

**THE CIRCULATION OF THE TEACHING OF DRAWING AND
FERDINAND BUISSON'S AND RUI BARBOSA'S ROLES IN THE
CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL MODELS (IN THE LAST DECADES OF
THE 19TH CENTURY)**

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ABSTRACT

The present paper aimed at analyzing the circulation of the teaching of drawing in the last decades of the nineteenth century, from the intellectual borrowings and exchanges made possible by the universal exhibitions and the teaching reports. The methodological intention was to understand the teaching of Drawing through the reading and appropriation carried out by the French intellectual pedagogue Ferdinand Buisson and by the Brazilian intellectual and reformer Rui Barbosa. Within an international perspective of the construction of modern school knowledge, we observed that the teaching of Drawing conquered a central role in these studies as an element of reference for these countries' progress and modernization. Thus, this pedagogical knowledge expressed the expectations for a great educational renewal in the midst of a set of extremely important intellectual transformations and exchanges in the international teaching circuit and unparalleled school reforms.

Keywords: Circulation international; teaching of Drawing; Ferdinand Buisson; Rui Barbosa; Universal exhibitions.

RESUMO

O presente artigo teve por objetivo analisar a circulação do ensino do Desenho em décadas finais do século XIX, a partir dos empréstimos e trocas intelectuais viabilizadas pelas exposições universais e os relatórios de ensino. A intenção metodológica foi compreender o ensino deste saber por meio da leitura e apropriação realizada pelo intelectual e pedagogo francês Ferdinand Buisson e pelo intelectual e reformador brasileiro Rui Barbosa. Inserido numa perspectiva internacional de construção de saberes escolares modernos vimos que o ensino do Desenho conquistou um lugar central nestes estudos como elemento de referência para o progresso e modernização destes países. Com esta roupagem, este saber pedagógico traduziu as expectativas de uma grande renovação educacional em meio a um conjunto de transformações e trocas intelectuais extremamente importantes no circuito internacional de ensino e reformas escolares jamais vistas.

Palavras-chave: Circulação internacional; Ensino do Desenho; Ferdinand Buisson; Rui Barbosa; Exposições universais.

1. Introduction

The school reforms occupied a prominent place in the public debates in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Internationally, the discussion and presentation of proposals that aimed to affirm the school as the main means to reduce the social and cultural delay of many countries became more evident.

The universal exhibitions, universal and international congresses, pedagogical journals that disseminated the education in each country, reports by teaching inspectors and primary and secondary teachers, technicians and professionals in scientific missions and/or in studies and the mails they exchanged, deeply accelerated the level of connections and the circulation of ideas.

The feeling of constructing a modern school system and the perspective of operating a deviation through the reference to the internalization and manufacturing of national singularities, for example, kept Brazil and France always in contact. On this evidence, an interesting dialogue is a study of the actors that became important in the characterization of projects and reforms to install and organize the public primary instruction in each country.

Bringing to the arena a more specific subject, and embedded in this greater dimension of public instruction that is the teaching of drawing¹, our aim here is to try an articulation in an international perspective based on the theory developed by Schriewer (2004) and appropriated by Matasci (2015) about the internationalization of discourses on education.

In this way, such articulation starts by the following questions: 1) How did the public primary instruction in France and in Brazil achieve notoriety and how did it become a central issue? 2) What kind of dialogue was established between these two countries that could put them in a scale of intellectual exchanges? 3) Which role did the teaching of drawing play in this process of school reconfiguration in each country?

The answers to such questions will be given by focusing on the most important individuals involved: the French intellectual and pedagogue Ferdinand Buisson (1841-1932), and the Brazilian intellectual and politician Rui Barbosa (1849-1923), from the state of Bahia.

Set in a remarkable context, the final decades of the nineteenth century, these two important representatives of their countries' pedagogical and political intellectuality contributed with several relevant pedagogical ideas and innovations to the public primary instruction system.

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With a strong desire to offer an education which could reach the popular masses, offering them the right to literacy and, at the same time, of being prepared to accomplish and enjoy all their rights, Ferdinand Buisson and Rui Barbosa teamed up in a movement characterized by the intention to implement greater changes in the core of a school that was considered modern for the times.

