

AÑO 1849. EL DESPLIEGUE DE LA INSPECCIÓN DE EDUCACIÓN

YEAR 1849. THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE EDUCATION INSPECTORATE

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Resumen

En 1849, de la mano del liberalismo moderado y autoritario se creó la inspección de primera enseñanza. En el proceso de construcción de un Estado administrativo y conservador, se organizó su estructura, se fijaron sus funciones y atribuciones, los modos de comunicarse con las autoridades y centros educativos. Desde entonces, a pesar de las crisis padecidas y de los cambios asumidos en el tránsito de una dictadura a una democracia descentralizada, sus piezas esenciales han pervivido hasta hoy.

Palabras clave: *Estado, Administración, liberalismo, inspección de educación.*

ABSTRACT

In 1849, the first education inspectorate was created by moderate and authoritarian liberalism. In the process of building an administrative and conservative State, its structure was organized, its functions and attributions were established, as well as the ways of communicating with the authorities and educational centers. Since then, despite the crises suffered and the

changes assumed in the transition from a dictatorship to a decentralized democracy, its essential parts have survived until now.

Keywords: *State, Administration, liberalism, education inspectorate.*

CREATION

Year 1849. The Gaceta of April 2, through the promulgation of the Royal Decree of March 30, definitively links the inspection function of the State with the profession of inspector¹. An idea that had been making its way through as liberalism abandoned the orthodox postulates exhibited in 1812 and the stubborn reality showed an inert State (Ramírez, 2003). With it they created a network of specialized agents that would establish contact with all the citizens of the territory in a process that was juxtaposed to the creation of the political system. Amidst the echoes of the Paris barricades of 1848; amid the embers of the Carlist War and marginal revolutionary attempts together with fractioned moments among the moderates (Aquillué: 102), conservative liberalism decidedly opted to set up an Administration that it wanted to be dense and efficient as a response of power and guarantee of a class and bourgeois order. A seminal Royal Decree, the work of a conservative and authoritarian man like Bravo Murillo², which had the tacit support of progressivism, although at that time it was living hours of growing marginalization and division (Bahamonde, Martínez, 1994: 292-298).

This Royal Decree's preamble outlines an education inspectorate defined by three features: firstly, it appears as an extensive power framework that allowed the deployment of the State's action, a purpose clearly printed in a phrase that made fortune: "without them the administration sees nothing, knows nothing, can remedy nothing"; secondly, it will be a special force, since special is the knowledge that "is needed to observe many things that can only be discovered with the eyes of people trained in this kind of inquiries"; thirdly, it is conceived as a supervisory body, since the inspectors are the public eye, they not only judge the legality of the actions of the teachers, but their attention to the violation of the norm

would serve as coercion and self-defense of the Administration in order to avoid disturbances in its functioning:

The forgetfulness of the administration engenders inertia in the managers of the establishments: when they know that their faults are not to be observed and known, they lose all interest, all zeal, and doze in the certainty that their neglect will remain unpunished. On the contrary, if the Government keeps watch, if it has the means to know the faults in order to apply the amendment or the punishment, if it keeps in continuous alarm those who must serve and help it, inertia disappears, activity and emulation are born, and one enters a path of progressive improvements that in the end lead to the desired perfection, or at least come closer to it.

The inspection outlined in this Royal Decree was developed and completed with two norms dictated in 1849: the regulations for the inspectors of Primary Instruction of the Kingdom³ and the rules to be observed by the provincial inspectors of primary instruction for the visit of schools⁴. With these two legal bodies, the moderates definitively institutionalized the inspection of primary education. In this way, the liberal State not only assimilated the administrative resources of other countries, especially France, but also deployed, hand in hand with the moderates and in concert with the Crown, an administrative power with its corresponding practices and discourses in the field of education. One more piece in the process of construction of the liberal State which, wrapped in a new political language, added a national army, a public Internal Revenue, a powerful contentious-administrative jurisdiction (Santamaría Pastor), a growing bureaucracy and a knowledge of the territory in which the inspection of education, as we shall see, will play an important role. It is true that the State of the 19th century had to rely on local entities, which limited the ascendant centralism, but it is no less true that with the novelties introduced it increased the capacities of the Government for a better control of the territory and to establish an education at its service. Once the education inspectorate was established for primary education, whose contours we will

see below, its structure and functions will endure over time, with the nuances introduced in each historical context, up to the present day. With the two regulations we are going to discuss, a public bureaucracy was created, with permanent inspectors selected according to certain principles of merit and with functions that have hardly changed throughout history. Today's education inspectorate, except for the decentralization of the current State and its full democratization, was prejudged in the 1849 regulation and order of visits, both in its structure and in its functions.

STRUCTURE

The education inspectorate, called upon to provide information and exercise control over primary education, was initially configured as Pablo Montesinos (1845) had called for: a double hierarchical structure, central and peripheral, which has lasted until the present day. At the top, a central nucleus was created, directly dependent on the political authorities: the general inspectorate. Its composition was made up of six general inspectors, appointed from among the directors of the Normal Superior School or its teachers and paid by the government with 12,000 *reales* (old Spanish coin) per year each, which was considered insufficient by a review close to the inspectorate, especially when, to guarantee their independence, they were prohibited from teaching⁵. Although the first six were to be appointed by the Government, the successive vacancies were to be filled by a proposal from the Royal Council of Public Instruction. Although the Moyano Law reduced their number to three, but with an increase in salary, we must retain the essential message: the structure of the education inspection model, with the details introduced by each historical context, has been invariable throughout history, a small civil bureaucracy attached to the general director of Public Instruction and a network of provincial or peripheral inspectors.

While this superior inspectorate, whose scope of action extended to the entire territory, would be based in the capital, the service was distributed in such a way that while three inspectors were traveling, the other three would remain in Madrid so that the said inspectorate would be preserved as a unitary and permanent administrative unit. The inspectors remaining in Madrid, in order to attend to the affairs and the entire organic volume of the central Administration, were integrated into an *ex novo* commission called the Auxiliary Commission of Primary Instruction.

A serious threat loomed over the general inspection as soon as it was born. In 1851, the congressional budget commission proposed the suppression of the salaries of the inspectors general. It considered the general inspectorate unnecessary, proposing instead that the supervision of the provincial inspectorate should fall to the civil governors and to the institute directors or to any person who, in the judgment of the public authorities, could carry out this task. This attack on the inspectorate not only made Antonio Gil de Zárate (1855, I: 311) raise his voice, but also the general inspectorate itself through its unofficial organ, the *Revista de Instrucción Primaria* (Primary Instruction Journal)⁶:

The normal schools and the provincial inspectorates, which are two institutions that are to give impetus to primary education, will be left to their own devices, without supervision, without guidance, without real leverage, if the general inspectorates were to disappear, or if their personnel were to be composed of subjects without the special studies necessary to properly carry out their task.

Although it would not be the last time that the general inspectorate would suffer from budgetary uncertainties (Jiménez Eguizábal, 1984: 64), in the end the Congress resolved its doubts by preserving the salaries of the general inspectors, thus maintaining the institution of the general inspectorate.

This central organization extended over the entire territory of the State through a provincial inspection network in charge of overseeing regulatory compliance. The physical space, the territory of the State, was also constructed and appropriated, in this case, through the provincial division of 1833: in each province, with an inspector, political orientation and material action was channeled to reach every village and town in Spain⁷. In the provincial capital, a space that protected the surrounding rural world, an inspector was placed with the obligation to reside there. Although he actively collaborated in the Provincial Commission of Primary Instruction, of which he was an *ex officio* member, he was accountable for the exercise of his position to the Government, which appointed him. Although the first promotion of inspectors will be chosen among directors and teachers of the Normal Schools, the access to the position will be reserved to those who had studied in the Central Normal School or any of the superior ones, and practiced the teaching profession for five years⁸.

The implementation of the position of provincial inspector was distributed according to three territorial classes already traditional in the Spanish Administration (González Alonso, 1970: 360-363): first-, second- and third-class provinces. A correlation was established between the categories and the salaries to be received, as the salary was set at 10,000 *reales* for first class provinces; 9,000 for second class provinces and 8,000 for third class provinces. Obviously, this classification of jobs according to the importance of the province meant introducing the issue of promotions within the position. Promotion was possible, passing from one class to another, although it is fair to recognize that the correlation between class and position is diffuse, since a promotion mechanism was not clearly established. However, it was forbidden to move from the provincial to the general inspectorate, unless one had previously held the position of director

of the Normal Superior School. This administrative situation must have worried the inspectors themselves to the point of echoing this professional concern in the *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, from whose pages they requested the modification of article 21 of the Royal Decree of March 30th, 1849, while suggesting that the inspectors who had been directors of higher schools request clarification from the Government in case their promotion to the position of inspector excluded them from promotion to general inspector⁹.

But that liberal State was built in the 19th century on local entities, which assumed most of the administrative functions: recruitment of young men, tax collection, statistics, payment of teachers, and even the payment of the provincial inspectorate. In this context, and so that the implementation of the provincial inspectorate would not be frustrated for economic reasons, Bravo Murillo ordered the provinces to form an additional and extraordinary budget to support their operating expenses during 1849. In the meantime, the pertinent modifications were to be introduced in the budgets for the year 1850 to incorporate and duly attend to their expenses¹⁰.

When a position came vacant, any active inspector could apply for that position along with other applicants such as inspectors who had been dismissed, secretaries of provincial boards, teachers and regents of Normal Schools and primary school teachers. The promotion system would be based on merit and years of service, regardless of the class of province where they served. The Moyano Law sought to clarify promotions. Its article 302 divided the inspectors, for promotion purposes, into three sections, without including the province in which they served: One fifth would belong to the first section; two fifths to the second and the other two to the third, increasing their salary by 1,000 *reales* to those in the second section and by 3,000 *reales* to those in the first section¹¹.

The principle of publicity for access to the position was included. To provide some transparency to the appointment process, in addition to the requirements for access to the position, the legal provision was included that vacancies would be announced in the Gaceta and in the Official Bulletin of the Ministry of the branch, with a period of one month for all those who aspired to the position to apply for it. The applications had to be accompanied by the service record of the interested party, with a report from the rectors of the universities or the director of the Normal School if the vacancy was that of general inspector, and by the provincial Commission where the candidate resided if the vacancy was that of provincial inspector. On the other hand, the Government's discretion was partly limited in that the appointments had to be made on the list of three candidates presented by the Royal Council of Public Instruction to fill the position of general inspector and, in the case of provincial inspectors, on the list presented at the request of the auxiliary Commission. In good administrative technique it must be recognized that the introduction of requirements of publicity and capacity for access to the position was a success, although we must not forget that part of the appointments must have been tarnished by the dark veil of dismissals, replacements and purges born in the heat of political clientelism. It is true that merit was a basic principle of the liberal ideology, which was included in the recruitment processes of the inspectors. Merit was implemented in 1852 by a Royal Decree for all administrations. But it is no less true that such apparent good intentions never sufficiently protected against political favoritism.

A licensing regime was also reestablished. The regulations for inspectors were concerned, without specifying the reason, with leaves of absence for a maximum of 15 days outside the provincial capital, which

could be granted by the provincial Commission, or for a longer period, in which case a special authorization from the Government was required.

On the other hand, nothing is said about the right to hold office or about the mobility of personnel. This silence must be interpreted as meaning that the Government reserved a wide margin of discretion in matters such as mobility and separation from office. Appointment is the prerogative of the Government and is based on the confidence of the position, which meant that loyalty took precedence over merit. It is not surprising, therefore, that on occasions appointments were more the product of political arbitrariness than of a reasonably objective performance. This was the case in 1854, as soon as the progressives were again in charge. The fact was that the Guadalajara Board, in the excitements of the first moments of the pronunciamiento known as the *vicalvarada*, dismissed the provincial inspector for disaffection with progressivism, in addition to accusing him of irresponsibility in his work. The Government, employing a strategy based on the apparent reasonableness that demanded repairing those separations which in its opinion were more linked to personal and local circumstances than to the suitability of the individuals, transferred the dismissed inspector to Segovia, naming him inspector of this province. And he did so without any publicity whatsoever, without respecting the legal precautions: neither the vacancy was announced in the *Gaceta*, nor in the Bulletin of the Ministry, nor did he wait for the auxiliary Commission to make any proposal. This example brought up not only speaks of how sometimes the law was violated for political interest, but it also reveals how the progressive conspiracy of 1854 disallowed popular support and limited itself to changing the Government to continue the moderate work¹² in its essentials. At other times the press of the time itself, with its warnings, reveals suspicions that the behavior of the Government of the day was unscrupulous with the law in the appointment of

inspectors. Thus, in March of 1850, the *Revista de Instrucción Primaria* was on guard to denounce the substitution of the law for political caprice in the appointment of provincial inspectors¹³:

Despite the strictness of the precept, he says, referring to article 21 of the Royal Decree of March 30, 1849, we have news that persons who do not meet the aforementioned circumstances have applied or wish to apply for the position of general inspector, now vacant, believing that some can avail themselves of influences that would give them rise to the Council's list of three candidates.

Mobility in the position would not only lead to a silent loyalty to most of the inspectors, but it was also the instrument used by the higher political authorities to revoke appointments, arrange transfers and dismissals at their whim. In fact, the education inspectorate was also affected by that scourge of the liberal administration which was the dismissal and which Galdós portrayed in an incontestable way in his literary work¹⁴. Political interference in the inspection administration reached its peak after the incidents of the so-called first university question and the access to power of the most conservative and neo-Catholic sectors of the moderate party. Between 1866 and 1868, as a sign of this political partiality, no inspector was safe in his or her post, which presumably had a double effect on the service: the insecurity in the post would lead to a demobilization and relaxation in the work, while the competence of those appointed, to the extent that political criteria marginalized merit, would be sown with doubts (Nieto, 1996: 358). Bleak scenario of which some relevant memories and testimonies are preserved in the General Archive of Alcalá de Henares Administration¹⁵. Similar circumstances were experienced again by the inspectors when the so-called *Sexenio Democrático* (Six revolutionary years), when the then Minister Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla wanted to reduce the provincial inspection created in 1849 to a mere occasional public action through the bill of April 23, 1869¹⁶.

