

# Political culture and history teaching policies in early 20th-century Santa Catarina<sup>1</sup>

## *Cultura política e políticas para o ensino de história em Santa Catarina no início do século XX*

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### RESUMO

O artigo apresenta análises das relações estabelecidas entre a produção historiográfica e a produção de uma história de Santa Catarina para o uso escolar, no início do século XX. A cultura política republicana era construída e se legitimava como parte de um fenômeno que precisava formular respostas à sociedade sobre variados problemas ‘herdados do Império’ que impediam o progresso do Brasil. No caso dos catarinenses, era preciso enfrentar o desafio de uma educação cívico-patriótica num território em que o sistema escolar, precário, ainda lidava com o problema da língua, posto que em muitas escolas falava-se alemão ou italiano, por exemplo. Estas questões são problematizadas por meio da análise da produção sobre a história de Santa Catarina pelo Instituto Histórico

### ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the relations weaved between historiographic production and the production of a history of Santa Catarina for school use in the early 20th century. Republican political culture was constructed and legitimated as part of a phenomenon which needed to formulate answers for society regarding several ‘Empire-inherited’ issues holding back progress in Brazilian. In the case of Santa Catarina, one of the issues faced was the challenge of patriotic education in a territory where the precarious school system also had to deal with the issue of language, since in several schools the language spoken was German or Italian. These issues are analyzed through the production of the history of Santa Catarina history, consisting of the didactic material published at that time, such as teaching

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e Geográfico Catarinense (criado em 1896), de manuais didáticos que circularam nesse período, programas e relatórios de ensino. O objetivo é contribuir para o estudo das relações entre ensino de História e cultura política, buscando compreender como o ensino de História participou, naquele período, de projeções simbólicas sobre o futuro do Brasil, a partir de leituras compartilhadas de seu passado.

Palavras-chave: ensino de História; cultura política; história regional.

programs and reports, by the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Catarinense* (created in 1896). The objective is to contribute to discussions about the relation between history teaching and political culture, in the sense of understanding the ways in which the teaching of history participated, in the early 20th century, in symbolic projections of the future of Brazil through shared readings of their past.

Keywords: History teaching; political culture; regional history.

The school was a fundamental part of the republican engine, and history and its teaching were well defined invested responsibilities, such as consolidating Patriotic History and with this imposing cultural standards and educating the republican citizen. According to Ângela de Castro Gomes, the writing of history – carried out in the symbolic and political struggles of the beginning of the Republic – was decisive in the constitution of the field of Brazilian historiography.<sup>2</sup> The new regime implied changes in the writing of history involving disputes which had to be remembered or forgotten, rethought and rewritten. These disputes led to new operations to select events and characters, which demanded the writing of new narratives. The enlightened elite was responsible for the production of a new political discourse, fundamental for the construction of a republican political culture. In this way there emerged the “urgency of the Republic to produce a new political discourse, charged with civic and moral values and symbologies, in which history, alongside geography, and the language of the patria, had a strategic place” (Gomes, 2009, p.85). At this moment the past needed to be rewritten, since a collective, republican and modern future was being planned.

Similar to what the imperial regime had done, the republican one considered Patriotic History as a central element in the creation of a ‘national identity.’ The symbols of the legitimacy of the new regime and the keys to the interpretation of the nation underwent changes and movements in relation to the Imperial regime, but the role of the state in interfering in the creation of

national identity recurred. From the perspective of the construction and affirmation of nationality – which included the disciplining of the poorer groups – education was mortgaged to the hyper-dimensional responsibility of “giving form to an amorphous country, of transforming the inhabitants into a people, or vitalizing the national organism, of constituting the nation.”<sup>3</sup>

The creation of the republican regime led to the emergence of the so-called “enthusiasm for education” (Carvalho, 2003, p.13), reopening debates about the question of public education which had been ongoing since the end of the Empire and pointed to the need to construct a national system of education. With the Republic, however, it was the states and not the central government which had to face the problem of education. Between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, different states carried out widespread educational reforms, seeking both to organize education systems and to align them with the ongoing political project. In São Paulo, for example, the changes started in 1890, with the implementation of schools divided into levels in the *Escola Normal* followed by the approval of norms or the organization of primary schools and the implementation of school groups.<sup>4</sup>