Associated to this strong need to ensure a common education to all citizens was the idea that the school of the nineteenth century was the primary means for the nation's stability. Schooling would be responsible for constituting the cradle of political citizenship of each country, contributing to its materiality, its invention and even its endurance (MATASCI, 2015).

Efforts to put the school in a prominent place became increasingly apparent from a broader movement to build a modern school system. The industrialized countries were the first to prepare reform projects and to raise a number of common questions and challenges at European level.

In fact, for Matasci (2015), they were rethinking the institutional and pedagogic organization as a social and economic function of public education. In this sense, he says, the reasons were manifold, ranging from global phenomena such as urbanization, migration and industrialization to the development of international trade. All this was necessary to reconfigure the process of socialization of young generations and the presence of school structures to respond to the new demands of the educational space.

This pedagogical renewal of the school seen as a factor of moral and social progress and affirmation of a modern character became an essential step to understand, within the educational history of the elementary knowledge, the participation of the teaching of mathematics, especially the teaching of drawing, from a review from an international perspective.

Thus, we analyze the circulation of the teaching of drawing in the final decades of the nineteenth century, focusing on the set of changes made by intellectual loans and exchanges enabled by universal exhibitions and educational reports. We want to understand the teaching of this knowledge from the readings and the appropriations made by the intellectuals Ferdinand Buisson and Rui Barbosa, from an international perspective of construction of modern school knowledges.

2. The process of school reform in France in the period of the Third Republic (1870-1940)

The French Third Republic meant to take a new position in face of education. Under the command of the Republicans, this time was characterized as one of great educational policy reforms and the approval of essential school laws that truly set the profile of the elementary school.

Examining the school reform process in France and the articulations between the national and the international from the positioning of actors who defend these interactions, Matasci (2015) endorse this debate and reveals that the comparison of

international data shows evidence of a supposed delay in French primary school. Their awareness to that fact comes shortly after the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian battle, also known as the Battle of Sedan².

Furthermore, to this author, such military defeat represented a very important symbolic turning point for France. Besides having stressed the need for reaction, the subject invaded the French printed materials, raising the Prussian primary teacher to the rank of the real winner of the war. The superiority of the Prussian army and the situation of the public education, and we particularly emphasize the inferiority of French schools, were the main responsible for the drama installed in France. Thus, according to Ubrich (2014), one of the directions taken by French leaders was to look more closely at the education that was being offered, with a view to the deficiency of the educational means available.

From this perspective, Matasci (2015) observes that the discussions addressing the organization of a compulsory, secular and free primary education, in 1881-1882 (Jules Ferry laws), were preceded by an intensive use of referrals to foreign experience. In other words, he says:

The identification of the most effective solutions undergo a critical review of the situation of this education in Europe [...] Then, they establish a set of problems concerning attempts to apply, integrate and superpose foreign models for the structures and for preexisting school cultures (MATASCI, 2015, p.14).

Thus, the evidence of problems concerning school organization's practices in some countries it is accompanied by a European movement for public education reform, progressively introduced by the universal exhibitions, national and international educational conferences, scientific missions, publications in international and national journals etc. To Matasci (2015), "These spaces are the main international arenas of the times and contribute much for the circulation of the school models, for advertising of the national models, as well as for the intellectual exchange between reformers from various countries" (MATASCI, 2015, p.16).

Thus, he said, two processes were responsible for it. On the one hand, the introduction and the progressive extension of compulsory education throughout the nineteenth century, accompanied by an adaptation of the educational systems to the new socioeconomic demands dictated by industrialization. Therefore, in the same proportion as the great imperialist powers of Europe began to fight for the consumer markets and suppliers of raw materials for the industry, it became increasingly necessary to show to what extent education could commit to the qualification of the worker and the construction of a reforming school. The showcases for this discussion were undoubtedly the universal exhibitions.

² The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 was an armed conflict involving France and a group of Germanic countries led by Prussia. Germany unification and the strengthening of the imperialism came with the Prussian victory in the Battle of Sedan.

3. The universal exhibitions: laboratories of a pedagogic and imperialist character and the emergence of actors

Known as places of national power display, the universal exhibitions "were an advantageous means to gather in just one place the riches scattered in many colonies and in millions of square kilometers" (SANTOS, 2013 p.2).