We do not know whether or not this policy of appointments, dismissals and transfers had repercussions on the formation of political party or personal clienteles within the inspectorate, but we can affirm that this type of political meddling, notably accentuated when performance was fully subject to the ideological and political orientation of the government, especially during the period of Minister Orovio, introduced a constant in the history of our school inspectorate: the conflict between the political and the administrative, between the temptation to amalgamate the inspection with the predominant political ideas and opinions or to preserve it from them by giving priority to its technical aspects. The most complete examples of political meddling will be represented by the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera and the New Totalitarian State that arose after our civil war of 1936. Even in democratic political systems, and despite the balance of powers and their levels of transparency, an undesired political colonization occurs due to the excessive weight of political parties in the decisions and orientations of the State, a phenomenon clearly explained by Manuel García Pelayo (1986:87-88):

The political organs of the State are occupied by groups of people integrated in other organizations, to whose criteria and discipline they are subject, thus producing the transubstantiation of the will of the parties into the will of the State.

FUNCTIONS

We will focus on the provincial education inspectorate, since the general inspectorate was subsumed within the auxiliary Commission, a new service to which we will dedicate a specific section later.

The regulations for inspectors used a double criterion for the distribution of competencies, and two types can be identified: general, that is, those material tasks that must be carried out specifically in the exercise of

the position, and coincident, because they allude to functions that are shared with the provincial Commissions.

General functions of the provincial inspectorate were as follow:

a) To investigate the needs of primary education in their respective provinces with the purpose of proposing to the Government as many improvements as they believe convenient for the progress of public education. And the first of the needs was that every town with 100 residents, and in those that did not have sufficient resources, should establish a complete elementary school. If this solution was not possible, then those towns should be obliged to hire a temporary teacher or to establish an incomplete school, allowing, but only in this case, that the teacher also accumulate the positions of organist, sacristan, and others compatible with his destination. In the towns, at the head of the district and with a neighborhood of more than 1,200 souls, he was to ensure that the school was higher, or at least that elementary education was expanded as much as possible. In addition, the inspector was instructed to encourage teachers to improve their training in the Normal Schools, to establish evening and holiday schools for adults and nursery schools and teachers' academies.

b) To train statisticians, a task that the liberals considered basic in the construction of a uniform and well-established national educational system. And it was basic because statistics, reliable numerical knowledge and the reports derived from it, was the previous phase to political decision. The power, as Francis Bacon had already explained, is based on knowledge. In fact, in some Spanish provinces, statistical Commissions had been set up, and at the same time specialized official bodies were appearing in the ministries. The establishment of statistics was early, as shown by the fact that with Fernando VII statistical balances appeared, as well as, later, the reports sent to Congress, and the statistical summaries published in the

Official Bulletin of Public Instruction, which were reinforced from 1846 with the creation of the General Directorate of Public Instruction (Pro, 2019: 405-4363). The task of providing information on the state of public instruction was included as one of the functions of the provincial inspectorate. This was acknowledged by the general director himself, Gil de Zárate¹⁷: "the Government had at its disposal more means to form an exact statistic (...) in 1850 it already had inspectors touring all the towns in their respective provinces, collecting data on the spot, and seeing things for themselves". In fact, at the end of 1849, the auxiliary Commission drew up some models that it circulated to all the inspectors to form the statistics. These were a series of 10 tables on the following aspects: number of schools, classes and grades; attendance of boys and girls in public schools; attendance of boys and girls in private schools; state of the schools in relation to the regime, instruction and discipline; textbooks used; state of the buildings; furniture and furnishings; number of private teachers, with an expression of their title, aptitude, capacity, instruction and conduct; expenses of the public schools, funds from which they are satisfied and the proceeds of the children's remuneration¹⁸. But it will take some years to obtain reliable results, according to Gil de Zárate's words¹⁹:

Unfortunately, in some provinces, the inspectors were not able to verify the visit of all the villages because of their excessive number, and consequently, they were not able to compile statistics with the thoroughness that is necessary to guarantee the accuracy of the facts presented.

Although this attempt to produce reliable statistics was unsuccessful, it is certain that the value of the inspectorate in the near future for the production of regular statistics will be inestimable. As the technical and administrative capacity of the inspectorate of education is consolidated, statistical knowledge will improve and with it the power of the State (Esteve, 1991: 70). The publication of new statistics in 1859, now much more

ambitious and detailed, will continue to revalue the figure of the inspector as a support for a more effective policy derived from a better knowledge of the state of primary instruction. The inspectorate, as we can see, appears as one more step in the gradual and long process of centralization and modernization of the Spanish State.

c) To oversee compliance with the laws and all types of provisions in force regarding primary education. The immediate effect of the fulfillment of this supervisory function was twofold: on the one hand, inspectors were empowered to know and evaluate the teacher, his degree of instruction, his zeal, morality and opinion of the neighborhood, as well as his teaching practice and the material state of the school; on the other hand, two attributions were incorporated whose links with the supervisory function are evident: the power to stimulate local authorities to be zealous in the fulfillment of their duties and the ability to denounce. In this sense, the regulation contemplated the possibility of the inspector proposing to the provincial Commission, for justified causes, the separation of the teacher, together with suspension, as well as the closing of private schools in two cases: one, in the case of teachers who were not sufficiently authorized; the other, more ambiguous, when "the vices from which they suffer are detrimental to children and education"²⁰. It is a sanctioning regime that seems that in the majority of cases was limited preferably to faults and non-compliances of an administrative nature, although there was no lack, under the protection of these functions, of the persecution of those disaffected with the moderate regime. This enabled the Administration to make direct use of coercion. An authority that had previously been reinforced by the requirement of prior authorization, to be granted by the political head, to prosecute teachers by the judiciary in cases of criminal charges. These techniques of self-protection were intended to reduce resistance to the State, to invigorate it while guaranteeing the order of bourgeois society.

Everything points to the fact that these actions of denunciation were centered on the separation from the service for not possessing the corresponding title, or to exercise in towns of one hundred or more neighbors possessing only a title of 3rd and 4th class, or to suspend in the destination or to fine with the salary of several months for accumulation of charges²¹, without forgetting that examples of ideological persecution were not lacking either. All this vigilance was also extended to private schools, although in these, if we compare them with public schools, the liberal State reduced its level of coercion to respect their greater autonomy in accordance with the liberal ideology. In these schools, the inspector limited himself to advising the teacher, leaving him quite free in the adoption of methods²². However, after the Moyano Law, we see private primary schools inspected according to the same reporting model that will be applied to public schools. In this way, and although they gave the Church control over the schools, the administrative State implemented by the moderate liberals, as in the European nation-states, sought to guarantee the order of society as a whole: "Not just any order, but that which was most in line with the interests and world views of the most powerful groups in society" (Pro, 2019: 203).

d) Investigate the resources used to support the schools and ensure their correct application, especially as indicated in the statutes of the existing foundations in the provinces whose assets were dedicated to primary education. They had to find out if there were legacies and pious works in the towns destined to primary education, if their funds were dedicated or not to the purposes established by their founders and, if their income was not sufficient to cover the school's expenses, they had to take the necessary steps to ensure that the deficit was covered by the city council. This was a function of an economic nature that was difficult to fulfill due to the lack of deeds of the foundations, which made it almost

impossible to know if the destiny of the properties, goods or income was adequate.

e) Ensure that teachers were paid on time in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Decree of September 23, 1847.²³, are provided with a house or dwelling and are treated in a decent manner²⁴. This function was not only to enforce compliance, while at the same time avoiding the disdain with which many towns treated teachers. Overcoming the negligence of the town councils in the payment of teachers' salaries was, according to the sources of the time, a priority and constant action of the education inspectorate and the provincial superior commissions. It can be said that, until the beginning of the 20th century, when the State took over the payment of teachers' salaries, this economic function received constant support from the inspectorate. Although it is fair to recognize that the process of its fulfillment must have been excessively slow given the constant indebtedness of almost all the provinces in the endowment of the magisterium²⁵ (Rubio Pobes, 1996: 347) and the permanent claim of the teaching profession to be directly dependent on the state budget.

f) To submit reports to the government reflecting the anomalies detected and the progress observed. Information function, complementary to the statistical function, aimed at providing a set of data and guidelines that would supposedly serve the government in its process of extending primary education. This information function will produce a whole set of technical rules, writings, and formal procedures, which will tend to create not only a bureaucratic tradition, but also to strengthen the very organization of the education inspectorate. We will return to this in the section dedicated to the archive and the office.

What we referred to above as overlapping functions referred to matters that were shared with the provincial Commissions. Their

performance was sometimes cumulative, in the sense that the inspection was limited to reinforcing, through its collaboration, the functions of the Commissions themselves. Within this type of functions, we can identify the obligatory and punctual attendance to the sessions held by the provincial Commission, as well as the regulatory requirement to stimulate its members to comply with the prescribed meetings, trying at the same time that local Commissions were established in the towns and that these complied with the agreements of the superior Commission. At other times, the performance of this type of overlapping functions entailed a more independent intervention, such as carrying out the office of the secretariat with the auxiliary collaboration of a secretary.

It is important to note that this functional scheme was limited to the mere report, advice, and processing of files, while the decision on the core of the fundamental problems was left to higher authorities such as the general director or the provincial political chief. Hence, article 16 of the inspectors' regulations nullified any possible capacity of command, limiting the inspectors in their relationship with the authorities to "giving and requesting information, collecting news, and communicating warnings and instructions", prohibiting them from issuing any orders. If their opinions were to become mandates, then they were to go "to the corresponding authorities, presenting complaints and requesting their intervention". Thus, a clear separation was established between function and command, the latter being reserved to the political sphere. The education inspectorate was born as a body with functions of information and effective support in the administrative management of the executive branch. Its technical function of enforcing the laws and preventing abuses not only sought to strengthen the Administration, but also the effectiveness of political decisions.

VISITATION

The visitation will be the cornerstone of the education inspectorate. A form of direct intervention in schools (Soler Fierrez, 1991: 50-51), it was a legacy of the Middle Ages. Born as an innovation of government and not by derivation from Roman law (García de Valdeavellano, 1973: 207-208), its presence is recorded in the Ordinance on the Administration of Justice granted by Enrique II of Castilla in the Cortes de Toro of 1371. His figure became generalized, extending to multiple agencies and offices. The simple reading of the legislation gathered in the *Novísima Recopilación* informs us how the visitation became a way of intervention to make effective the principle of responsibility in the Administration. It reached Spanish America, universities, colleges, hospitals, administration of justice, councils, courts, prisons, municipalities, forests and plantations, inns, inns and drugstores, ships, etc. Of all this broad typology of visits, perhaps it was the Indian one, transplanted to American law since 1499, that acquired the most defined profile (Céspedes del Castillo, 1946). It was an institution widely spread among ecclesiastical institutions since medieval times (Bartolomé Martínez, 1984: 1984). Carlos III, in the context of his reformist policy, regulated the visitations with the double purpose of introducing improvements in university teaching and carrying out an ideological control of these (Sala Balust: 1956). The visitation became the occasional mechanism of intervention of the enlightened State of Carlos III on the institutions of public instruction (Soler Fierrez, 1995). The visitation, a legacy of the Ancient Regime to the contemporary administration, was now fully and definitively inserted into the inspection organization as its intervention technique par excellence.

It was regulated by Royal Order of October 12, 1849, becoming, to date, the most complete and articulated, as we shall see. It will be an exhaustive, meticulous regulation, showing in this aspect the liberalism clear

conscience that the reinforcement of the inspection of education passed through the delineation of a visiting technique that strengthened its authority and allowed it to operate effectively in the school environment.

The Royal Order of October 12, 1849, attempts to be a technical response to the fulfillment of the three basic functions assigned to the inspectorate: to investigate the state of primary education, to inform the authorities and to influence its improvement and progress. To this end, a material visitation is built on the following content:

a) Dedication of six months of the year, without prejudice to the extraordinary outings that it would be necessary to carry out, to visit the towns of the province. The rest of the days they would remain in the provincial capital visiting their schools, attending provincial commission meetings and exams for teacher candidates, and teaching in the Normal School, while they were taking care of the files in their office. The times of the visitations were fixed by the provincial or superior Commission, with the participation of the inspector, and the towns where the visitation was to take place were immediately notified so that they would be prepared and would receive the inspector with the due attentions. Since it was not specified precisely which months the visitation should take place, the inspectors, to fit in with the rest of their activities and the local climatology, usually divided the tour between the months of February-July and September-December²⁶. Obviously, the behavior was as diverse as the number of inspectors: there were those who complied with the mandatory 183 days of annual visitations, and others did not reach that figure, and there was always the exception that exceeded them²⁷.

b) It specifies which authorities should be in continuous contact with the inspector, namely: mayors, local commissions, superior commissions, high school principals, university rectors, political leaders, and

the general director of Public Instruction. Of these relationships, the order, as is logical, examines especially how the most frequent ones should be, those that affect City Councils and Commissions.

