes between liberals and conservatives, the province's presidence occupied one extreme importante place such as to the Central Government according to CARVALHO (2008) which will use the ones who were chosen as key piece on the maintainance process of the Imperial unit as to the factions in provincial power's dispute.

The strategy of real nomination and the high geografic circulation in jobs"(CARVALHO,2008,P.121) were precisely the way to guarantee the fidelity of whom was chosen to the Central Power, Characteristic inherited from the "old portuguese practice to make circulate their administrators through many positions and regions",to offer political training and "avoid that the employees could identify with the colonies' interests and develop subversive ideas", in Brazil, besides the geografic circulation , that elite was also on the three Powers: Executive, Legislative and Judiciary (CARVALHO, 2008, p.121).

This situation reverberated negatively on public opinion which referred to it as a "counter-dance" finding on the press a space for critics and denounce as the columnist from Diário de Minas, from Ouro Preto, which expressed as followed:

The versatility seems to be the distinctive characteristics quality from our índole. And that national defect deplorably appears on the administration and threatens to influence on political direction in the country . There has been a long time that the provinces ' presidentes have changed. One administrator arrives with good intention and ability

but before he can know the needs, the resources and the people from provinces, he moves to another where he restarts the same studies, the same work which will never have effect. And if he has time to start any useful reform, instantly demanded by public service's necessities he will never conclude it. That presidente starts that administration phase in the south and will finish in the north of the Empire. (13/06/1866)

That specific way of governing which was called "defect of character" of Brazilian population produced an "itinerant elite" which shared the power among themselves and many times have not made anything to the province. That political occupation in jobs has resulted in a failed administration and has indicated the real interests aiming most part of the time political careers and with the eyes on the Court (MATTOS, 1999, p.240). However, Carvalho clarifies that the strategy of naming a lot of politicians for the province's presidency taking them to a high circulation has had the objective of "permitting them to acquire experience" on political area. (2008, p.121) Strategy was very criticized as the abolitionist deputy, Joaquim Nabuco, in a speech in 1885:

[...] dismissible delegates from current ministries, the presidents are constrained administrators- transitory, political creatures of one improvised day by ministers which do not have any idea of nor the topographic conditions nor the economical conditions in Provinces where they dispatch (Apud MATTOS, 1999, p.241).

According to Carvalho, those politicians' training was among one of the main Emperor's preoccupations who "always insisted in career's professionalization" (p.123). Professionalization in which the highest representative is a mineiro politician integrant of national political elite whose career has begun teaching in the province's capital, Ouro Preto, and has gained projection when he was nominated to administrate eight provinces and followed all his political career path: Herculano Ferreira Pena (1811-1867). It is important to point the importance of the schooling in the project of independent states' constructions.

The Education in the process of modern States' construction

Although the independence's processes of Spanish and Portuguese colonies from America had been radically distinct the political options of administrative organization of new states also had followed very different directions, we can say that one convergent point among the processes is the place where the education occupied on debates and the actions related to the construction of modern born states.

In countries which have had the rigin the ex-spanish coloy, Meneses (2010) emphasizes that the education was “una de las problemáticas sociales que ocupó atención de los primeros gobiernos republicanos de la época” in order to be recognized as one of the elemento that would enable the population the access of political liberties or to the citizenship. The education recognized as priority at the moment woul promote “el proceso de emancipación” of population with the insertion of ideas, imaginários sociales, así como los nuevos valores propios del hombre y la sociedade moderna”, necessary virtues to exercise the citizenship (p.334).

For this cultural homogenization’s process to happen it was necessary to develop a new teaching and literacy system, other ways and educational spaces and also the new ideas and pedagogical practices, mauals, curriculums na others. In practice it meant

[...] enfrentar um ambiente em el cual los valores de tipo tradicional permanecían fuertemente arraigados, lo que larga hizo más difícil el proceso de difundir el nuevo sistema global republicano desde los espacios educativos, así como a través de la prensa, tertúlias y otras formas de sociabilidade moderna. (MENESES, 2010, p.334).

The challenge of spreading the light to a high number of people has taken the republican governments to mobilize a number of educationalexperiences and ways of sociabilities besides taking in consideration the press role.