Held for the first time in London, in 1851, beyond the purpose of creating and modeling an entire imaginary of modernity, the universal exhibitions served as great exposition laboratories of educational and imperialist character. These events showed "industrial progress and the superiority of the imperialist powers, thus reserving a place for all nations of the globe where the act of knowing was also a political factor" (SANTOS, 2013, p.01).

As to education, these were seen as a privileged field study to evaluate and compare the progress of a national system through the huge amount of statistical data and of the construction of social networks that facilitated the exchange of material and documents. Furthermore,

It is essentially in the 1870s (in Vienna in 1873 and Philadelphia in 1876) that education becomes a real object of exposure, assessed by a jury of international experts. From the early 1880s, all universal and international exhibition features sections on the various levels of education. These are specific rooms and pavilions in which each participating country could expose documents and the most varied objects to account to show the state and evolution within its own territory (MATASCI, 2015, p.99).

With permanent sections dedicated to education and teaching methods, the States presented how their school system was organized and operated. The items chosen to be shown were the syllabuses, the works done by the students, architectural plans of the schools etc. To Matasci (2015), in addition to being an important means of comparison, circulation of ideas and pedagogic achievements, they also became an important constituent in the structuring at the level of intellectual transferences.

Paraphrasing Matasci (2015), the interest on the dynamics allows, on the one hand, reassess the role of some important figures of the Republican pedagogy and, on the other, bring out a number of actors who, perhaps, had little visibility in French historiography. Ferdinand Buisson was, in this case, a leading figure.

Regarded as one of the main authors of the renewal of the secular and republican French primary school, Ferdinand Buisson (1841-1932) holds a prominent place in the literature and history of French education.

Born in 1841, in a Protestant and modest environment, he was one of the intellectuals and educators of the French republican pedagogy to play an important role in the consolidation of a true school revolution. Presented by Loeffel (2013) as an idealist, visionary, philosopher, lecturer, teacher, administrator, educator, Ferdinand Buisson gained reputation by making primary school a diffusion vector par excellence of his republican ideals. Of "genius of secularism" to faithful advocate of the intuitive

teaching method, he devoted his time to campaign for a popular, liberal and secular education that would guarantee the child a complete education in view of the emancipation of the child's conscience.

Acting in different sectors of French public education, such as general inspectorate of public education, in the board of primary education for seventeen years (1879 to 1896), in the installation and promotion of French Teaching Museum and drafting of the *Revue Pédagogique* founded by Charles Hanriot in 1878, Ferdinand Buisson won national and international recognition.

His participation as president of the official commission and editor of reports on primary education of the Vienna Universal Exhibition, in 1873; Philadelphia Universal Exhibition, in 1876; and the conference on the intuitive teaching at Paris Universal Exhibition, in 1878, originated writings that were extremely rich in details, devoted to methods and processes directly related to primary education.

With the mission to provide the study materials and key information that he had been assigned to collect, in his report of Vienna's universal exhibition Buisson observes that his intention was not to make a comparison between France and other countries. The goal was to show that his country was especially engaged in the education of the people in view of the recent production of a number of remarkable facts which, inserted in the humble realm of the primary school, should not be left out.

3.1. The "shy" Brazilian participation in the universal exhibitions

Evidence that Brazil also participated in this international network of school reforms and circulation of models and ideas, as from the second half of the nineteenth century, it is notoriously perceived in the work of Santos (2013) and Barbuy (1996). Through the analysis of the universal exhibitions from a more technical and industrial point of view, these two authors conducted an overview over them, taking into account the Brazilian participation.

Performed from 1851 (The Great Exhibition of London) to 2015 (Universal Exhibition of Italy), these world fairs give us an overview of innovations in the economic, industrial and educational fields. To Matasci (2015), they represented an industrial and technological showcase of the participating countries whose ideal of progress, positivist and linear view of evolution of the societies occupied a central position.