The reform of public teaching in Santa Catarina, carried out under the administration of Vidal Ramos (1866-1954) in 1911, marked a series of important transformations not just in teaching, but also in the production and circulation of so-called Santa Catarina history. Orestes de Oliveira Guimarães (1871-1931), a teacher from São Paulo, was hired to nationalize and modernize public education in the state. His hiring was focused on his experiences and familiarity with the teaching guidelines in São Paulo which since the foundation of the Republic had projected itself as a place of educational innovations. Furthermore, he had been in contact with education in Santa Catarina before, acting as the principal of the *Colégio Municipal de Joinville*, a position which he had been nominated and held between 1907 and 1909.<sup>5</sup>

The organization of public teaching in Santa Catarina also had to meet the challenge of incorporating foreign immigrants and their descendants, principally those of a German and Italian origin, in the ongoing nationalization project. The idea contained in the project was that investments in schools – especially the obligation for education in the vernacular language – would eventually integrate foreigners and their descendants in the Brazilian nation,

minimizing or even eliminating conflicts resulting from clashes between immigrants and Brazilian educators.

After 1911 the first School Groups were created in the largest urban centers in Santa Catarina. However, although the implementation of this policy was a great innovation in educational reforms in the country, an aspect that deserves to be highlighted is the coexistence of these schools with older forms and practices of education inherited from the Empire, such as individual schools (literally called in Portuguese isolated schools, for example. While it is true that these were more typical of rural areas, however, even in urban spaces there is evidence of the existence of individual schools alongside School Groups. Research also shows that in Santa Catarina, the attendance of children in other types of primary schools – individual public or private schools – was higher than observed in the School Groups.<sup>6</sup>

Before the implementation of School Groups in the state, primary education basically took place in individual schools. At the secondary level the principal representatives were the *Escola Normal Catarinense* (1892) and the *Ginásio Catarinense* (1905), both based in the capital, Florianópolis. The creation of the School Groups implied, in turn, the creation of complementary schools. These had a dual aim: a) preventing those leaving the School Groups who had not reached the minimum age (18 for men and 16 for women)<sup>7</sup> from entering the *Escola Normal*; and b) training teachers for the individual schools. Students who completed primary school in three years in individual schools could register in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the School Groups. Those who had completed the four years of the School Groups could register in the complementary schools, and after completing this, they could enter the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of the *Escola Normal*.

The 1911 reforms involved changes and revisions in the regulations of public education, in the programs and rules of the different types of schools in the state. We believe that Orestes Guimarães and the group of intellectuals involved in the education debate at that time (especially those who belonged to the Historical and Geographical Institute of Santa Catarina (*Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Santa Catarina* [IHGSC])) contributed in an important manner to the invention of school history (and to other disciplines) in the new state educational system. We would like to highlight that this does not mean that history had never been taught before. Reports and other documents about

teaching in Santa Catarina produced in the imperial era, privileged in the work of Primitivo Moacyr (1869-1942), stated that history already was in the programs of the few existing *liceus*.<sup>8</sup> Ginásio Catarinense also had the discipline in its program since its foundation in 1905.<sup>9</sup> In the 1910s, divided into General History and Special Brazilian History (Teive, 2008, p.214), history was also taught in the Escola Normal Catarinense. However, this reform implied the creation of curricular programs for the different levels of teaching and even of the complementary schools (School Groups, complementary courses, *Escola Normal*, individual schools and individual schools in colonial areas). These programs organized disciplines, content, and methods in harmony with the republican aspirations and with the principles of the new pedagogy in circulation. Orestes Guimarães was one of the constructors of this new educational system, which possibly included not just the design but also the writing of the first teaching programs in the context of reform. If it is accepted that the creation of an educational system with a national-state nature contributed seriously to the invention and establishment of the disciplinary code of history,<sup>10</sup> it can also be considered that this reform also contributed to inventing the disciplinary school of history in Santa Catarina. It is worth emphasizing that these programs were used in the education of citizens and in the construction of a modern and civilized patria.