In brazilian imperial State, the first preoccupations with the national education were at hand of Legislative and Constituent Assembly which was installed after Indepence proclamation in 1822. On this political process of new State organization, the public instruction has become free for all the citizens, a very restrict condition in a country with a slavery working.

On a convergente point the educational of projects populations in new States was the adoption of a mutuuous method of teaching or lancasteriano stablished in Brazil, in National Law in 1827. Bastos, comments about that:

About the process of independency of the Spain and Portugal colonies, the fundamental education situation was one of the problems to be solve on the newcomers republics. The Bell and Lancaster method was adopted in many countries: Cuba, Porto Rico, Guatemala. Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Paraguay. In 1818, Joseph Lancaster, invited by Simon Bolivar, realized a trip to South America where he made known his method and established schools. Afterwards, also realized trips to the United States of America and Canada (BASTOS, 2012, p. 75).

Meanwhile, according to Bastos (2012, p.75) the “officialization of the method to the schools on the newcomers republics implied on also deciding the type of republican individual to produce”, what also implied on the production and homogenization of procedures and practices. Veiga (2007) comment that what was objected was the difusion of a method of civilized conduct, a goal aimed by many ocidental nations. About this matter, he highlights:

Civilization, civilized society, civilize the population were constant expressions presented in an unanimous form on intellectual political speeches. The idea of instituting moral and habits standards or even being necessary to become all the society civilized, irradiated to all the West.(VEIGA, 2007,p.1)

The horizon to be reached by brazilian elites was far, as Lages has showed (2015), when he analysed the presidential speeches from Minas gerais province along the imperial time. The author identified which foreign countries with educational experiences that could be used as a parameter in proposals for the public teaching in that province and also to all the Empire. Among the nations, the hegemony was from France until the first half of XIX century:

From that period however with french experiences things which were made by other countries will be mobilized mainly showing up the United States by prodigies in educational domain. Among european countries, besides France the advanced ones are England, Germany and the Netherlands as the ones that present favorable conditions to the success in instruction diffusion: preventive legislation, population índole, ways of communication and transport, condensed population, different ways of subsidies for the instruction etc, Germany and the Netherlands are considered as classical countries on public instruction. Germany or Prussia as a precursor country on teaching's obligation-since 1763 (LAGES, 2015, p.133).

Brazil has sought to reach an european and american standard's civilization, although as Veiga emphasizes(2002,p.101), differently from european nations, brazilian civilization was a Project to be reached yet and the "focus on schooling" was not made searching to complete a civilization process but to stablish the civilities and, mainly, to legitimate and give visibility to a new power configuration in construction. That new configuration demanded a group of social, cultural and political transformations which happened on imperial burocracy producing public jobs and a net of employees as the transformation of masters in

In the sphere of public power, the responsibility for the instruction diffusion, in provincial administration has been the maximum of Executive provincial authority the presidentes, those, for LAGES (2015), they have acted as cultural mediators who have filtered the foreign referentials to the light of educational necessities diagnosed in the interior of each province. That way they have taken foreign nations as model, example or influence. And the practices which were used as examples should be copied, imitated or followed"(p.127).

The example of those nations has become "strategical institutor which aimed the mineiro province's installation and for extension brazilian nation, in locus of civilized nations in which it would reach by the public instruction exercise; on direct reason in which the civilization would be promoted in the country (LAGES, 2015, p.138)

The Public Instruction in provincial administration of Herculano Ferreira Pena

Minas Gerais province calls the attention due to the important elite's itinerary responsible for the order maintenance and the unit of Empire, for its political weight, its central location and Court approach, factors which have influenced on career and aspiration of many candidates for power. Thus, it was important on the route on geographic circulation in which the political elite was submitted on its training process. There have been in 65 years, 59 presidents and 63 vice-presidents with some who have become effective, summing up 117 presidences. It means as average of less than six months in exercise for each one, demonstrating its political eminent character.

As we saw, the presidency was usually occupied by a politician from other provinces in order to avoid one great identification with local interests. However, most part of the time, the condition of outsider and the short time of action, has precluded to the president an administrative planning construction with a broad reach. Besides, Miriam Dolnikoff has affirmed "the lack of any linkings with the presided province was to abandon it to the care of vice-president" which has kept to assume great importance on provincial political game. On that situation, the great political weight on business conduction would go to the vices which were elected. Among provincial deputies and were born in the province and have known their needs more closely.