Turning our attention to Brazil, Santos (2013) states that our country also became a part of the exhibitions in 1862 (London), 1867 (Paris), 1873 (Vienna), 1876 (Philadelphia) and 1889 (Paris). Thus, he argues:

“In seeking its "place among the civilized countries", Brazil presented itself as a nation of a rich and vast territory. This universalization of the nation passed by the diversity of the provinces. To be universal, Brazil should first solve its internal diversity. Unification and universalization could only be made by a third term, different and superior to both: the National State. It was through the patronage of Emperor Dom Pedro II that Brazil participated in exhibitions” (SANTOS, 2013, p.10-11).

Indeed, while in London Exhibition of 1851 Brazil managed to take only four participants, in the 1862's and 1867's exhibitions such number rose to 230 and 1,339, respectively (Barbuy, 1996). However, according to that author, one of the most prominent exhibitions both for Brazil and for France was the Paris Universal Exhibition³ of 1889.

In addition to the French Revolution centennial celebration and of our Republic, Brazil was one of the few countries of the monarchy to attend the Republican party. "It did not go officially, i.e. not as a state representative, but by a delegation of businessmen and journalists, who formed a Franco-Brazilian Committee" (BARBUY, 1996, p.213). The most expressive name of his presentation was, certainly, Frederico José de Santa-Anna Nery (1848-1901), from the state of Paraná. He was in charge of disseminating the country's image in France, showing our wealth and progress. To Bastos (2000), "at every exhibition, Brazil announces evidence of a growing commitment to education, following the general trend of the times" (BASTOS, 2000, p.104).

Although from the information read in these aforementioned works the historian Marta de Carvalho could not collect enough data on Brazil's primary public education in order to understand how the education of our country was organized in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, she points out that, inserted the mapping of the international circuits, a generation of distinguished and illustrated Brazilian men who watched the end of the Empire and the invention of the Republic actually engaged in the modernization of the country, founding schools and organizing societies to propagate the popular education.

In this sense, although we have not yet found evidence of his participation in these exhibitions, Rui Barbosa (1849-1923) so greatly contributed to the process of Brazilian school reforms, that we can compare him, at the level of social and political engagement, with the French Ferdinand Buisson. Therefore, next chapter will focus on both Barbosa and Buisson, and the circulation of the Drawing.

4. Rui Barbosa, Ferdinand Buisson and the circulation of the teaching of drawing as a factor of mutual interest

Concerned about the organization of the Brazilian educational system (primary, secondary and higher), the intellectual Rui Barbosa, from Bahia, exercised significant influence over the restructuring of the modern school knowledge. Taken by the feeling that the education and the modernization of the country demanded the formation of a new citizen and, therefore, further studies on teaching techniques which had been so far used both didactically and pedagogically in Brazilian primary schools, Rui Barbosa, was undoubtedly one of the social reformers in Brazil to address the pedagogy as an integral problem of culture, i.e., a philosophical, social and political problem (LOURENÇO FILHO, 1956).

³ 838 Brazilian exhibitors participated here (Barbuy, 1996).

Fully aware of what was happening in the world, witnessed by his readings of foreign works, Rui Barbosa was an "interpreter of the pedagogical ideas in circulation and a middleman of their circulation in Brazil" (SOUZA, 2010, p.94).

The idea of the construction of a public school in Brazil came along with growing need for skilled labor, driven by the expansion of the international capitalism. Several attempts to universalize the education were accomplished and the State began to intervene more effectively to the establishment of a secular, free and compulsory school (MORMUL; MACHADO, 2013, p.278). According to Souza (2000) "the popular school was elevated to the condition of redeemer of the nation and an instrument of modernization par excellence" (SOUZA, 2000, p.12). Apparently, Bastos reached a similar conclusion (2000).

[...] the ideas would be out of place, but they were in their place, that is, they had been translated to foster an ideal of valuing education and the public education in a society that was in the process of abolishing slavery and establishing the Republic, which needed to reassess the conditions of qualification and labor, from the new perspectives it took and that it should take. The disclosure of the assumptions on the situation of the education in the world naturalized its need from what they saw as a universal common sense, preparing the spirits of the Brazilian illustrated elite (BASTOS, 2000, p.106).

The review of the reform of primary education and a number of complementary institutions of public education (*Reforma do ensino primário e várias instituições complementares da instrução pública*) presented by Rui Barbosa, in 1883, contributed in this direction.