Nonetheless, the programs are only one of the discursive vectors that allow reflection on the organization of history teaching in the state. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the tasks of thinking about the History of Santa Catarina, as well as constructing a narrative which could be spread and which constituted an object of teaching in schools, was carried out under the strong influence of intellectuals and political parties which were part of the 'discourse society' in the state at that time, in other words, IHGSC. According to Ângela de Castro Gomes, 'discourse societies' were those legitimated and recognized by determined groups to pronounce modern scientific discourse. In the case in question, the disciplinary field of history, they were modern associative forms of intellectuals of various types, assuming more or less institutionalized features, but always characterized as "important 'networks of sociability', whose strength is both objective/material/organizational and subjective/effective/valorative" (Gomes, 2009, p.65).

In addition to the due specificities, *grosso modo*, it can be said that the relationship between IHGSC and the production of historical narrative for the state and whose teaching replicated what was maintained by the *Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro* (IHGB – Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute) and history as a school discipline, shown in different, widely divulged research.<sup>11</sup> In Rio de Janeiro, there was a strong association between so-called academic history and school history. In other words, the history produced by IHGB entered the classroom through text books often written by the members of the institute who, in turn, were also teachers of the discipline (Fonseca, 2006, p.46). However, this does not mean believing that IHGB produced historic knowledge and directed this to schools – which then simplified and reproduced it –, repeating a certain type of hierarchical logical in the production of knowledge and its teaching. Rather, by being interested in the dissemination of this production, IHGB contributed in an important form to the construction of history as a school discipline.

Nonetheless, we emphasize that school history was constructed and established on the basis of socially different uses and agendas from those designed by the historical institutes in Santa Catarina and Rio de Janeiro. We will accompany the analyses of Raimundo Cuesta Fernández that as a discipline school history, like all the others, was built on a selective tradition arbitrary in its relations of approximating and distancing from science as a reference. Like André Chervel,<sup>12</sup> Fernández believes that school disciplines constitute an original cultural set, and cannot be conceived as mere adaptations or imitations of scientific knowledge (Fernandez, 1997).

## IHGSC AND THE WRITING OF HISTORY

The *Catarinense* Institute was founded by the journalist and lawyer José Arthur Boiteux (1864-1934) in 1896. From a prominent family, he was an important intellectual in Santa Catarina at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century. His condition as a man of letters, well known as a republican, and whose public life in the state was linked to the symbolic representation which the condition of ‘intellectual’ had then. At that time, when projects for the formation and civilization of Brazil were being constructed, being identified and legitimated as a person of letters could be a good, “whose social

capital many times outweighed the financial.”<sup>13</sup> As a ‘man of letters,’ José Boiteux brought into IHGSC other similar political and lettered figures in the projection of the state.

The members of IHGSC at that time superimposed activities, public positions, and professions. Historians at that time were also journalists, lawyers, doctors, army officers, etc. It should be emphasized that in addition to these overlapping positions, the members of the Institute had close ties with state politics; some even exercised important positions in the Executive or elected positions, configuring a “situation of great indistinctness between the intellectual and political fields” (Gomes, 2009, p.66), something common at the time. It also must be highlighted that among the members of the Institute during the early years of the Republic were politicians such as Hercílio Luz, Felipe Schmidt, Gustavo Richard and Vidal Ramos, all governors of Santa Catarina between 1894 and 1924. These professional superimpositions and the blurred boundaries between the intellectual and political field of members of the Institute also evidenced the relations established between history and its teaching and the cultural policy of the period.

We understand cultural policy as a complex system of representations shared by an important group in a determined society at a given moment of its history. Like culture, it “is inscribed in the set of norms and values which determine the representation which a society makes of itself, its past, its future.”<sup>14</sup> This notion of cultural policy was formulated within a movement for renewing the objectives and methods of history with the perspective of the reformulation of the understanding of politics from the cultural point of view. According to Serge Berstein, the works written about politics by René Rémond and his disciples at the end of the 1960s were responsible for opening space for the construction and use of this concept in French historiography. Berstein also argues, different from the perspective of US political scientists who also worked with the question of political cultural in the 1960s, that French historians did not postulate the existence of a national homogenous cultural policy, they worked with a different meaning of political cultural. In this meaning, political culture constituted a plural phenomena constructed in precise historical circumstances, transformed in relation to the emergence of new problems and new political, cultural, etc., references, capable of

providing adequate propositions and responses to the majority of representations of members of society.<sup>15</sup>