Inside the group of politicians who administered the province, the mineiro professor Herculano Ferreira Pena, who acted in Minas only twice has got more attention. At first, as vice-presidente, named for imperial letter on December 3rd in 1841, has started in April 18th in 1842 and there he has remained by May 8th on the same year and has become to presidency from February 2nd, 1856 to November 12th in 1857.

Herculano was born on Grota Grande Farm a district of Felício dos Santos, Minas Gerais, on January 14th in 1811. According to columnist from carioca's newspaper Sentinela da Monarquia, he has arrived in Ouro Preto "very thin to look for wealth in 1830 (...) and the liberal union has taken him and has employed him to teach the boys and to be the manager of journals". About his social origin he has continued "we have denied that he was demanded and

has come with one hand in front and another in the back-(...) because all Ouro Preto is a witness that he was already a nobleman dressing a big coat, White boots and a big hat when he was supposed to come". For the newspaper, Herculano was Always flexible, pleaing everybody and making friends, not getting involved with the heated politics from liberal mineiros and not even giving attention to the conservative ones. In Machado de Assis memory, on his Diário do Rio de Janeiro opening chronicle in November 1st in 1861, presented a bitter criticismo to Senator Pena, involved on suspicious business with a certain "fomento minister"and also to the ways that the provincial presidentes were selected.

When he was nineteen, right after arriving at the city, on March 13th in 1830, he initiated initiated his activities on Model School in the Capital, as the third professor to assume the position since the School Foundation in 1826. He had na excelente performance on mutuuous practice's method, adopted in all independente states in Latin America. AS in Brazil that learning method has happened on own master's way, it makes us think in the interest and personal investment made by Herculano aiming to obtain his first job as a public employee because the required formation was not paid by the government. Along his performance, he has demonstrated a great domain and interest on disciplinary practice's compliance, making na effort to get with Province's Council the necessary materials to the award and punishment, without them it was not possible to practice the lancasteriano method not even to teach all the pointed disciplines on October 15th Law or to keep the good order in classes". (INÁCIO, 2003, p.179).

Herculano has left teaching two years after he had assumed the Model School on February 24th in 1832, starting his long carrer in political training. As families'farewell which had trusted him their kids he published on "O Universal"newspaper a note about his dismissal as a teacher because of his nomination as a secretary official of Province's General Council on 27th february in 1832. According to the maps of frequency in his school, Herculano had along two years of teaching 255 students (INÁCIO, 2003, p. 180)

As many scholars of his time, Herculano has also dedicated since when he was Young to the journalism, writing for newspapers,leaflet for Ouro Preto's elite as O Novo Argos from 1829 to 1834, newspaper which used to support the decisions and actions of Province's General Council in Minas Gerais.During Ouro Preto's sedition in 1833, he satyed on liberal conservative side of the presidente Manuel Ignácio de Mello e Souza who was nominated to be the General Province Council's secretary.One more step on his political career . His interest for the educational development happened in 1839 when as a member of General Council he proposed the creation of "Companhia Auxiliadora" on public instruction as a model to be followed by the other provinces"one educational and instructional school for boys which can be na example tonal the other provinces that try similar companies"(O Despertador Comercial e Político, April, 25th in 1839).

He has initiated his political life substituting the mineiro depute Bernardo Pereira Vasconcelos, on Depute's Chamber (1839-1841) and when he was 31, in 1842, he gave his first step toward the national elite group, assuming Minas vice-presidence on a mandate that lasted one month. AS it was a president's obligation, he presented a report on the Provincial Legislative Chamber's opening on May 3rd in 1842, fifteen days after a possible rebel's invasion in Ouro Preto made by the liberal rebels from Teófilo Otoni, during the Liberal Revolution in 1842. He has complied burocratically his duties and has supported the three previous president's reports. On Depute's Chamber he has continued representing the mineira province as an elected depute on the following legislations 1843-1844; 1845-1847; 1850-1852 and 1853-1856. In 1848-1849 he was elected a genral depute in Pará.