Regarding the City Councils, it indicates which matters were the responsibility of the mayor, of the corporations themselves, and which were the responsibility of the local and superior Commissions. The inspector would go to the mayor when the matter to be dealt with consisted of the creation or promotion of schools, rent or repair of these, provision of the teacher's room, household goods and economic matters. He would present himself to the City Council when the matters affected teaching, methods and discipline and he would go to the local Commissions when they needed reports about the schools and to indicate to them the most appropriate procedures for exercising their immediate inspection competence in these. In the superior Commissions, to which they are subject, they will not have more representation than the other members, but they did have the obligation, because of their special knowledge, to enlighten their members in the debate and resolution of the matters treated.

c) The visitation in the *sensu estricto* is regulated in chapter III. The material content, which in our opinion largely reflects the guidelines indicated by Pablo Montesino in an article he published in the *Official Bulletin of Primary Instruction*²⁸, was summarized and described in these words²⁹:

In all towns the inspection will concern not only the school and the teacher, but also the means of improving primary education, the difficulties that hinder its propagation, the zeal shown by the local authorities for its promotion and prosperity, and the interest that the parents and the entire population take in the progress of education and teaching.

The visitation was to cover a wide range of pedagogical and material elements: the internal regime and discipline; the teaching methods and the sections into which the class was divided; the situation and state of the building, plus the furnishings or instructional materials; the cleanliness,

composure and order prevailing in the classroom; the system of rewards and punishments, the attendance of children, the textbooks and the doctrines taught by the teacher; the ascendancy of the teacher among his pupils and his ability, instruction, aptitude, zeal and conduct. So that the inspector could verify the progress of the children, the extent of the teaching, the use of the textbooks and the moral doctrines taught, it was recommended that he proceed to a detailed and formal examination of some children, both those who were beginning to learn the first notions and those who were more advanced. This recommendation has endured over time in the collective imagination through the figure of the inspector, standing in front of the children, asking questions about geography or the catechism, while the teacher and the rest of the children, at the end, listen with their eyes to his words of reward³⁰.

To ensure uniform information during the visits, the Ministry of Commerce, Education and Public Works drew up a broad and exhaustive questionnaire specifying "in detail how many points should be brought to the attention of the provincial inspectors and be the subject of their examination"³¹. This questionnaire contained 63 questions regarding the number of schools and their classes; attendance of children; systems of teaching; records used by teachers; systems of rewards and punishments; religious practices; teaching methods and procedures; textbooks; qualifications and years of service of teachers; instruction, aptitude, ability, zeal and conduct of teachers; condition of the building; classroom capacity, arrangement and number of benches and tables; condition of teaching objects and utensils and other school furniture; endowment of teachers, punctuality of payment and origin of teachers' pay and other furnishings; teachers' endowments, punctuality of payment and origin of teachers' pay; classroom capacity, arrangement and number of benches and tables;

condition of teaching utensils and other school furniture; teachers' allowances, punctuality of payment and source of funds with which they are paid; amount of remuneration, whether paid in whole or in part in fruits and diligences to replace unseemly means of remuneration if practiced in any town³²; amounts allocated in the municipal budget for school expenses; reasons why a town lacks a school and how to proceed to install the required school; attitude of the parents towards the teacher and the school; zeal with which the local Commissions carry out their functions; instructions given to the local authorities, receipt of the same and observations suggested by these corporations. This technique of breaking down into an exhaustive questionnaire, in which the inspector could include as many observations as he considered of interest, imitated those circulated a few years earlier in our neighboring countries³³ (Ball, 1963: 243-251). El questionnaire, like the current guides, helped to facilitate, standardize, and objectify the inspector's work. This questionnaire was the point of reference for the inspector's look and for all the bureaucracy created by the visitation.

It was the duty of the inspectors to keep a logbook in which they had to note the results of their visit to each school and the advice or guidance they had given to the teachers as well as to the City Councils and local Commissions. The mission of this logbook was none other than to act as a faithful memory, to show on the next visit whether or not the recommendations that had been made had been complied with. This logbook, as we will see later, would constitute one of the basic elements of the inspector's archive. The hand of time would polish it. Today it is electronically conserved in some autonomous communities.

The visitations were classified in a dual typology that has persisted until very recently: ordinary visitations, which were all those made in accordance with the itinerary previously approved by the provincial

Commission; and extraordinary visitations, which were those made for a specific reason, and which were subject to the specific instructions ordered by the Government. The reasons for extraordinary visits could be diverse. There were those that arose at the request of the people themselves, who complained about what they considered to be the immoral conduct of the teacher³⁴; others were at the initiative of the government itself, either for ideological or economic reasons.

Among the visitations of an economic nature, the one carried out in 1865, by circular of March 29, with the purpose of overseeing the application and proper use of the subsidies granted by the State for the construction of schools, the inspectors were required to report every fifteen days on the state of the works and the investment of the funds received, and to report every fifteen days on the state of the works and the investment of the funds received³⁵. In the context of the time, this visitation was an important examination, and the Government obtained significant knowledge of which towns had started the works, which had not made use of the investment granted and consequently were seriously threatened to lose it if they did not start the works immediately, and could transmit to the provincial governors warnings about which towns should be given a deadline to start the works, activate the contracts for their execution or cancel the subsidy³⁶.

An example of a visitation born for ideological reasons is the extraordinary visitation ordered by the Marquis of Orovio in August 1866. Narváez returned to power in an atmosphere of governmental concerns due to rumors of troop uprisings and the spread among the teaching staff of philosophies considered impious, such as Krausism. Immediately after the uprising in the San Gil barracks in Madrid, he suspended the constitutional guarantees and his Minister of Public Works, the Marquis of Orovio, ordered an extraordinary visitation of exclusive ideological content on August 1, 1866.

The Inspectorate, devoted to the service of a neo-Catholic ideology, and showing its direct dependence on political power, was launched to tour the towns to examine not so much the state of the schools as the behavior and conduct of their teachers. Behavior and conduct measured by the ideological position of the teacher³⁷:

Catholic unity, the Throne and the institutions are points against which neither directly nor indirectly can the teacher proceed by word or deed: whoever fights against these principles will not be a teacher in Spain as long as the Government that governs it understands its duties with regard to public education in the terms that appear in the circular of the 20th of the last.

The inspectors, even with the threat of demanding from them the closest responsibility in the fulfillment of their duties, traveled, although not without difficulty, part of the country to find out if there were teachers in whom there was dishonesty in their habits and private life, while carrying the voice of the Government in the fear of the spread of democratic ideas among teachers to refrain "from all participation in political strife, in local factions and tumultuous meetings"³⁸. Therefore, at the very origin of the inspectorate, its conception as a political agent was nested, and its professionalization and technical independence suffered as a result.

On the contrary, it encountered serious opposition from the Church, which continued to demand its independence from the State. In 1857, the Government appealed to the Council of Public Instruction to resolve the best way to verify the inspection that corresponds to the State in the houses of the institutes of cloistered nuns dedicated to teaching, and especially of those congregations recently established in Spain. The response of the Council, in an opinion of March 30, 1858, was to endorse the inalienable competence of the State to inspect all religious educational establishments. It resolved that administrative authorization was required to teach, after a file in which the purpose of the congregation, the names of its teachers with an

expression of their studies and degrees, the teaching program, and the suitability of the premises they used were stated. In addition, they would teach in Spanish and would use textbooks approved by the Council itself. Naturally, the indispensable inspection would be exercised in the external classes as in the rest of the teaching centers, while, in the internal ones (in those classrooms that were inside the cloister) the inspector would go accompanied by the ecclesiastical authority or his delegate for being the ones in charge of the immediate inspection. The inspectors, after their visit, were to report to the Government on what they observed in these centers worthy of correction and susceptible of improvement in what referred to the teaching, the way and manner of teaching it³⁹.

The Church was reluctant to accept these measures. As soon as the inspector appeared at the threshold of its door, the conflict in which sovereignty in the educational function was being settled exploded. As an example, let us examine the inspector's visitation to the school established in the convent of the Dominican Nuns of Benabarre, in the province of Huesca, although dependent on the diocese of Lérida. The stumbling block arose when the nuns considered that the inspector's entry into the convent violated the rules of enclosure. The nuns, with the approval of the bishop of Lérida, denied the inspector access to the school and the latter, exceeding his powers, ordered its closure. Zaragoza's rector, in the meantime, tried to smooth the situation with two measures: on the one hand, in addition to overruling the inspector by preventing the closing of the school, he gave the superior a period of six months to open a door that communicated directly with the school and the population, thus overcoming the reasons put forward by the nuns to prevent the inspector's access; on the other hand, he instructed the Board of Instruction, by virtue of the Royal Order of March 13, 1862, to officiate to the ordinary of the diocese so that the superior would

not oppose the visitation. Since the bishop continued to refuse to allow the visitation, the rector passed the case to the superior for him to resolve what appeared to be a serious and delicate conflict. The Council of Public Instruction, in session of April 19, 1861, and in good agreement with the measures proposed by the rector, tried to reconcile the interests of all, respecting the enclosure of the nuns and preserving the right of the Government to the direction and inspection of all education in Spain. To this end, he foresaw that a door be opened to communicate with the street without violating the enclosure and that it be placed at the expense of the Town Hall. Thereby, respecting the Concordat, the Government preserved what it understood to be its inalienable task: the control of education⁴⁰. With this solution, for the time being, the initial rejection of the Church was transformed into an affirmation of the compatibility between ecclesiastical autonomy and the right to State inspection.

But the problem that stifled the visitations was the insufficiency of economic resources. It was up to the provincial deputations, according to the needs of each province, to approve the expenses incurred by the visitations. Hence, we do not find a uniform expense among the provinces. Ciudad Real, for example, in 1859, paid 30 *reales* for visiting expenses; in 1860 it rose to 33, distributed as follows: 12 *reales* per day for a horse and its maintenance; 6 for a servant who accompanies him and 15 for per diems. The amount spent in Madrid at the same time was higher. While in 1859 he paid 40 *reals* per day, two years later, in 1860, the rector approved a budget of 60 *reals* for daily expenses⁴¹. However, in the same year of 1861, the deputation of Teruel only paid 30 *reales*, 15 for per diems and another fifteen for travel expenses⁴²; Segovia was more frugal in its spending and, in 1862, paid even less: 25 *reales*⁴³.

Sometimes we see the visitation interrupted until new resources are provided⁴⁴; other times, to avoid the difficulties of shortage of funds, the deficit of one year is transferred to the following year's budget. In some cases, it is stated that if the shortfall is not made up, the visit will not be able to take place⁴⁵. In 1866, in the province of Cádiz, the ordinary annual six-month visitation was not carried out due to lack of money⁴⁶. The extreme case was represented by Madrid, whose Provincial Council, interpreting that certain inspection expenses were not compulsory⁴⁷, approved in December 1865 a budget for the following fiscal year in which the amounts destined to travel expenses, per diems and the provincial inspector's desk were removed. This severe measure, which was interpreted by the Board of Instruction of the capital as a full-fledged suppression of the inspectorate, led to the intervention of the governor of the province and even of the Minister of Public Works himself, who revoked the measure by Royal Order of May 16, 1866, ordering the reinstatement of the previously cancelled expenses in the budget⁴⁸. But Madrid's case was not isolated. Everything points to the fact that several provincial councils were proceeding in the same way, refusing to include in their budgets, with the approval of the provincial fund accountants, the amounts necessary for the inspectors to make their visitations, arguing that the forms accompanying the regulations for the execution of the provincial budget and accounting law did not contain a heading dedicated to inspection expenses. This situation was aggravated by the fact that some provinces refused to issue the bills of inspection expenses, arguing that they were to be paid once the service had been performed⁴⁹.

That budgetary insufficiencies slowed down the development of the visitations and, consequently, limited the action of the State, became evident during the extraordinary visitation of clear ideological content

ordered by Orovio on August 1, 1866. Despite the energetic tone of the Order, it encountered serious difficulties of deployment in some provinces. In Cádiz, to be able to verify it, the rector of Sevilla had to request the deputation to authorize 300 *escudos* (old coin) from the contingency fund⁵⁰. In Asturias, it could not be carried out in the same year of 1866 because the deputation was dissolved, so that until January of the following year, once it had been re-established, resources could not be obtained from the contingency fund to be used for this extraordinary visitation⁵¹. In Segovia, it was postponed to the following year, and by then, it would only fall on forty towns in the entire province⁵². It seems that the same fate befell Guadalajara⁵³. When the extraordinary visitation was postponed for lack of resources to the following year, it was seriously limited, since it then had to be reconciled with the ordinary visitation. The solution adopted in these cases was to dedicate half of the six prescriptive months of visitation to the extraordinary visit decreed by Orovio and, the other half, would be used to visit the schools. The consequence was a notable reduction in the possible towns to be visited, so that the scope of the extraordinary visit decreed on August 1, 1866, by Orovio was more limited than is usually claimed.

To all these circumstances that slowed down the act of the visitation, apart from the rains and snows, must be added the rest of the tasks entrusted to the inspector. Attendance at the examinations for the course test and the revalidation of the Normal Schools, the presence at the competitive examinations to fill the vacant schools in the province, and direct teaching in the Normal Schools often interfered with the indispensable mission of visiting the schools in the provinces⁵⁴.

The secretaries of the superior or provincial Commissions also received inspection faculties. These, who after 1849 were required to have the title of high school teacher and whose position was compatible with the practice of

teaching or other employment, could visit schools only in extraordinary cases and for no more than 15 days, with the authorization of the provincial Commission. It does not seem that this function, in general terms, was confirmed in reality, except for one case: the Islas Canarias. There, taking advantage of the new administrative organization given to the Islands by Royal Decree of March 17, 1852, the position of inspector was temporarily suppressed, and the secretary assumed his functions, who had to visit and receive the amounts of expenses and trips as the inspector⁵⁵ had done before. The introduction of the visitation, albeit in an extraordinary way, among the functions of the secretary, was an administrative prevision probably born with the intention of palliating and reinforcing an insufficiently endowed inspectorate. A problem, by the way, that will drag the inspection at many moments throughout its history.