Considered by Johnson (1977) as the most complete document of the kind in Brazilian education, this review associates the philosophical and methodological concepts to the modern context of knowledge elaboration.

Calling for an idea of freedom, and aiming to minimize the ignorance of the people, Rui Barbosa believed in the uncontested power of the spirit and popular education as solutions to discipline the children both intellectually and morally.

As we examine the document, we see the effort employed by Rui Barbosa to present it as a product of foreign ideas made possible by the reports drawn up after the study of the scientific missions, exhibitions and national and international congresses. In particular, Rui Barbosa took these events to reflect on the Brazilian education in the face of "the ignorance in which lie our economic and financial notables, as well as the educational authorities among us" (RUI BARBOSA, 1946, p.106) and on the teaching of Drawing, seen "as a source of wealth, as an essential element to the prosperity of work" (RUI BARBOSA, 1946, p.106).

Evidence that Rui Barbosa was a regular reader of French and German authors and of important thinkers of American education may be found in table 1 below.

Table 1: Review of the Primary Education Reform- quantity of works per year and per country

Year	Quantity of works per year	Quantity of works per country	
1882	42	Texts in French language	179
1881	33	Texts in English language	129
1880	67	Texts in Portuguese language	26
No date	66	Texts in German language	5
Previous date	157	Texts in Italian language	4
Total	365	Texts in Spanish language	5

Source: Rui Barbosa's pedagogy (*A Pedagogia de Rui Barbosa*), 1956.

This set of works gives an idea of how much Rui Barbosa used references from different countries to justify his choices. Supposedly read, this whole range of works cited enabled the Bahia legislature draw further study of the Brazilian case through the approximation with the production of the foreign modern school knowledge.

According to Smith (1945), although Rui Barbosa knew how dangerous the U.S. government was, and that they needed a reform, the American education as a social problem and the benefits it was conquering naturally attracted his interest. "His concern was so sincere, that he went so far as to translate, in 1886, the work of N.A .Calkins, *The Lessons of Things*⁴" (SMITH, 1945, p.17), which had great success in Philadelphia Expo, in 876.

Thus, the greatest interest in French and English studies is justified by some variables not revealed only by the pedagogy in itself. According to Matasci (2015), the selection of countries of reference is linked to at least two variables: a macroeconomic one and a political one. In other words, these variables talk a lot about the progress made on account of the economic and industrial power of these countries, as well as the implementation of a policy that should be in charge of dealing with a democratic and quality education.

For example, Rui Barbosa's intention to constitute a secular, compulsory and free school, it seems, took him to study further on the French political and educational system, in view of the Jules Ferry laws of 1881-1882. In addition, the French republican model of elementary school was gradually imposing itself in Brazil, so we can consider the nineteenth century as francophone century in Brazil, "where our culture absorbed everything or almost everything that was produced in France" (BASTOS, 2000, p.80).

For Matasci (2015), in this context

The international dimension is consciously used to strengthen and stabilize a national model. In fact, the interest by foreign school systems is not justified fully in view of a collaboration or cooperation with foreign reformers, more preferably due to national issues [...] Thus, the international dimension is not

⁴ According to Johnson (1977), the Calkins Manual, published in 1886, had an impact on Brazilian education, being thus considered as the most widespread and used teachers' manual in Brazil during the last years of the Empire and much of old Republic.

only a realm of thought and action that should be taken into account to understand the practices and reforming thoughts, but it also gives a type of value together with the actors of the times. The knowledge on the foreigner is not a sterile knowledge (MATASCI, 2015, p.90).

Thus, the emergence of these teaching models and the appropriations made by the jurist Rui Barbosa clearly show the strength and the proportions achieved by the teaching of Drawing on national and international levels. The need to make it a school knowledge, a true educational tool, gained more and more space in the discourses that took it as essential to the economic development of the States, especially those considered more developed.

According to Ferdinand Buisson, the Paris Exhibition of 1855 was the first to open a special subdivision for the elementary school material. Meant to represent much as industrial products and less as school materials, we could find among them tools and devices for geography, drawing, physical and natural sciences. However, it is in the 1862 London exhibition that "for the first time, a separate class was totally devoted to teaching" (BUISSON, 1875, p.02).