Since then, as a very trustful Emperor's man has intensified his political training, and has assumed majorpart of imperial province's administration starting as vice in Minas Gerais (1842) and presidente on the others : Espírito Santo(1845-1846), Pará(1846-1847 and 1847-1848), Pernambuco (1848), Maranhão(1849, Amazonas (1853-1855) where he was Senator Emperor, he has come back to , Minas Gerais (1856-1857), Bahia (1859-1860) and Mato Grosso (1862-1863).

About this trajetory when Carvalho considers when he affirms that "in a country so geographically diversified and so little integrated where the regionalistpressues are felt with frequency, the leadreship's high circulation had a powerful unifying". (CARVALHO, 2008, p.124) One of effects was certainly notto allow the deciaions to be removed for any local or political reasons and Herculano has made a good job as Justiniano José da Rocha comments"the most brilliant conservative journalist" (CARVALHO, 2008, p. 254) as followed:

[...] man with previous political experience and not so well seen by all the Parties- because has been against everything and everybody and he was embraced by the ministry and highed up to the most honoured positions due to his calm behavior and good character[...] (CORREIO MERCANTIL, 1850,P.3 GRIFO NO ORIGINAL).

Apparently, Herculano could play the political game very well and he seemed to be proud of his achievements as we can observe on the columnist's words on this newspaper, Correio Mercantil in Rio de Janeiro, his oponente:

Mr. Herculano Ferreira Penna has declared he was invited by Monte Alegre Viscount to be Pernambuco's presidentand he refused with the insistance e had to accept in São Cristóvão what he had refused in Flamengo. It was registered The Emperor's words saying: if men like you refuse who will be able to accept? (CORREIO MERCANTIL, 1848,p.2.grifo no original)

His nomination for Pernambuco province's presidente in 1848 in the beginning of Praieira Revolution was a trustful demonstration by Party and Emperor. After many dismissals and nominations in Pernambuco even communicating the Emperor the province's tranquility, Herculano's strong hands have fallen over the oponentes of Liberal Party and have excited the revolucionists. In two months he could not combat the Revolt which " meant the end of the acceptance process of parlamentar monarchy by rural elites " and the basic system's legitimacy" (CARVALHO,208, p.256)

In 1852, after completing the minimum required age, 41, the Emperor nominated him as a Senator in Amazonas province. AS a Counselor and Senator he became a effective partner at Auxiliadora Society of National Industry (SAIN). He was a correspondente partner of Historical and Geographic Brazilian Institute (IHGB) and member of Board of Directors in Banco do Brasil.He received orders and requests, he was son of Imperial and ordem da Rosa dignatary . He died in 1867,in Rio de Janeiro with 56 years old by VCA.

Public instruction as Herculano attention

Wherever he has passed he worried about Public Instruction, proposing regulation, changings and Always searching on Provincial Legislative Assemblies to increase the donations to invest on of poor children's education .He has thought that education was the main path for civilizing the children as a way to build a honest life and preparing for public service. He has criticized classes in rented houses, teachers' homes because it reduced the teachers 'money that should pay for teh reantals and those places were not prepared for teaching. His criticismo was pertinente , we observed that he has defende the educational institution with a proper building Always proping to the Assembly its construction. Herculano was a typical province's president who has learned to make politics at General Province's Council in Minas Gerais and even not being a member of the elite he has become na importante personality at Conservative Party taking poweer from Party to the farthest Provinces, behaving as a real Emperor's delegate".

In Espírito Santo Province (12/1845 to 05/, 1846) and in Pará Province pacified in the beginning of the decade for a long time, even counting a three-month space (11/1846 to 03/1848), pointed the educational problems with an excuse of a bad situation on Provincial Treasure. In a melancolical voice he has pointed the bad situation for teaching even in the Capital, no tables, and other essential objects for learning practice. (PARÁ, 1857, p.9). The teachers'situation was worse so he has asked the deputes 'effort at Provincial Assembly for not to cut 50% of initial part "because it would agree the amount of 2.000\$000reis not only for classe's materials but for buying some other needs for poor children and also for rental houses".