Regarding the visitations that the general inspectors had to carry out, Gil de Zárate circulated instructions to all the provinces in 1851 in which he offered criteria to proceed in the same. The general inspectorate, without prejudice to the leadership that corresponded to the rectors over all the Normal Schools⁵⁶ in their district, capacity to supervise the administrative, economic, and educational regime, even attending classes and verifying in their presence an examination of the students in the different subjects. This control was extended to the teachers' academies, which they would attend their sessions and inspect their minute books, the provincial Commissions, and provincial inspectors. The superior Commissions had to provide them with the minute books, the registers of the secretariats and to report on all the acts and operations carried out by the inspectors. Finally, the effectiveness of this controlling function of the general inspectorate was reflected in the report in which it had to express, once its tour was over, the

state observed and any measures it considered necessary for improvement⁵⁷.

At present, we do not know the degree of compliance with the authority of control of the general inspectorate, especially over the actions of the provincial inspectors and the foreseeable sanctions that could be generated as a result of their visitations. However, given that at that time the organization of this administrative unit was just beginning, it is foreseeable that initially its inspection activity would be irregular and discontinuous, and there would even be provinces that hardly received its presence. In fact, in the first report on the state of public instruction that they prepared in October 1851, they say nothing about their inspection activity in the provinces, apart from Madrid. In fact, as general inspectors, they limited themselves to visiting the boys' and girls' schools in Madrid, where they instructed the teaching staff in teaching methods, while at the same time they attended the examinations of the central Normal School⁵⁸. In fact, there is no lack of research that highlights the difficulties of the general inspectorate in fulfilling the legal mandate to visit the Normal Schools (Ávila, 1988: 404).

OFFICE AND WRITING

The conformation of the inspectorate did not remain only in these organic and functional formulations that we have just pointed out, but at the same time created a *corpus* of specialized writing and communication. During the configuration of what today we would call the inspection service, a refined technique of formal and written procedures was created, which introduced a special bureaucracy that would become established over time and whose basic lines continue to this day. The invigoration of the liberal State also involved archiving and paper, since writing, the means of communication par excellence, strengthened the Administration while

reinforcing the autonomy of the inspection organization itself. Paperwork, in its deployment, regulated and subjected citizens' relations with the State, in short, imposed order.

En In this geometric configuration of relations between the teaching profession and the inspectorate, between the citizenry and the Administration, the functions of the inspectorate were materialized through the following elements:

A) MONTHLY REPORT

The first days of each month, according to the wording of article 39 of the regulations, the provincial inspectors were obliged to send to the General Directorate "a brief report of the work in which they had been engaged during the previous month". In these documents, which required clarity and brevity, they had to indicate the matters in which they had taken part and the procedures carried out for the progress of primary education. To ensure clarity in their writing, it was recommended that the matters be listed in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Order of October 12, 1849, which indicated the powers and duties of the inspectors, indicating in the margin of the letter, with one or two words, the matters on which the communication dealt with.

It should be noted that the use of these reports was almost regular from the first moment, as the Auxiliary Commission of the General Inspection itself recognized in March 1850: "Up to the present time all the provincial inspectors have complied with this part of their assignment except those of the Canary Islands, Alava and Guipúzcoa"⁵⁹. However, in February 1853, to simplify the inspection bureaucracy, the drafting of these reports was reduced to quarterly periods. From now on, the monthly reports, together with the notes on the work to be sent by the Provincial Commissions, were

to be sent to the Ministry in the first days of January, April, July, and October.⁶⁰.

An extract of these reports was published in the *Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Commerce, Instruction and Public Works*, providing excellent information on the daily work of the inspectors⁶¹.

B) ANNUAL REPORT

Each provincial inspector was required to submit an annual report on the state of education, according to article 18, paragraph 6, of the inspectors' regulations, in the month of January. In this report, they were to report on the state of education in their province, as well as the progress that had been made. The basic elements to be included in this report were as follows:

a) The number of schools according to their classes and grades, expressing whether there were enough of them and what was the proportion between the towns that had schools and those that lacked them, without forgetting to give preference in the observations to elementary schools and girls' schools that were too often neglected. Consequently, and in an environment where there was a shortage of schools and teachers, the inspectorate had the obligation to promote the schooling of the population.

b) The attendance of children at school. One of the limitations to the implementation of schooling not only lay in the investment, in the supply of schools, but also in the neglect shown by large sectors of the population to send their children to school. The sources of the time speak continuously about the apathy of the citizens and of the City Councils with the primary instruction. This disdain can be explained by the lack of school tradition and professional expectations that school could cause, the low level of income and the opportunity cost or lack of income that the absence of the child while attending school would cause in the families (Núñez, 1992: 225-287), without forgetting, as Manuel de Puelles (2004) has pointed out, the bankruptcy of local finances. The inspectorate was charged with warning

when the attitude of parents or child labor prevented children from attending school. They were recommended to indicate in their report whether these causes existed as an explanation for the low level of attendance, not forgetting late schooling, which also had an impact on the lower literacy rate, as well as the age at which children attended school.

c) Their impressions of the education provided in schools, which obliged them to set out their considerations on the school system, pedagogical methods, and teaching. And all this by clearly separating references to public and private schools, elementary schools for girls and boys, nursery schools, and adult schools.

d) They were to express their opinion about the teachers, pointing out their ability and zeal. Likewise, they had to make indications about their conduct, outlining those who were reprimanded and the effects of said reprimand, as well as those who behaved well and deserved a prize or reward. All these indications or observations had to be accompanied by measures to improve the teacher's position.

e) They had to indicate the resources that the town councils allocated to the instruction of their fellow citizens: teachers' endowments, school expenses, means and ease of increasing them, regularity of payments and remuneration of children who were not poor. The inspector would record the payments of children who could afford to pay for primary education, a logical consequence of a liberal State that had abandoned the enlightened idea of equality before the lights and the gratuity of primary education for ideological rather than economic reasons. Doctrinaire liberalism, preferably and almost exclusively focused on the wealthy classes that were building the State, decided that this educational stage, which was intended for the peasant class and the emerging working class, would only be free in extreme cases of poverty, hence the inspector observed in his notes a distinction between those who could afford to go to school and

those who could not. Likewise, the inspector would pay attention to the material aspects of the school: health standards, the state of the building, including the teacher's house or room, the amount of the rent and the possibility of the town hall acquiring ownership of the school.

To standardize the writing and style of the reports, the inspectors were strongly recommended to limit themselves to following the legislation, avoiding personal judgments that would alter the plans in force.

However, it would still take about four years for the report technique to become a regular practice and to conform to the parts described above. This is attested to by the various attempts and efforts of the auxiliary Commission of the General Inspectorate to obtain regular reports from all the inspectors. In 1854 the undersecretary of the Ministry of Grace and Justice still denounced that he had not received the annual reports of inspectors corresponding to the year 1851 from Ávila, Valladolid, Jaén, Alicante, Teruel, Oviedo, Santander, Cáceres, and Orense, nor those of 1852 from Guadalajara, Cádiz, Jaén, Alicante, Lérida, Teruel, Oviedo, Santander, Cáceres, and Orense⁶². Nevertheless, it seems that the efforts of the auxiliary Commission to obtain the annual reports of the inspectors on a regular basis soon bore fruit. In 1853, we know that it received all the reports from all the provincial inspectors except for Cádiz⁶³.

C) VISITATION STATEMENT

The visitation statement was a document to be submitted by the inspector to the provincial Commission, with a copy to the General Directorate, once his visitation trip was over. It was a complementary document to the annual report. While the latter expressed general and common features of the province, the visitation report detailed, village by village, the facts observed together with the proposed improvements.

The order to be followed in its drafting was the same that appeared in the interrogatory or questionnaire contained in the aforementioned Royal Order of October 12, 1849. However, initially, the inspectors did not follow the instructions given in this Royal Order in writing their statements, resulting in a marked lack of uniformity in their writing, as the auxiliary Commission made clear: "some inspectors believe that they should be so meticulous and prolix that they do not fail to deal even with the objects least worthy of mention; others judge that they should only record generalities; some begin where they should end; and finally, almost all fail to make the summary at the end with which they should end this work"⁶⁴. This observation, in fact, was taken up by the Ministry and was the subject of a circular of March 1852 reminding inspectors of their obligation to draw up the reports and visitation statements in accordance with the provisions, and to end their writings with a summary that was a true extract of the whole document⁶⁵.

The number of visitation statements written by the inspectors during the five-year period 1851-1855 reached 648, highlighting the diversity of the inspectors' performance. Some inspectors, such as that of Valladolid, Mariano Sánchez Ocaña, with a total of 184 reports written, reveal a very high performance⁶⁶; others, such as the inspectors of Álava, Cádiz, Canarias, Guadalajara, Santander, and Vizcaya do not exceed three reports during the five-year period. In addition, a clear discontinuity is observed, as in the case of the aforementioned inspector of Valladolid, who goes from 87 reports in 1853 to 4 in 1854 and 1 in 1855. There is no case of sustained progression. These considerations show that communication between the inspector and the governmental authorities was still far from being consolidated⁶⁷.

In conclusion, the inspectors barely complied with the prescriptive writing of the visitation statements, which meant that these hardly reached the General Directorate. It is not surprising that, taking advantage of the

drafting of the Moyano Law, this practice was banished, simplifying and reducing the inspector's work to a series of notes on the state of each school, the precautions that he considered appropriate to note in the school's visitors' book and the document that he would send every eight days to the president of the provincial Board with the information on the towns visited.

D) STATISTICS

When building a State, it is essential not only to control the territory, but know it as well⁶⁸. Therefore, it was necessary to develop a statistical information system for primary education. As he did in the Treasury with the system of assessment forms and evaluation booklets, he placed in the hands of the inspectors the responsibility for collecting and transmitting the data requested in the forms. A permanent mechanism for the circulation of statistical information was created, as evidenced by the volumes published under the title of *Estadística de la primera enseñanza en España* (Statistics of Primary Education in Spain)⁶⁹.

Statistics that the inspectors had to compile following the models sent by the auxiliary Commission. Statistical tables were drawn up and printed at the end of 1849⁷⁰, which were circulated to all the inspectors so that they would return them completed by the end of 1850. It was an unsuccessful attempt, as the auxiliary Commission itself recognized in its report of October 20th, 1851: "It has been necessary to consult the statistics of 1846, as regards some which the inspection has not reached, all those of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa, where statistics have not been compiled due to a lack of inspectors, and those of the Islas Canarias, Guadalajara and Orense, where they have not been completed for other reasons"⁷¹. For this reason, the formation of these statistics was delayed. It was not until the session of January 20, 1852, that the auxiliary Commission entrusted Mariano

Cardedera with the statistical report resulting from the tables circulated at the end of 1849. When the work was completed in July, it suffered, as its author recognized, from "many inaccuracies due to partly unavoidable causes", although "the general summary is as close as possible to the truth"⁷².

We will have to wait until 1855 to see the beginning of exhaustive, detailed statistics in the field of public instruction. By Royal Order of September 26, 1855, 12 models were sent to the inspectors referring to the number of schools, with specification of their classes and grades; regime, discipline and their material state; number of teachers of students by genders, age and their concurrence to the schools; schools and teachers subject to religious congregations; allocation of expenses to the schools and the amount of the children's salaries; aspirants to the teaching profession and the situation of the Normal Schools; progress of primary instruction from January 1, 1851 to December 31, 1855, and services carried out by the inspectorate itself since its creation. These tables were completed with two others sent to the rectors and superior Commissions respectively, on the state of the Normal Schools and the proportion of schools and children attending them⁷³.

There were serious difficulties to collect the materials as the inspector of Badajoz, Pedro Rubio Moreno, testifies to us when on April 1, 1856, taking advantage of sending the statistical tables to the General Directorate, he alluded to them with this forceful affirmation: "the criminal deficiency and apathy with which almost all the municipal corporations have proceeded when sending those that have been demanded of them, the inexact way in which most of them have executed them" (Cortés, 1994: 43). Despite these difficulties that caused the delay in its formation, it would finally see the light in 1859 in the *Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Development*⁷⁴. However, the delay in its publication cannot minimize one fact: in its first hours, the primary

education inspectorate was relatively efficient. The State was beginning to give the appearance of centralization, initiating a slow but inexorable process of structuring with the change brought about by the introduction of a special agent collaborating with and subject to the provincial Commissions of primary instruction. It is true that errors occurred in the collection of data due to lack of experience, to the delay of the mayors in sending them or to the lack of diligence of the inspectors themselves in processing them⁷⁵, but there is no doubt that the inspection, from now on, and not without irregularities and ups and downs, will become an essential piece in the formation of the great statistics of the last quarter of the 19th century and a good part of the 20th century.

E) OFFICE

The circulation of all this documentation, its improvement and steady increase required, simultaneously, its storage and conservation. Hence the need to store all the paperwork and information produced by the inspector's work, which would lead to the constitution of his office. This meant reinforcing the bureaucratic ties between the core of the State and the citizens through the intermediary of the primary inspectorate.

The liberal State, completing the plot of documents that we have analyzed above, outlined the first system of the inspector's office, which would normally be housed in the premises of the provincial political government. It not only established the elements that would constitute it, but also the requirements or form of externalization of the writings. Its archive consisted of the following documentation⁷⁶:

- Logbook of schools, drawn up in accordance with the requirements set forth in article 53 of May 1849 regulations on inspectors.⁷⁷ Its entries, whose drafts had to have been previously submitted by the secretary for the inspector's approval, should include all the towns in the province, whether or not they had schools, duly separating the different schools in it, that is,

whether they were public or private, nursery or adult schools, with space to note any variation in the different circumstances covered by the registry. This book, which came into effect as soon as the inspector began to make his visits, was to contain an alphabetical index of the name of the town or district and the folio in which it was registered.