In short,

The teaching of drawing owe much to the universal exhibitions. London's, in 1851, was the starting point of a general reform movement: revealing clearly the superiority of the French industrial art, it convinces countries, apart from our own, to enter a new route, to highlight or create with them the teaching of drawing, first condition of all progress in the various branches of the artistic industry. Ten years after the 1862 Exhibition, the jury had already seen the achievement of expected results (BUISSON, 1875, p.245).

Seeking to answer these two questions: 1) What did we do to introduce the teaching of drawing in primary school? And 2) What did we do to introduce and to improve the teaching of drawing in special establishments, of popular and professional character, soon after the entry into primary school? First, Ferdinand Buisson presents a range of information and results achieved in other countries.

Considered mandatory element for the primary school in most European countries, the drawing began to be taught in different ways. However, it is

[...] by the introduction of the intuitive method and the influence of Pestalozzi and Froebel that we can gather the most notable attempts to popularize the elementary education of the drawing. In fact, in the intellectual education model whose principles Pestalozzi outlined and Froebel applied to the first ages, learn to see, and to see is precisely one of the essential points of the program [...] Thus, here the teaching of drawing begins; it is a part of the first discipline and begins with, or even before, reading and writing (BUISSON, 1875, p.247).

In this same report, Ferdinand Buisson points out that countries like England, Germany, Austria, Russia, Belgium and Italy channeled efforts to adopt measures to develop the professional teaching of drawing, multiplying the foundations, opening schools, courses, museums.

In Austria, for example, the method used was the *estigmográfico*, which, without the suppression of the spontaneity of their glance and trace, made possible, for the beginners, to make figures that would not come to be reproduced nor analyzed without a network of points of reference, so that, gradually, these screens would become less necessary (BUISSON, 1875). In Belgium, however, it is the Congress for the teaching of arts of drawing, created in 1868, that issues the principle that every teaching of drawing should be based on the study of the geometric figures developed by the teaching method proposed by the Institution of the priests of the Christian schools.

Similarly, Brother Victoris introduces the drawing in the French primary schools through the simultaneous method. "The big wall papers gave a common model to the whole class; the explanation by the master is made by everyone. Most of the models match an enhancement, making it easy to compare the object drawn to the natural object" (BUISSON, 1875, p.252-253). However, he observed that the primary teaching of drawing had not yet acquired a methodical character and the value of a regular discipline, due to the lack of principles, inspirations or the preference of the master, despite serving as the basis of all industries and of all professions, from the carpenter to the blacksmith. This journey undertaken by Ferdinand Buisson shows us how the use of comparison is essential for the construction of the national models.

Sharing this same set of ideas and using the same path, Rui Barbosa listed in his report six defenses for the teaching of drawing.

- 1st. That drawing is an affordable dowry to all men, not a privilege of artists by vocation and profession;
- 2nd. That, in pedagogical as well as in historical order, the drawing *precedes writing*;
- 3rd. That its education should begin from the child's first steps in the culture of the spirit, that is, *since the child's entry in the Kindergarten*;
- 4th. That, far from overwhelming the program, it softens it; far from delaying it, *makes you gain time*; far from hindering the other studies, *it helps them and helps them greatly*;
- 5th. That it is an essential element to the cultivation of the faculties of observation, invention, assimilation and mental retention;
- 6th. That its generalization as a *discipline inseparable from the popular school* is one of the most powerful strengths for the impregnation of the work and the enhancement of the wealth of the States (BARBOSA, 1946, p.124, author's italics).

By observing this set of defenses, we realized that there was a process of appropriation by Rui Barbosa. As he observes in his report, "from these priceless properties that characterize it, prove its rapid dissemination across the civilized world, as a natural, common, required part of the school plan" (RUI BARBOSA, 1946, p.124).

In Table 2 below, we can see several countries that paid special attention to the teaching of drawing as an essential branch of the general education at all levels, and a base for all technical and industrial education. Rui Barbosa based on them to elaborate a guidance for our country as a way to warn the Brazilian people of the severe mistake of transforming drawing in a luxury subject, a pastime for the idle, only reserved for the richest and most gifted people for the great art attempts.