His mandate as a president at Pernambuco Province in 1848, has not permitted him to have enough time to handle with the educational issues. In Maranhão, where he has been for ten months he has presented a report on October 14th in 1849, supporting the local inspector's report and also emphasizing the bad condition of public instruction because "the inspector has recognized that (...) no improvements have had and its state is regrettable as on previous years" (MARANHÃO, 1849, p.33). He has pointed the same problems in Grão Pará Province. He emphasizes the need to buy houses and materials for educating and the teachers' demotivation due to low salaries indicating as an improvement for Maranhão the need of increasing the teachers' salaries, the parents' obligation in taking their children to school, Public Library reform with Natural History Bureau (idem, p.32-37).

He presides Amazonas Province between April of 1853 and March of 1855 where he became Emperor's Senator. It was a new province: everything was missing: Public instruction's regulation, Money, materials and teachers. The poverty was enormous. All the legislation was supposed to be made yet. One of the proposals was of creating a musical class and singing as a way to "[...] attract to Religion and Society all the wild people [...]" (idem, p.41), besides a General Language to make the communication easier.

As a Senator and Emperor's Counselor he has come back to Minas Gerais as 28th. Province's president during one year and five months. In 1856, he supported the predecessor's report. On the April 1857's report, Herculano presented to the Provincial Assembly the decisions he intended to take on creating a new regulation for the public institution in which two months after, in June of 1857 it was reported to the Assembly as Regulation 41 of Public Instruction, enacted on May 16th of 1857. In his Bahia province's presidency, in 1858-1860 he was graced with the Emperor Pedro II's visit, following him with all honoring to visit the first letters' schools.

On that province, he demonstrates his preoccupation with indistinction among the spaces, being private and used as a public classroom. About it he has warned that "the experience has showed that the school existence at teachers' home is not good for the teaching process and it can affect the student's education" (BAHIA, 1860, p.54). For Herculano there has been on that situation a pedagogical and financial inconvenient which could be fixed with a profound reform that settled

The teachers' preparation, public teachers to be forbidden teaching privately, the construction of educational buildings and the obligatory teaching are important aspects on the public instruction's reform.

In Mato Grosso province he has been for fifteen months, between february of 1862 and may of 1863. On these two reports, the president has warned about lack of budgets always under the provinces' need, the difficult of transportation to bring the furniture and materials for poor children, the lack of good buildings for schools and the teachers inability. For solving that last problem, he has suggested the stablishment of a Normal School (MATO GROSSO, 1864^a). Another point was the books distribution for poor students and the fact that the teachers had to spend their salaries to buy the materials which made the inequality to increase.

[...] Missing to the most needed people, and that is why we propose the increase the amount of Money for expenses in which it will be possible to generalize and spend with materials related to Aritimética, Grammar and the othert most difficult acquisitions. (idem,p.28)

Along his carrer as a provinces' president, Herculano Ferreira Penna was always aware to the problems related to the public instruction. WE do not want to say that he did not handle with the other things which can be checked on his speeches at Legislative Assemblies. Probably as he has started his carrer in teaching , Herculano had built a greater sensibility with teaching issues , and it had made him more conscious about the importance of population's instruction for the consolidation of Construction Project of brazilian state and at that way including the fundamental aspects to the public instruction with its improvement such in materials as teachers' salaries and teachers' formation. Those aspects emphasizes that Herculano has known the solutions very well for all those problems pointed by education's history scholars, the imperial public education when he defended the construction of educational buildings, investments on teachers' formation and salaries. Those issues have had importance to the politicians who had interest on republican education's changing and children's school institutionalization.

The presidency abd the instruction as factors to the public space' expansion

On his trajetory the president has represented the best group of national politics elite and has participated intensively by the process and consolidation of imperial state and we can measure the importance of two aspects on this process. At first, the settled province presidency by brazilian Imperial State with a new sphere of political representation also a permanent dispute stage, consensus and agréments. Besides it was settled on a physical space it was also constituted as a public space to promote the interlocution between Central Power and the regional population's demand.