- The communications addressed by the superiority, especially those emanating from the General Directorate of Public Instruction.

- The reports, notifications, news, and instructions that in the performance of their duties result from their communication with the general director, political chief, superior commissions, rectors, institute directors and local commissions.

- All documents referring to foundations, legacies, pious works, memoirs, etc. destined for the primary instruction of his province.

- Correspondence book or file of minutes of each order or communication received.

- Copy of the statements drawn up for the visitations conducted, as well as the annual reports sent to the General Directorate.

- Statistical data.

- Documentation related to the popular libraries, including especially copies of their regulations.

This not only standardized the office of the inspectors in Spain, but also created a mechanism of continuity, regardless of who held the office, since every inspector who left the office had to make an inventory of all the documents in his archive to hand them over to his successor.

On the other hand, in its desire to standardize the nascent bureaucracy, as well as to forge and control it, in 1855 the progressive government ordered all inspectors to send to the General Directorate an inventory of the documents that constituted the archives of the provinces in which they

served, "stating the manner in which they were classified and the period they covered"⁷⁸.

The auxiliary Commission, which included the general inspectorate, also had its own office from the outset, its own rules of organization under the direct responsibility of a secretary who distributed files, collected reports and opinions, drafted correspondence and forwarded the resolutions adopted to the government⁷⁹. The various competencies of the auxiliary Commission were organized into five divisions and a general registry in which each had to keep its own logbook: 1st) division of reports and consultations in which matters were classified according to their object; 2nd) division of draft regulations, instructions and programs; 3rd) division of inspection which, in turn, was subdivided into two sections: the first, relating to the inspections carried out by the general inspectors. They included Normal Schools, secretariats of the superior commissions and schools of Madrid and provincial capitals; the second, referring to the provincial inspection, included the monthly reports, visitation statements and annual reports to be sent by the inspectors; 4th) the teachers' examination files review department; 5th) the statistics department, where the data collected were to be coordinated on a monthly basis and a monthly statistical statement was prepared, which served as the basis for the annual report; and 6th) general registry of files in which the following days were noted: the day the letter was received; the day it was delivered to the corresponding department; the day it was sent to the inspector on duty; the day it was returned with the inspector's report and the day it was reported to the Commission. In addition, the page of the book of agreements in which the report was recorded and the page of the book where the literal report addressed to the Government was found were noted down. All this bureaucracy was completed with the obligation to keep a copy book of the communications addressed to the Government and to the general

inspectors, another of the minutes of the auxiliary Commission itself and another of the accounting book in which the monthly office expenses were recorded.

These five offices, under the immediate direction of a secretary, were held by two officers. While the first officer oversaw the third and fifth business, the second officer oversaw the first, second and fourth business. Meanwhile, the first clerk was responsible for the general registry.

With the creation of all this bureaucracy, not only was the State trying to establish a general administration for the management and control of the new school network it was building, but it was also trying to increase its strength with respect to the centrifugal powers. Although we still do not know how it affected the political structure, it is not unreasonable to suppose that all this display of documents, writings and formal procedures played an essential role in the process of building the liberal State, since it invigorated its authority and helped it to extend it throughout the territory. On the other hand, all this documentary network linked the provincial inspectorate more closely to the central power, while marking the beginning of a technified administration, subject to formal rules and procedures, thus building the liberal State, whether led by moderates or progressives, the foundations of an objective system of management and administration. A valuable system insofar as it incorporated the public good and the modernization of the country among its aims, but one that always ran the risk of becoming arbitrary the closer it came to routine and inefficiency. As we can see, the primary education inspectorate, with all its bureaucratic framework, was an example of how the rational and administrative State of the moderates, theorized by illustrious jurists, was deployed and which, in the hands of authoritarian governments, imposed an order in accordance with the interests of the oligarchy. In our opinion, it should be read as a relatively successful phase, with its limits, of the liberal political evolution

which, in turn, was in line with that which was appearing in Europe (Santirso, 2012).

NORMAL SCHOOLS AND INSPECTION

As we have seen, the Royal Decree of March 30, 1849, reorganized the Normal Schools and simultaneously created the professional inspection of primary education. This linkage was not a causality because, from the beginning, liberalism wanted the inspectorate functioning as a complementary machine to the Normal Schools. An idea that had already been forcefully formulated in 1844 by Laureano Figuerola, to whom we owe the introduction of the peseta as a unit of account in Spain (Figuerola, 1844: 43):

The normal school to train good teachers and the constant inspection to monitor and reward those who practice the profession; these are the two poles around which primary education should revolve and have life. Without fixing its consideration on them, without subordinating the other works to them, it will tire in useless efforts and the commissions will fail.

If the teacher training colleges trained teachers, the inspectorate was responsible, among other functions, for preserving and extending the doctrines received there.

The moderates established three links between the teacher training colleges and the inspectorate so that both entities would share the same direction:

First, it is necessary to emphasize a control link that, as already noted, was in fact unfulfilled. The general inspectorate, without prejudice to the authority vested in the rector of the university district, had the power to visit the teacher training colleges. This inspection was entrusted to him for three fundamental reasons: because, being far from the province, it was not conditioned by the influences of the locality, which allowed it to avoid the

pressures of the environment and the difficulties derived from a personal or direct and immediate relationship and, therefore, to exercise a responsible and ascending inspection; because the general inspectors were hierarchically placed above the directors of the Normal Schools, which was not the case with the provincial inspectors who were placed on the same administrative step as the directors, with which the inspection was inseparable from the exercise of the hierarchy; and because only a general inspectorate, located at the political and administrative center, could have the unity of vision and action that was indispensable in all the teacher training colleges, which enabled it to examine them all, to compare them, and to instill in them, even if they were distributed by provinces, "the same spirit and to direct them to the same end"⁸⁰. The general inspectorate was entrusted with the task of inspecting everything related to the administrative, economic, teaching, and disciplinary aspects of the Normal Schools, being able to attend classes and examine their students in all subjects as a means of observing the progress of their teaching⁸¹. This control function, which would be confirmed in the Moyano Law, was only momentarily curtailed when at the end of the reign of Isabel II the last two governments of Narváez, yielding to the pressure of the neo-Catholics, authorized an increasing intervention of the Church in primary education. First, placing the inspection and supervision of the Normal Schools in the hands of the ecclesiastical viceroy delegated by the diocesan in the Board of provincial public instruction, who would visit them in company of another individual of the same proposed by the rector and designated by the Government⁸². Then the suppression of the Normal Schools came with the law of June 2, 1868, creating in their place chairs of pedagogy in the secondary schools that were expressly authorized⁸³. This suppression was carried out quickly, since it was not in vain that within a month the conditions for access to the newly created chairs of pedagogy in high schools were

made public, while on July 29, 1868, the lists of teachers appointed to these chairs were published⁸⁴. With the arrival of the revolution of September, these measures were paralyzed, returning the Normal Schools, together with the right to the visit of the general inspectors, to their legal situation prior to the promulgation of the Law of June 2, 1868.

The second link to be mentioned in this network of relations between the Normal Schools and the inspectorate was a double mechanism of an administrative nature. On the one hand, by participating in the selection of applicants for admission to the teaching staff of the Normal Schools. The selection technique was carried out by means of a competitive examination before a tribunal, located in Madrid, in which two general inspectors participated; even, where there was no Normal School, they presided over the competitive examinations to fill the two places for students who were boarded by the province in the superior Normal School. They also participated, both in the superior and elementary normal schools, in the annual tribunal that at the end of the course orally examined their students. In addition, the provincial inspectors participated in the examinations that awarded the title of teacher. As is well known, aspiring teachers who had completed their studies in a Normal School received a document accrediting that they had passed these courses, which enabled them to take the tests organized by the provincial commissions to award the degree. Subsequently, the City Councils nominated the teachers from among those who had obtained this title. Through this double route, examinations in the Normal Schools and in the special provincial commission, the general and provincial inspectorate participated in the selection of candidates for admission to the teaching profession.

The most pedagogical connection, however, and this brings us to the third link, was the obligation of the inspectors, wherever there was a Normal

School, to teach a subject there for part of the year. These lessons became a heavy burden on the work of the inspectors, given their insufficiency to visit the numerous towns in each province. There were inspectors who had to suspend their visitations to the schools while they went to the normal schools to give the lessons. This situation led to a circular letter from the General Directorate insisting that the lessons to be given by the inspectors in the Normal Schools should not be a reason to suspend the visitations undertaken by the inspectors⁸⁵. Nevertheless, in those provinces where there was a Normal School, it must have remained difficult to reconcile the lessons with the practice of visiting, according to the testimony of some of the inspectors⁸⁶.

An important statistical set of the lessons given by the inspectors in the Normal Schools during the five-year period 1851-1855 is now available. The list, in alphabetical provincial order, was published in the *Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Public Works*, as we have shown in the table in Annex I. Logically, given the difficulties manifested by the liberal State to regulate and standardize reliable statistics, we are facing an informative base that must be analyzed with caution. This is because there are doubts about the veracity of certain data due to the exaggerated amount reported, as in the case of the inspector of Burgos, and due to the lack of continuity of the series, which prevents a more far-reaching and long-term study.

The first thing to point out is that if the inspectors in certain provinces did not give any lessons in the Normal Schools, it was for the simple reason that in those places this type of school had not yet been created. This was the case in the provinces of Albacete, Almería, Cádiz, Ávila, Castellón, Huelva, Málaga, Palencia, Pontevedra, Segovia, Tarragona, Teruel, Toledo, Vizcaya, and Zamora. Guipúzcoa would not open a Normal School until 1855 and Alicante until 1858, with the transfer to the capital of the Normal School

located in Orihuela. In other provinces, such as Madrid, the practice of giving lessons is interrupted because, given the organic volume of work, they are freed from this task as long as some of the teachers of the Central Normal School are not absent. Presumably, for the same reasons, the inspectors of large capitals such as Barcelona, La Coruña, Sevilla, Valencia, and Zaragoza were also freed from giving these lessons, starting in 1854. The case of the Canary Islands has another reading: its inspector, Ramón Merino Ballesteros, stopped teaching at the Elementary Normal School of San Cristóbal de La Laguna because in June 1852 his position was abolished —as already noted in the section on the visit, p.26— and the secretaries and members of the higher commissions of the two districts into which the Islas Canarias had been divided were temporarily in charge of visiting the schools.

If we look at the provinces that offer complete values and exclude those that offer null or interrupted values, we see that the participation of inspectors in the Normal Schools as teachers was far from homogeneous, with a notable distance, or an error in the original transcription of the data, between the maximum quotient of Burgos, 298, and that of Cáceres, with an average of 26.8. We also note that from 1853 onwards there was a significant decrease. This sustained decrease in the number of lessons given was probably a direct consequence of the progressive reorganization of the work dedicated to the visits and other tasks of the inspector: the greater the importance and bureaucratic time, the lower the number of students in the Normal Schools.

In any case, given the information available, whose complete data barely cover 20 provinces, it is not possible to make regional estimates. The fragility of the estimates, which in due course will require refining the weightings and contrasting them with alternative calculations, does not hide the fact that the link between the inspectorate and the Normal Schools was

relatively weak, and, as later history will show, insufficient to establish a solid relationship.

In fact, it is a historical fact that the idea of an inspectorate that should run parallel and intertwined with the Normal Schools was a failure. The conservative Antonio García Alix, who in 1900 reformed the Normal Schools to reinforce their technical character and give them a certain independence from political power, tried again, but without success⁸⁷. Subsequently, it fell to the Second Republic, during its first biennium, to outline the most determined attempt to link the inspectorate and the Normal Schools through the application of three measures: a) organization and promotion by the central inspectorate of meetings of inspectors and teachers of normal schools in Madrid and in the districts designated to each general inspector; b) attendance of provincial inspectors at the cloisters of the Normal Schools; c) attendance of a representation of normal teachers at the meetings of inspectors⁸⁸. However, the Second Republic was not able to break the everlasting isolation between inspection and Normal Schools, and once again the desired collaboration became a frustrated objective (Maillo, 1989: 272-273).

AUXILIARY COMMISSION AND GENERAL INSPECTION

The regulation of inspectors of May 15, 1849, created in its article 10 a new unit within the central organization of the State administration: the auxiliary commission of primary instruction. For the purposes of analysis, we can say that we are dealing with a multi-personal unit with functions of inspection, coordination, and support for higher positions. Therefore, the government of primary education was organized around a political direction, headed by the minister and the general director, and a consultative body, the Royal Council of Public Instruction, plus this technical support unit.

The motivation for the creation of this unit, which would not have continuity in the Spanish administrative organization, was twofold: on the one hand, it was born as an aid to a minister and general director who were incapable of processing and selecting by themselves the growing volume of information and planning that was beginning to be presented to them; on the other hand, it arose from the need to have a thinking apparatus that would dynamize and give a certain structural unity to primary instruction with its information and advice to the activity of the corresponding Ministry. This determined the appearance of this auxiliary Commission composed of the general inspectors, together with a teacher from the Central Normal School and its director, who in turn presided over it.