Table 2: References to the teaching of drawing in the review of the *Primary Education Reform*

Author	Work	Year
Charles B Stetson	Modern Art Education	1875
Thomas Braun	L'enseignement primaire à l'exposition internationale de Paris de 1878	1880
Félix Regamey	L'enseignement du dessin aux États-Unis	1881
Ferdinand Buisson	Rapport sur l'instruction primaire à l'exposition universelle de Philadelphie en 1876	1878 1875
	Rapport sur l'instruction primaire à l'exposition universelle de Vienne en 1873	
Walter Smith	Art Education – Scholastic and Industrial	1873
George Ward Nichols	Art Education applied to industry	1877
Célestin Hippeau	L'instruction publique en Allemagne	1873
Joaquim de Vasconcelos	Reforma do Ensino do Desenho	1879
Joseph Langl	Austrian Official report on the Vienna World's Fair of 1873	1873
Jules Simon	Introduction aux rapports du Jury Internationale (Exposition Universelle de 1878)	1880

Source: Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1946
(Obras Completas, v. X, t.II)

By observing attentively the content of these data, we verified that Rui Barbosa, true to its claims and strongly convinced that the educational reform was the most viable way to effectuate the so expected social, political and technical change, outlines his study based on ideas that circulated the main countries of reference. As seen previously, the international dimension gained significant weight. We considered it as a privileged observatory for exchanges and discussions of works, authors and educational policies that defined and fed the installation and organization of reformist and modern school systems.

On the teaching of drawing in France, Rui Barbosa points out that this was one of the countries where the drawing in primary school was most delayed. However, from 1870 onwards the progress was remarkable. Programs were renewed, the number of hours and inspectors increased, the programs of linear drawing were harmonized with the artistic drawing etc. It is the law of 28 March 1882, which puts the drawing in the compulsory program of the French popular school.

In this diffusion of the teaching of drawing, the United States was outstanding. According to Rui Barbosa, until 1853 the teaching of drawing had caught little attention. Housed initially in high schools, it gradually disseminated and gained strength thanks to the example set by the state of Massachusetts.

It is noteworthy that the U.S. held several universal exhibitions, such as Philadelphia (1876), New Orleans (1884), Chicago (1893) and Saint-Louis (1904) exhibits. To Matasci (2015), the U.S. primary school model was very important, particularly in the 1870s and 1880s, when education was considered of public interest.

Thus, the use of the international contact and comparison, regarding the primary public education, between different countries, including Brazil, in the final decades of the nineteenth century, signaled a search for school stabilization as the cradle of citizenship and for the diversity of teaching methods and pedagogical theories developed to ensure the quality and efficiency of each level of education. And the teaching of drawing, it seems, is configured as a part of this process.

5. Final considerations

The circulation of ideas on the teaching of drawing is a general issue that was serving as the basis for the modernization of the school system of primary education. Besides being seen as an extremely important educational element for the professional and intellectual formation of the student, whose teaching should even precede the writing, drawing advanced in this light and became essential in the preparation of modern life.

In this sense, France and Brazil are two interesting examples. Leading figures in this context, the two intellectuals, the French Ferdinand Buisson and the Brazilian Barbosa were attentive to the global school reforms, universal exhibitions and the publication of school reports, and built referrals to their respective countries. However, we realize that the model of teaching drawing in France and in Brazil were not only constructed from national demands. There was, in this, an approach and exchange of contacts with other countries that had highly developed and became "mirrors" for the local changes.

The movement around the exhibitions, to follow everything that was produced in them and to get closer to what attracted them most proved as a necessity for these social reformers to justify their choices and based their arguments in order to contextualize them in more precise contexts. An example of this was the appropriation of the Bahia jurist Rui Barbosa who, in his report on the reform of primary education in 1883, shows a great many foreign readings that reflected the need to value the teaching of drawing as an educational tool, impregnating principle of work and prosperity for the arts and industries.

With this pretext, this pedagogic knowledge reflected the expectations of a major educational renewal in the midst of a series of transformations and extremely important intellectual exchanges in the international circuit of teaching and school reforms.

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