Thus, the city was not the only public space of interlocution with the king with Municipal Chambers passing their demands to the head city in a province, the capital of Province. It reinforces the region's interests on those new political agents which are the presidency, the council and the provincial assemblies. It is a political demand searching a major representativeness of a certain populational group with specific interests facing the new States which started after the Independence of Latin America, administrative in Brazilian Empire the only way to govern the local interests from a central government. The risk of breaking the Empire is combated with local solutions through the provinces and their Assemblies.

The Brazilian liberal's fear from the first half of eight hundred was that the province would keep the same characteristics of Capital colony and its president with only one mandate to the Crown would behave as a General-captain full of powers. The fear was transferred to the province's government and the Emperor Pedro I's behavior which threatened so it was necessary the Military Commissions to contain the political elites.

Thus, the Province becomes a public space fundamental for discussion and enlargement of imperial politics on a double way: the assemblies and the presidency. The provincial assemblies have become the equivalent local of National Assembly where the nation can be represented. Now the old voter from the church can elect the provincial deputy, a closer representative of his reality, for that reason the most voted will become the vice president. The Assemblies have become a place of that regional political representation from expanded interests among distant groups but commanded by an administrative center in common: the capital. The province while an administrative region and managed by the Emperor through his president's nomination, his mandatory, his delegate. That delegacy is practiced by a huge fiscalism, the provincial treasure control and his incomes. The political side of the province's president will be executed by one of his vice presidents elected by local population temporarily as presidents.

The same way the education in general, the public instruction in private become a fundamental element on population schooling process inserting an amount of political strategies of the State as a way to transform the behavior and organization of moral-ethic procedures necessary to organize the population's participation on that public space.

In 1828, The Astro de Minas announced the role of education as a public space promoter. Being at a public space requires a minimum preparation what does not mean that it is necessary a specific school, but it is required to know paths and the tools to be managed to so, to be heard by the State, so the reporter mention:

When the nation's chief for his Council is not instructed it is better if the Nation absorbs the Ministry's ideas; this is what happens in the United States where there are political lights spread everywhere, so the false ministerial ideas are fixed and there is a big scream and the effects of a public education well conducted appear. So there is no more fear; there is justice to the State's man, and the faker is ignored if there is. (ASTRO DE MINAS, 1828, 0.2, grifo nosso)

The reporter tries to show that the education works as a correction to the governments giving truth to those ideas which were discussed in public. The professional politician does not have necessarily to be instructed, although he has to be well advised by his Ministry or Council. The effects of a well conducted public education reflect itself on a lack of fear about the governor, the liberty. The liberty of shouting pointing out any failure and the necessary correction to the government, promoting the society happiness, for the reporter, the government promotes itself when it promotes the public education.

In this way the education has become the public space promoter in the sphere that it has become a useful tool to be stronger in the debate arena. In a society with a high range of illiteracy the rule is to give education to the population which was a expensive principle of Liberalism because of "different kinds of instruction is one of the main principles of tyranny." (CONDORCET, 2008, p.19). Journalists, sacerdotes, attorneys: people who had experimented reading and writing have noticed that against the, military weapons, based on despotism only public opinion and the expansion of debate arena and participation. Thus, public education has been inserting on Province and Imperial State political repertoires.

Final considerations

After Independence the bureaucratic structure maintained agglutinated one homogeneous politics due to the kind of socialization and training received during the process of academical formation and not social groups with common status and privileges which for Carvalho made the State stronger and the maintenance of its political unit. The visible side on that process happened by schools' construction in all the levels from the first letters to Law schools. The first letters were ready by Ato Adicional in 1834 to the provinces that advanced the public instruction.

Part of liberal repertory in XIX century, the public instruction has gained many province's president attention with more attention to Herculano Ferreira Pena who detached by his pragmatism and school legislation, the construction of public buildings for education, and teachers formation.

On school legislation the construction of a Regulation in Minas Gerais province and many law reforms the construction of public buildings, the distinction between public space and private, once there had been private and public space being used for it. The elementary school used to happen at teachers' home, churches, theaters and the president boarded the frontier among spaces when buildings were constructed for that.

The education as an expensive and clear principle to Liberalism XIX century, has gained Brazilian features when the nation started to be civilized but the limits of embarrassment imposed by a slavery and violent society has not permitted a higher expansion of education and also the public spaces which could be promoted.

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