The auxiliary Commission was responsible for preparing all the reports and consultations requested by the Government; preparing the drafts of the regulations and programs entrusted to it; and, as we have already seen, inspecting the fulfillment of its duties by the provincial inspectors, examining the monthly reports and reports of visits sent by them, at the same time as it was obliged to send the Government an extract of these together with its corresponding opinion in order to know how the service was performed and, on the basis of this information, to dictate the appropriate measures. We know that the Commission was involved in all these matters. Thus, during the year 1850, it reported 564 reports and 71 visit reports, formed general programs for the seminaries, practical schools, and Normal Schools of both grades, elementary and higher, in addition to extracting the reports of the inspectors as shown by their publication in the Official Bulletin of the Ministry and the pedagogical press⁸⁹. The Commission was in charge of reviewing the files related to the issuance of teaching degrees, as well as coordinating all the data submitted by the provincial inspectors for the preparation of the general statistics on primary education. This statistical formation, as has

already been pointed out, turned out to be an arduous but essential task for the power of the State Administration. In fact, the statistics ordered at the end of 1850, the first in which the inspectorate intervened, remained incomplete. The insufficient number of inspectors, the difficulties encountered in establishing itself in the País Vasco, the lack of experience and the diversity of criteria in the completion of the models submitted, hindered the first statistical undertakings. A proof of these difficulties would be the circular of January 1854, in which it was ordered to publish the statistics corresponding to the year 1850 while insisting to the auxiliary Commission, to continue and improve the statistical system, to do the following⁹⁰:

without loss of time, the preventions and models that should be made and sent to the provincial commissions and inspectors, and to the normal schools, so that both the reports and the statistical tables to be published may be more complete and accurate.

The following statistics, the five-year period 1851-1855, although they were published late in 1859, were more detailed, even though the models were still executed irregularly. Finally, its functional regime was embodied in the drafting of an annual report to be published on the state and progress of primary education. But in its short existence, the auxiliary Commission only drafted one report, which it would submit to the Government, together with statistical data, after a session held on July 7, 1852. It was not until January 1854 that this general summary, in a 63-page booklet, was made public⁹¹.

The auxiliary Commission of primary instruction was installed on July 1, 1849. That day, in the same building occupied by the Central Normal School, the general inspectors Francisco Iturzaeta, Joaquín Avendaño, Castor Araújo and José Arce met, as well as the first teacher of the central school, José María Flores, acting as secretary Gabino Tejada. The solemnity of the act was determined by the presence of the general director of Public Instruction

and the reading, before all those present, perhaps to affirm his new presence and to channel his future, of the Royal Decree of March 30, 1849, and the second title of the inspectors' regulations, in which were found the dispositions that gave life to the auxiliary Commission. Immediately afterwards, it was reported that the Commission for the revision of examination records for teachers was abolished, as well as the Commission for the inspection of the schools of Madrid, whose documents and belongings now passed to the new auxiliary Commission. At the end of that morning, Antonio Gil y Zárate, after a brief speech alluding to the meeting, declared the auxiliary Commission of primary instruction to be legally constituted⁹².

"The same Commission, as soon as it is installed, as stated in article 13 of the regulations for inspectors, will draw up a set of regulations, establishing the order to be followed in its work for the best performance of its duties, and will submit it for the approval of the Government". And indeed, on July 8, 1849, Joaquín Avendaño, who was presumably entrusted with the drafting, had completed the draft of the internal regulations of the auxiliary Commission⁹³.

Joaquín Avendaño's concern was to reconcile the functions of the position of inspector with those derived as a member of the auxiliary commission, so that both services would not interfere with each other and could be exercised in an orderly and regular manner. With this in mind, he drew up a regulation composed of eight titles.

Title I is devoted to the purpose and general organization of the Commission. It basically reproduced articles 10 and 11 of the inspectors' regulations and regulated the subject of the officers and their sections. It structures the Commission in two sections, the deliberative section, composed of the general inspectors and the two vocals of the Central

Normal School, and the work section, composed of the general inspectors, the secretary and all the employees of the secretariat. Regarding these, he considered it essential to introduce a certain specialization, for which he proposed that two should have the title of senior teachers, who would have the status of officers, while the rest would be auxiliary clerks⁹⁴.

Title II regulates the operation of the meetings to be held by the auxiliary Commission. A weekly meeting is foreseen, on Thursdays, without prejudice to the extraordinary meetings that may be agreed upon due to the urgency of the business to be deliberated. No matter would be dealt with by the auxiliary Commission that had not been previously examined by an inspector, since for the good order of the sessions, it is established that only the inspector's opinion would be debated. The quorum for the valid constitution of this body would be an absolute majority since this was the criterion for the adoption of agreements. Absolute majority always, being able to verify the votes in two ways: public, standing up those who approved the opinion and remaining seated those who disapproved it; secret, proceeding in this case to introduce in an urn some black and white cards, serving the first ones to approve and the second ones to reject. Whenever an opinion was disapproved, it would return to the inspector in charge of the same one so that he would modify or rewrite it according to the reasons that originated its reprobation.

Title III outlined the duties of the president and title IV configured the service of the inspectors general, regulating both their organization and their operation. It divided the inspectors general into two shifts for the service of the visits, which could not last more than two months each outing. The first would be constituted by the first three appointed and the second by the last three. It divided the national territory in districts that corresponded with those indicated for each one of the universities of the country, although it

was necessary to wait until the end of 1851 to see the first shift destined to visit the districts of Valladolid, Salamanca, Oviedo and Santiago in the persons of Joaquín Avendaño, Mariano Cardedera and Castor Araújo.⁹⁵ The reason for the fact that this first round of visits did not leave until two years after its installation was, according to Gil de Zárate, none other than the need for the Government "to occupy them in Madrid as members of the auxiliary Commission" (Gil de Zárate, 1855, I: 311).

The shift of departures was complemented by two others: the inspection of the schools in Madrid, which was carried out by means of weekly shifts organized among the inspectors who remained in Madrid, and the service of the secretariat, in which they also took turns on a weekly basis. The work of the inspectors, as members of the Commission, was divided into ordinary, also fixed by shifts, which included the opinions on the monthly reports and visit reports of the provincial inspectors; the reports and consultations requested by the Government and the review of the examination files for the issuance of titles to teachers; and extraordinary, entrusted by the president to the inspector he deemed most convenient, and whose work would fall on the reports and consultations requested by the Government with the subsequent purpose of translating them into general provisions, draft regulations, programs and instructions, and the drafting of the annual report on the state and progress of primary education.

Titles VI and VII articulated the secretariat and the functions of the secretary. It established the office hours, the five departments that would compose it, with special emphasis on the third, the department of inspections, subdivided into two sections: the first section covered the inspection of the Normal Schools, that of the provincial capitals, the public schools of Madrid and the secretariats of the provincial Commissions, while the second covered what referred to the peripheral inspection: monthly

reports, visitation statements, and annual reports. It also dealt with the archives and the functions of the secretary as the immediate head of the office: to distribute the files; to attend the sessions and take the corresponding minutes of the agreements taken; to report to the service inspector of the matters prepared for the examination of the Commission; to draft the correspondence, to send the files and reports to the Government respecting the regulatory procedure indicated and to supervise his subordinates so that they would carry out their work punctually. The last title, title VIII, focused on accounting.

It is more than likely that this regulation, whose organization, and operation is clearly regulated, was, as Avendaño wanted, a sure guide in the proper performance of its tasks. However, little is known about the actual fulfillment of these tasks due to the disappearance of important documentation from the General Administration Archive as a result of the fire of 1939 and the expurgations carried out in 1911, 1940 and 1941. From the scarce documentation preserved in the General Archive of the Administration and transmitted by the press of the time and the Commission itself, we see a relatively active general inspection, or at least this is the perception that Gil de Zárate has bequeathed to us, whose words must be modulated as he was both judge and party (Gil y Zárate, 1885, I: 311):

They did very important work for the organization of the normal schools, the arrangement of those in Madrid, the drafting of regulations and programs, and the dispatch of an infinite number of files. Among the latter should be counted the examination and report of 564 monthly reports of the provincial inspectors, 71 visit reports, 28 files on the improvement of the provision of the schools and 656 of aspirants to the title of teacher, of which 57 have been rejected for not accrediting that the interested parties had the legal requirements, and 100 for not having sufficient instruction. They have also reported on 90 reports concerning the payment of teachers, contributing to the improvement that is being experienced in a point so neglected until now; finally, they have been involved in the coordination and summary of the numerous

statistical data sent by the provincial inspectors, and in the drafting of the annual report that they are mandated to form by their regulations.

They even had to divide their time between teaching at the Escuela Normal Central when a teacher was absent and participating in the examining board that had to examine the teachers of this school in the absence of the teacher, as well as intervening in the night academy for public school teachers in Madrid, where they had to give two lessons a week on non-holidays, between 8 and 10 p.m.⁹⁶.

The auxiliary commission had the approval of the progressives, who in their unborn public instruction project of December 1855, maintained it with the same organization and functioning, although they changed its name to the auxiliary Board⁹⁷:

Article 177 states that the general inspectors, who are not visiting the provinces, shall constitute, together with the head teacher of the principal of the normal central school, under the presidency of the director of this same establishment, an auxiliary Board of the Government to supervise the work of the provincial inspectors, examine the reports of visits and report on them, review the records of titles and carry out any commissions and work entrusted to them by the Government in order to promote the progress of the branch.

However, it would be up to a moderate government to close the brief historical cycle of the auxiliary commission. In fact, its existence would not be included in the Moyano Law of 1857, and it was definitively suppressed with the publication in 1859 of the general regulations for the administration and regime of public instruction, which repealed and replaced that of inspectors of May 1849.

However, although at first glance this is the conclusion that the *Case Law Collection* leads us to, it is possible that the auxiliary Commission continued to exist in fact for some years beyond 1857. This suspicion is fueled by the existence of two documents preserved in the *General Archive of the Administration*: one contains a ruling, dated December 15, 1863, on the

itineraries of the visits to the schools approved by the rectors; and the other is a Royal Order, signed by Alonso Martínez, under the presidency of the Marquis of Miraflores, dated December 15, 1863, reorganizing the Auxiliary Commission of primary instruction itself.⁹⁸ Throughout its articles, it proposed an auxiliary Commission composed of the general inspector, who in turn was the advisor-rapporteur of the primary education section of the Council of Public Instruction, the director and two teachers of the Central Normal School and the general inspectors, with the possibility of adding, at the convenience of the General Directorate, one or more provincial inspectors or Normal School directors during one of the sessions held. This auxiliary Commission, which retained exactly the same title as its predecessor, would hold only two ordinary sessions per year, in the months of May and December. It would assume functions of support to the Council of Public Instruction clearly inspired by its predecessor: to learn about the state of public instruction and to propose the measures conducive to its improvement and extension; to examine the service and results of the provincial inspection and of the Normal Schools; to form models and coordinate the statistical data, to give its opinion on each of the textbooks to be submitted for approval by the Council of Public Instruction and to evacuate the reports that were requested of it. The administrative infrastructure of the General Directorate was placed at its service, which was responsible for preparing various files to be submitted to the auxiliary Commission in each of the two annual sessions. Did it subsist as a support to the primary instruction section of the Council of Public Instruction? What is certain is that we know nothing about this supposed second stage of the auxiliary Commission. We do not know if it was really installed and exercised its duties, if it sent to the General Directorate the minutes and work of its sessions, if they were held, with the corresponding summaries of the reports and proposals for improvement to which its observations gave rise, nor if it

drew up its own internal regulations in its first session, as ordered by the eighth provision of the aforementioned Royal Order of November 15, 1863. The lack of documentation is, for the moment, the insurmountable obstacle that prevents us from knowing, even partially, the life of the auxiliary Commission that Alonso Martínez seems to have wanted to promote in 1864.

FIRST INSPECTORS⁹⁹

"The appointments certainly give authority, but they do not confer the prestige that sufficiency and reputation carry with them. Only with very worthy people will it be possible to prevent the reform from being stillborn". The editors of the *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, to whom these words belong, were calling on the Government to be judicious in its appointments. The Government, guided by the need to entrust the position to special, suitable and experienced persons in education, proceeded in May 1849 to make the appointment of the first inspectors.

Considering the high degree of discretion of the political power in administrative appointments and dismissals, a relative stability in the position was observed for these first years: in March 1860, 51% of those appointed in 1849 still held the position of provincial inspector¹⁰⁰. It does not seem that in these years the professional career of the inspector was especially threatened by political dismissal or administrative sanction. Even, with some exceptions, there was a predominant abstention in dismissals and appointments during the irruption of the progressives after the Vicalvarada of 1854. The fact that the progressive government itself, as we have already seen, disallowed the dismissal of the inspector of Guadalajara by the revolutionary Junta when it transferred him to Segovia without respecting the legal precautions, supports the hypothesis that between 1849 and 1860, political contamination in the use of the inspectorate was relative. However,

this must have suffered an increase, with a massive policy of transfers and some dismissals, during the last two governments of Isabel II.

All were chosen by the moderate government of Narváez, with the ultraconservative Juan Bravo Murillo as Minister of Commerce, Instruction and Public Works (Pro, 2006: 168-178), for their special knowledge of education and school government. Most of them had been students of the Central Normal School of Madrid, and the election was made preferably among directors of Normal Schools, especially those abolished by the Royal Decree of March 30, 1849, and their teachers. Some of them were even backed by the experience gained during the unsuccessful extraordinary visitation of 1841 (Ramírez, 2003: 266-291) such as Leandro Bonet, Clemente Fernández, Domingo Pío, Urbano Mínguez and Lázaro Ralero. Others had at some point been in the service of the superior or provincial Commissions as *visitadores*, as in the case of José Torres, José Alonso Rodríguez, Pedro Sánchez and Cipriano León, who practiced in the provinces of Málaga, Logroño, Sevilla and Valladolid respectively. It is more than likely that these visits were made in 1841 or 1842 as part of the special visitation ordered in April 1841.

There were also those who combined their profession as inspectors with the writing and dissemination of pedagogical works, written with the intention of cultivating a hopeful sowing in the improvement of public instruction. Domingo Pío Aguirre, Clemente Fernández, Rafael García, Pedro Plaguezuelo, Remigio María Molés and especially Rafael Sánchez, Luis Nata, Carlos Yeves, Jorge García and Francisco Merino contributed with their texts to make the task of teachers more intelligible. Even some, such as Carlos Yeves and Pedro Moreno Rubio, transferred their concern for education to the world of literature, the former publishing a novel in 1866 with the title *Un maestro, novela pedagógica*¹⁰¹, while the latter would publish in 1862 a 63-

page autobiographical account entitled *Un recuerdo*¹⁰². For these merits and for this pedagogical and dissemination work, notably reinforced by the most important inspectors general Joaquín Avendaño, Mariano Cardedera and José Francisco de Iturzaeta, we are before the most important group of pedagogues of the time. Pedagogy, which would receive a notable impulse in the heat of the Krausist movement, was born linked to the education inspectorate and maintained a close bond with it until recent times, perhaps until the appearance and extension of the university faculties of pedagogy.

CONCLUSION

We have seen how the liberal State, hand in hand with the moderate and authoritarian sector, erected in the year 1849 a whole administrative inspection plant to accompany the literacy process of Spanish society. In doing so, it structured society, controlled the territory, established new power relations, and tried to bring together the liberal State and the educational system, a source of political legitimacy. The Government, from that moment on, would shape public instruction through material and technical actions reserved to civil servants who were required objectivity, specialization and guarantees of responsibility.

In just a few months, it organized its structure, appointed the first inspectors, dictated its first regulations and outlined its functions, attributions and office. This opened a path on which the Spanish educational administration was to walk and which continues in its essential lines. Today, as in the 19th century, the education inspectorate also looks at the educational center, it is structured in a double dependence between center and periphery, it is granted the responsibility to ensure compliance with regulations in order to protect educational legal assets, it is protected by the privilege of self-government and exercises its authority, which derives from the law, with its external, advisory and corrective notes (Ramírez, 2021:2021).

Its material action is carried out with the force of the technical report as the main instrument of communication, which allows the creation of a corpus of specialized writing and communication, a refined technique of formal and written procedures that undoubtedly strengthens the Administration, the authority of the State and the figure of the inspector. In short, he imposed and imposes order. With the exception of its participation in the novel concept of evaluation born with the Education Act of 1970, today the education inspectorate replicates the early days of 1849. Seen from a historical perspective, we can speak of the triumph of a state and administrative model that has withstood the passing of the years in the face of profound crises. It has survived in its essential parts, even though the political system has moved from authoritarianism to democracy. We can say that the State of the 19th century was an entelechy and inert, as Azaña pointed out in a well-known conference (Azaña, 1982:211), but we cannot deny the intense and successful activity deployed in 1849 to build an education inspectorate that preserves today, 175 years later, its master beams. Today's education inspectorate is a continuation of the one created in 1849 in its structure and functions. We find, despite the multiplicity of its parts shaped by the hand of time, a deep link between 1849 and the present day.

ANNEX I: LESSONS GIVEN IN NORMAL SCHOOLS. 1851-1858 (APPENDIX I: LESSONS GIVEN IN NORMAL SCHOOLS. 1851-1858 (Total and average only for the provinces for which we have complete data for each year of the five-year period). SOURCE: Statistics of primary education in the Peninsula and adjacent islands corresponding to the five-year period 1850 to 1855. Madrid, Imprenta del Colegio Sordo-Mudos y Ciegos, 1858.

Provinces	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	Total	Average
Álava	34	35	44	45	20	117	35.4
Albacete	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alicante	-	-	52	52	44	148	-

	-	-				8	-
Almería	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Asturias	98	84	---	---	---	18	
Ávila	---	---	---	---	---	2	
Badajoz	32	32	32	24	24	14	28,
Baleares	30	64	32	16	32	4	8
Barcelona	92	89	44	---	---	17	34,
Burgos	36	16	43	44	41	4	8
Cáceres	30	29	28	15	32	5	22
Cádiz	---	---	---	---	---	14	29
Canarias	48	48	---	---	---	90	8,0
Castellón	---	---	---	---	---	13	26,
Ciudad Real	41	39	36	40	38	4	8
Córdoba	28	60	46	32	43	9	8
Coruña, La	13	13	94	---	---	2	36
Cuenca	64	25	64	32	32	8	44
Gerona	16	32	40	40	40	8	16
Granada	17	14	---	---	---	31	---
Guadalajar	8	12	20	59	10	20	40,
Guipúzcoa	---	---	---	---	---	1	2
Huelva	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Huesca	32	32	32	32	32	16	32
Jaén	45	45	45	33	32	0	20
León	64	64	64	64	64	0	32
Lérida	54	82	85	82	80	38	76,
Logroño	62	62	31	50	31	3	6
Lugo	80	13	39	11	25	6	23
Madrid	---	72	16	---	---	9	39
Málaga	---	---	---	---	---	3	23

	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murcia	19 2	19 2	14 4	14 4	96	76 8	15 3,6
Navarra	54	59	49	48	22	23 2	46, 4
Orense	32	---	---	---	24	56	---
Palencia		---	---	---	---	---	---
Pontevedra	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Salamanca	96	10 8	10 0	---	---	30 4	---
Santander	28	27	32	38	20	14 5	29, 0
Segovia	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Sevilla	96	96	48	---	---	24 0	---
Soria	60	60	60	60	60	30 0	60
Tarragona	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Teruel	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Toledo	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Valencia	80	16 5	---	---	---	24 5	---
Valladolid	12	---	---	---	---	12	---
Vizcaya	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Zamora	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Zaragoza	12 4	11 8	80	---	---	32 2	---
TOTAL	18 19	24 13	19 34	14 67	13 05	89 36	---
AVERAGE	49, 5	74, 3	67, 8	70, 8	61, 8	26 2,8	---

¹ *Gaceta de Madrid*, no. 5316, pp. 1-2.

² Juan Bravo Murillo was Minister of Commerce, Instruction and Public Works between November 10, 1947, and August 19, 1849. Narváez introduced him into the cabinet on the recommendation of María Cristina's clique, especially his friend Donoso Cortés. In August 1849, he was replaced in the ministry by Manuel de Seijas Lozano.

³ Royal Decree of May 20, 1849, approving the accompanying regulations for inspectors of primary instruction. *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. XLVII, pp. 84-93.

⁴ Royal Order of October 12, 1849, approving the instructions to be observed by the inspectors of primary instruction for school visitations. *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 153-172.

⁵ *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, year I, April 14, 1849, p. 199

⁶ *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, year III, December 15, 1851, no. 24, pp.: 743-744.

⁷ It should be noted that the Moyano Law reduced the number of inspectors to one for the three Basque provinces, although in case of unavoidable need it could be increased to two.

⁸ In 1851, the conditions required for the position of inspector were partially modified for those who were old teachers or those whose studies predated the establishment of the liberal model of teacher training. For these cases it would be required: 1) that the applicant had studied two years in Normal School before the reorganization of the same or that he had been a teacher for ten years; 2) that the file was informed by the provincial inspector, including a certificate of having obtained good conduct in all the towns where he had worked; 3) approval of the file by the General Direction, which qualified them for an exam that in case of passing it accredited them to compete for teaching positions. Royal Order of January 1, 1851, *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria, op. cit.*, pp.: 332-333.

⁹ *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, year I, July 1, 1849, no. 13, pp.: 361-362.

¹⁰ Royal Order of June 12, 1849, *Colección legislativa de Instrucción Primaria, op. cit.*, pp.:248-249.

¹¹ Royal Order of March 17, 1860. *Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de Fomento*, Imprenta Nacional, 1860, vol. XXXIV, pp.: 22-23.

¹² The illegal appointment of the inspector of Segovia came to light in the Congress due to an interpellation to the Government by Congressman Gil Virseda. *Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes Constituyentes*. They began on Wednesday, November 8, 1854, and were dissolved by Royal Decree of September 2, 1856. Madrid, Imprenta y Fundación de la Viuda e Hijos de J.A. García, vol. III, pp.: 1788, 1825 and 1828.

¹³ *Revista de instrucción Primaria*, year II, March 1, 18850, p.: 140.

¹⁴ The most complete example of the archetype of the unemployed was reflected by Benito Pérez Galdós in his novel *Miau*. Pérez Galdós, B. (1985), *Miau*, Ed. Alianza.

¹⁵ A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6355.

¹⁶ *Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes Constituyentes*. These started on February 11, 1869, vol. II, appendix one to no. 57, pp.: 1-13.

¹⁷ Gil de Zárate, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 325.

¹⁸ *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, Madrid, no. I, no. 25, December 1, 1849, pp.: 665-678.

¹⁹ Gil de Zárate, vol I, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

²⁰ Article 37 of the regulations for education inspectors of May 1849. *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. XLVII, pp.: 84-93.

²¹ By circular dated July 12, 1850, the inspector proposed to the provincial Commission the suspension without salary of the teacher of Javierrelatre, in the district of Jaca, in Huesca, for accumulating the position of secretary of five nearby towns, threatening him with definitive separation if he did not present himself within ten days to answer for this position. The superior Commission accepted the measure and ordered the mayor to withhold the teacher's endowment for two months. *Boletín Oficial Provincial de Huesca*, July 17, 1850. No. 86.

²² In 1852, the moderates insisted on the obligation to inspect private schools, especially to ensure that the doctrines taught were in accordance with the Catholic faith, as well as with the provisions of the 1838 regulations regarding class hours, especially during the heat wave, and could suspend lessons during this time so as not to harm the health of the children. Royal Order of October 12, 1852, *Colección de instrucción primaria, op. cit.*, p.: 343.

²³ The minimum endowment fixed in 1847 was as follows: 2,000 *reales* in towns with 100 to 400 residents; 3,000 *reales* in towns with 400 to 1000 residents; 4,000 *reales* in towns with 1000 to 2000 residents; and 5,000 *reales* in towns with 2,000 or more residents. Royal Decree of September 23, 1847. *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. XLII, pp.: 145-153.

²⁴ Article 15 of the Law of July 21, 1838, obliged municipalities to provide teachers with a house or room sufficient for themselves and their families, school premises, household goods and paper, pens, and books for absolutely poor children. *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria, op. cit.*, pp.: 3-11.

²⁵ In 1856, all the provinces, except five, were in debt, the most defaulting being Albacete, which owed 139,500 *reales* to its teachers, and the least, Santander, with a debt of 2,375 *reales*. Data collected in the book by Caro Rubio Pobes cited in the body of the text.

²⁶ A representative example: in 1865, the inspector of Ciudad Real began his tour in February, visiting 9 towns in the judicial district of Almodóvar; in March and April he visited 16 towns in the district of Infantes; in May-June, 11 towns in the district of the capital, Ciudad Real; in September-October he visited 7 towns in Valdepeñas; in October, 4 in the district of Daimiel and in November 7 towns in the district of Almagro. In total he visited 54 towns, 100 boys' schools and 70 girls' schools, spending a total of 182 days and a half. *A.H.N.* Universities, 1st Education, inspection visitations, box 109.

²⁷ The inspector of Cuenca, in 1862, visited 5 judicial districts, visiting a total of 74 towns, 71 boys' schools and 42 girls' schools, spending a total of 207 days. On the other hand, at the other extreme, the inspector of Guadalajara, in the same year 1862, visited 59 towns between March and October, for a total of 124 days, that is, 56 days less than prescribed. *Ibid.* Box 105 and 106 respectively.

²⁸ Montesino, Pablo, "Visita de inspección de las escuelas primarias. Necesidad y modo de proceder a ella", *Boletín Oficial de Instrucción Primaria*, Madrid, Imprenta Nacional, 1841, vol. I, no. 5, April 30th, pp.: 224-232.

²⁹ Article 65 of the Royal Order of October 12, 1849, *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. XLVIII, pp.: 153-172.

³⁰ Art has captured this image of the inspector in the classroom, next to the teacher and in front of the children. Two examples: the film *El Cabezota*, a Spanish film directed by Francisco Lara Polop in 1982, and the sculpture by Miguel Sánchez, representative of Spanish neorealism, entitled *La visita de inspección*.

³¹ The questionnaire or interrogation appears in model no. 4 included in the Royal Order of October 12, 1849. *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria, op. cit.* pp.: 264-283

³² La Question 56 textually states: "Mode of making effective the retributions and diligences practiced to replace the not very decorous means used in some villages, such as that of the teacher going from house to house every Saturday to collect a piece of bread, which he receives as alms, by way of retribution with the name of *cetra*, and any other that may lower the respect and consideration that are due to him". *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. XLVIII, pp.: 53-172. Italics in the original.

³³ Similar, and even more detailed, questionnaires were already circulating in England as early as 1840. Nancy Ball reproduces one of these questionnaires in her study on the origin of Her Majesty's English Inspectorate. It covered aspects such as the state of the building; religious and Moorish discipline; means of instruction; organization; rewards and punishments; methods of instruction; monitors and pupil-teacher ratio; attendance and records; headmasters and headmistresses; school government; annual income; and questions concerning infant schools such as: repairs to the premises; physical exercises; industry; imitation of the arts; learning phonetics; singing; knowledge of natural objects and discipline.

³⁴ In 1867, an extraordinary visitation was made to the town of Carbonero, Segovia, because its teacher was separated from his wife and she was suing him for divorce. At the meeting with the local Board, the priest asked the inspector to transfer the teacher to another school. *A.H.N. Universities, 1st education, inspection visitations, Box 114.*

³⁵ A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6355.

³⁶ It is recorded that the inspectors of the provinces of: Badajoz, Teruel, León (122 towns visited), Albacete, Murcia, Barcelona, Huelva, Salamanca, Cáceres, Tarragona, Logroño, Ávila, Orense, Santander, Toledo, Zamora, Granada, Málaga, Guadalajara, Vizcaya, Lérida, Palencia, Oviedo, Huesca, Pontevedra, Segovia, Zaragoza, Jaén, Soria, Gerona, Castellón, Sevilla, Almería, Burgos, Ciudad Real, Córdoba, Cuenca, Valencia and Valladolid. *Ibid.*

³⁷ Royal Order of August 1, 1866. Legislative Collection of Spain, vol. XCVI, pp. 205-209. The Royal Order of July 20 to which Orovio refers was a circular addressed to the rectors so that they would inspect the exact compliance with the law in all its degrees, especially regarding the Catholic religion, which he considered the foundation of political unity. This Royal Order of July 20, 1866, in *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. XCVI, pp.: 121-124.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.: 205-209.

³⁹ A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* By Royal Order of March 13 1862, appealing to articles 297 and 303 of the Moyano Law, which repealed the Royal Order of February 26 1852 that granted to the diocesan prelates the superior direction and inspection of teaching in the convents of religious, it was declared that the provincial inspectors would visit the schools established in monasteries of religious, without prejudice that the persons that in agreement with the Diocesan the superiority of the community would accompany them in the visit would do so. The Royal Order of March 13, 1862, reproduced in *Anales de Primera Enseñanza. Periódico de las escuelas y de los maestros*. Madrid, D. Victoriano Hernando Press, 1862, vol. V, p.410.

⁴¹ *A.H.N. Universities, 1st education, inspection visitation, box 99.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, box 104.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, box 106.

⁴⁴ In 1864, in Madrid, the visitation was interrupted until the accounting section approved the accounts. *Ibid.*, box 99. In 1866, the Cuenca Board informed the rector that the visitation was suspended during the last months of the year until the necessary funds were provided to compensate for the expenses incurred by the visitation. A.G.A. Education, file 6355.

⁴⁵ Ciudad Real Council, in 1860, had budgeted 6,000 *reales* for the inspection, of which 3,300 were for travel and office expenses, and 2,700 for per diem. But given that there were 182 days to be spent on the visit, at 33 *reales* per day, it turned out that the amount to be paid exceeded the budgeted 6,000 *reales* by 1,300 *reales*, and the Board announced that if the expenditure of these 1,300 *reales* was not authorized, the mandatory visitation could not be carried out. *A.H.N.*, Universities, 1st education, inspection visitations, box 99.

⁴⁶ A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6355.

⁴⁷ Madrid Council based its interpretation on article 60 of the Law of September 25 for the Administrative Government of the Provinces and on article 301 of the Moyano Law, which only stated that inspectors' salaries should be paid, as well as the law on budgets and accounting, article 39 of which did not recognize travel and per diem allowances as obligatory expenses. *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Anales de Primera Enseñanza*, 1867, vol. IX, January 15, pp.: 5-9.

⁵⁰ A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6355.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *A.H.N. Universities, 1st education, inspection visitations, box 113.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, box 114.

⁵⁴ Leandro Herrero, inspector of Guadalajara, in an official letter dated January 11, 1866, communicated to the Provincial Board that his will to fully execute the visit was subject to the mandate of other circumstances: "As a consequence of the snows and rains that have intercepted the passage of roads and rivers, I have been forced to suspend the extraordinary visit to the district of Pastrana because it was absolutely impossible to travel anywhere. In addition, as the examinations for vacant schools in this province are to be held at the end of the current month, I thought it appropriate to attend these events before resuming the visit begun if this Board deems it convenient". *Ibid.*, box 113.

⁵⁵ Royal Order of June 17, 1852, *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria, op. cit.*, pp.: 339-340.

⁵⁶ The rectors, after the approval of the Moyano Law, as natural heads of all the schools in their district, could visit, either by themselves or accompanied by the provincial inspector, the higher normal schools. The same attribution had the institute directors with respect to the elementary normal schools. Royal Decree May 15, 1859, approving the regulations for the regime of the normal and elementary schools of primary instruction. *Colección legislativa de España*, second quarter, vol. XLVII, pp.: 53-72.

⁵⁷ Circular dated February 24, 1853, *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria, op. cit.*, pp.:333-335.

⁵⁸ *Estados y progresos de la instrucción primaria en España. Memoria correspondiente al año 1850*. Madrid, Imprenta del Ministerio de Gracia y Justicia, 854, p.:63

⁵⁹ A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354.

⁶⁰ Royal Order of February 7, 1853. *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria, op. cit.*, p.:348.

⁶¹ *Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de Comercio, Instrucción y Obras Públicas*. Printed by D.S. Compagni, 1850. From the year 1850: vol. IX, pp.: 233-239, 342, 351, 407-414, 475-479; vol. X, pp.: 132-135, 306-309; vol. XI, pp.: 125-126, 221-223, 458-460; vol. XII, pp.: 402-406; of the year 1851: vol. XII, pp.: 218-222, 317-318; vol. XIV, pp.: 188-190; vol. XV, pp.: 398-401. Extracts that would also be published in the *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, year II, 1850, pp.: 108-114, 127-138, 158-165, 191-195, 253-256, 317-320, 478-480, 605-607; and year 1851, pp.: 43-47, 197-200, 280-282 and 393-395.

⁶² A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354. Previously, by circular dated February 18, 1850, Gil de Zárate reminded governors, rectors, institute directors, superior commissions, and inspectors of the various reports that they should periodically give to the superiority. *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria, op. cit.*, pp.: 308-311.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354.

⁶⁵ Circular dated March 8, 1852, *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria, op. cit.*, pp.: 336-337.

⁶⁶ In 1866, occupying the position of inspector of Madrid, the neo-Catholicism will accuse this inspector of not carrying out the preceptive visits. He was also accused of not having filed a file on teachers for their moral and religious conduct. He was later transferred to Segovia. A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6355.

⁶⁷ *Estadística de la primera enseñanza de la Península e Islas adyacentes correspondiente al quinquenio 1850-1855*. Madrid, Imprenta del Colegio de Sordo-Mudos y de Ciegos, 1858.

⁶⁸ States are built, as is well sustained by an academic current that has been developing since the 1980s: State Building Studies. The State is not neutral, and requires, for its establishment, a series of conscious operations, which emerge from history, ideologies, interests, law, praxis, and which limits and is influenced by nearby contours. And all this in a context of change and dynamics promoted by national and international operative actors, which provide it with matter, Constitution, Government, Monarchy, Legislature, Judiciary, Administration, etc.

⁶⁹ *Estadística de la primera enseñanza de la Península e Islas adyacentes correspondiente al quinquenio 1850 a 1855*. Madrid, Imprenta del Colegio de Sordo-Mudos y Ciegos, 1858, table 12; *Estadística general de primera enseñanza correspondiente al quinquenio que terminó en 31 de diciembre de 1870*. Madrid, Imprenta y Fundición de Manuel Tello, 1876, single table of part seven and table 34; *Estadística general de primera enseñanza correspondiente al decenio que terminó en 31 de diciembre de 1880*. Madrid, Imprenta y Fundición de Manuel Tello, 1883, tables 89 and 90; *Estadística general de primera enseñanza correspondiente al quinquenio que terminó el 31 de diciembre de 1885*, Madrid, Imprenta y Fundición de Manuel Tello, 1888, tables 89 and 90.

⁷⁰ The models were submitted on December 31, 1849. They appear in *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, Madrid, I, 25, December 1, 1849, pp.: 665-678.

⁷¹ State and progress of primary education in Spain. Memoria correspondiente al año 1850, *op. cit.* p.g. See Gil de Zárate, vol. I, *op. cit.*, p.: 32.

⁷² A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354.

⁷³ Royal Order of September 12, 1855, *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. LXVI, pp.: 135-149.

⁷⁴ Royal Order of December 31, 1858, *Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de Fomento*. Madrid, Imprenta Nacional, 1859, vol. XXIX, pp.: 165-167. The tables referring to the services of the superior Commissions, the state of the Normal Schools in relation to the number of students and the results of their teachings, and the comparative data between the number of schools and students attending, were not published in the bulletin, but will appear in the *Estadística de la primera enseñanza de la Península e Islas adyacentes correspondientes al quinquenio de 1850 a 1855 formada e impresa por la Comisión auxiliar del ramo*. Madrid, Imprenta del Colegio de Sordo-Mudos y Ciegos, 1858.

⁷⁵ Sometimes the tardiness hid its insufficiencies, as the following case in May 1861 would show: the Rector of the University of Madrid ordered the inspector to return immediately to the capital, suspending the visit in which he was engaged, to complete and finish the statistics. The impression we get from this case is that the inspector appears overwhelmed in his functions, so that reconciling the statistical training and the visit to the schools often became very difficult. A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354.

⁷⁶ Circular dated December 8, 1855, *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. LXVI, pp.: 447-478.

⁷⁷ By circular dated January 28, 1859, instructions were sent to the secretaries of the superior Commissions for the orderly and regular keeping of the logbook established in article 53 of the 1849 regulations for inspectors. *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria*, *op. cit.*, pp.: 307-308

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Regulations for the internal system of the auxiliary Commission for primary education. A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354.

⁸⁰ *Anales de primera enseñanza*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p.: 12

⁸¹ Instructions of February 24, 1854, for the visitation of general inspections. *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria*, *op. cit.*, pp.: 333-335.

⁸² Article 22 of the Royal Decree of October 9, 1866, reforming the teaching in normal schools. *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. XCVI, pp.: 674-681. In fact, between December 1866 and October 1867, the Government, at the proposal of the rector, designated the member who would accompany the ecclesiastical member of each provincial Board. A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6355.

⁸³ Article 35 of the Law of June 2, 1866, reads: Theoretical studies of primary instruction teachers will be done in legally authorized secondary teaching establishments, and the practice in the model-schools. *Colección legislativa de España*, vol. XCIC, pp.: 707-729.

⁸⁴ Royal Order of July 1, 1868. This Royal Order and the nominal list of the professors of pedagogy appointed in A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6355. The chairs of pedagogy of

the secondary schools were filled by competition among the teachers of the normal schools, and inspectors of first education with six years of service and who had been directors of normal schools for two years.

⁸⁵ Circular dated December 24, 1849, *Colección legislativa de instrucción primaria, op. cit.*, p.: 302.

⁸⁶ *Estados y progresos de la instrucción primaria en España, op. cit.*, p.:57. On October 6, 1857, the inspector of Segovia requested to change the days of his classes at the normal school in order to be able to visit the schools. *A.H.N.*, Universities, 1st education, inspection visitations, box, etc. 99.

⁸⁷ Royal Decree of July 6, 1900. *Colección legislativa de España*, Madrid, Ed. Revista de legislación, 1900, vol. V, vol. 2nd, pp.: 401-402.

⁸⁸ Art. 48 Decree of December 2, 1932, and article 16 of the circular of April 27, 1933. *Gaceta de Madrid*, no. 125, May 5, pp.: 899-901.

⁸⁹ The list of parts extracted from the *Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de Comercio, Instrucción y Obras Públicas* cited in note 56. They were also published in the *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, year 1850, pp.: 108-114; 127-138, 158-165, 191-195, 256-257, 317-320, 374-375, 429-431, 478-480, 605-607; and in the year 1851: 43-47, 197-200, 280-282, 393-395.

⁹⁰ *Estados y progresos de la Instrucción primaria en España. Memoria correspondiente al año 1850, op. cit.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Minutes of the installation of the auxiliary Commission of primary instruction. A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354. At that meeting it was agreed that if the director of the central normal school, the natural president, could not attend, the oldest general inspector of those in Madrid would occupy the presidency. As the director of the central normal school was unable to attend, Francisco Iturzaeta occupied the presidency that day.

⁹³ A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354.

⁹⁴ Joaquín Avendaño proposes that the secretariat be composed of the secretary, two officers and three clerks. *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Revista de instrucción primaria*, year III, October 1, 1851, no. 19, pp.: 610.

⁹⁶ Royal Order of December 28, 1849. *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, year II, February 15, 1850, no. 4, pp.: 114-118. The same order indicates what each general inspector taught: Joaquín Avendaño, grammar; Mariano Cardedera, pedagogy; Castor Araújo, reading; José Arce Bodega, religion and morals; Francisco Merino, who had replaced the late Joaquín Benet y Maxé, calligraphy and spelling; and Francisco Merino, who had replaced the late Joaquín Benet and Maxé, writing and spelling.

⁹⁷ *Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes Constituyentes*. Madrid, Imprenta y Fundición de la Viuda e Hijos de J.A.García, 1856, vol. XI, second Appendix to no. 273, pp.: 9353-9367.

⁹⁸ Royal Order of November 15, 1863, reorganizing the auxiliary Commission. A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354.

⁹⁹ *Revista de instrucción primaria*, year I, April 15, 1849, p.: 201. For the preparation of this section, we have made use of the following documentation: Royal Order of May 26, 1849, *Gaceta de Madrid* of May 21, 1849, no. 5.374, pp.: 1-2. This Royal Order was also reproduced in the *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, year 1, June 1, 1849, no. 11, pp. 317-324. List of inspectors presented to the auxiliary Commission and some royal orders preserved in the *Archivo General de la Administración*. A.G.A. Education and Science, file 6354. The services listed in table no. 12 of the Royal Order of December 31, 1858, in *Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de Fomento*, vol. XXIX, year 1859, p. 346, have also been considered. The Royal Order of March 17, 1860, signed by the then general director Eugenio Moreno López, which contains the draft classification of the provincial inspectors of primary education for that year according to their merits and services for the purpose of their promotions as indicated in

article 302 of the Moyano Law, has been extremely useful. *Boletín del Ministerio de Fomento*, Madrid, Imprenta Nacional, 1860, vol. XXXIV, pp.: 22-35.

¹⁰⁰ Royal Order of March 17, 1860. Of the 47 inspectors listed in this project, 24 have been in office since 1849. *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Yeves, Carlos: *Un maestro. Novela pedagógica*. Tarragona, 1866.

¹⁰² Moreno Rubio, Pedro: *Un recuerdo*. Mérida, Imp. Manuel Galbán, 1862.

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