Although this notion only appeared in France for the first time at the beginning of the 1990s, since then it has attracted a significant number of people interested in the theme, including Brazilian researchers.<sup>16</sup> In our understanding, the use of the concept is an important interpretative key, although not the only one, which allows the understanding of the historical context being dealt with, as well as the construction and the uses of determined discourses about history and its teaching by a specific groups of intellectuals. These men of letters were part of a political culture in which the idea of nation-state-people was still equated in the process of the construction of a republican identity imagined as the ideal. There is no coherent political culture which does not precisely comprehend a representation of the ideal society in accordance with its image of society and the place which the individual occupies in it. Between this ideal and the realities the chasm is evident, “and it is to cross this that the political action used by those possessing a determined political culture is applied” (Berstein, 2009, p.35).

The *Catarinense* institute was for a long time the *locus* of the historiographic discussion in the state, and in the first decades of the twentieth century its members assumed the task of producing a history of Santa Catarina to be divulged and taught. The concern to construct this history of Santa Catarina was linked to the legitimation of another dynamic in social relations and power triggered by the establishment of the new regime. It is worth noting that those who were involved in the task of constructing the past and the redefinition of future perspectives were principally the members of the political elites in the state capital, having recently taken power and been installed in their positions and functions. The denial of the *ancien regime* had reconstructed the ideas of the nation, with direct reflections on the construction of the ‘little patria of Santa Catarina.’ This project was clear on the occasion of the launch of the first issue of *Revista do IHGSC*, in 1902, whose ‘appearance’ was justified by the editors as follows:

We limit ourselves to assuring our readers the maximum effort to present an intellectual survey of this state and a constant concern with making known the historical and natural riches of this *disturbed Catarinense patria*. We now urge the public, our co-citizens, lovers of the land that was a cradle for them, or in



which they have created interests, to strengthen us with their cooperation, so that we can fulfill the mission given to us: a really notable mission full of unappreciable results.<sup>17</sup>

We can suppose that this '*disturbed Catarinense patria*' was linked to the embers of the Federalist Revolution<sup>18</sup> in the state in 1893. In a significant way the tensions and disputes of the conflicts involved there and their results opened space for the production of a discourse of reconstruction and the territorial and social integration of Santa Catarina. This process implied the inscription of the specificities of the state and having the notion of the 'Catarinense' region and people and, at the same time, the integration of this History in the national whole. The need for the reiteration of a united and common Patria came to be a constant in the discourse of the members of the Institute. As can be comprehended from the inaugural discourse given by the member Captain Domingos Nascimento, which mentions the need to deepen the ties with the republican nation:

The Santa Catarina Institute has a noble and elevated purpose, which is congregating the elements of the sciences which study the planet for the greater glory of the Brazilian patria. It is for the common patria that we will work, united and strong. In any corner of my country I am the same Brazilian anointed from the sacred commands of patriotism.<sup>19</sup>

According to Roselane Neckel, from the 1890s onwards, under the auspices of the Hercílio Luz government, the ideal of 'state integration' would be the tone adopted in official discourse. The state government aimed to integrate the state through a spatial union between island and continent, even corroborating the idea of transferring the capital to a more central region of the state.<sup>20</sup> The creation of IHGSC in 1896 and the *Sociedade Catarinense de Letras* (Santa Catarina Society of Letters) in 1920 (which would give rise to the *Academia Catarinense de Letras*) were landmarks in the political movement of constructing a Catarinense cultural identity.

The creation of IHGSC was fundamental in the production and circulation of discourses aimed at the cultural integration of the entire state. As Janice Gonçalves highlighted, the first attempts to construct a historical narrative for Santa Catarina were charged with a concern with ethnicities and above all regional identities.<sup>21</sup> The intellectual ruling elite of Santa Catarina

was concerned with constructing a 'history' for their state. A history constructed and reconstructed in harmony with the determined political discourses predominant within specific historic contexts, at the same time that it was connected with a national history, forging and providing the architecture for the recently created Brazilian republic.

IHGSC was concerned with constructing a Catarinense history and no less importantly with disseminating it. An example of this is the content and urgency of the letters sent in 1921, by Henrique da Silva Fontes<sup>22</sup> to José Arthur Boiteux:

Having been in the Historical Institute, where Conde Affonso Celso and Dr. [?] gave me a very warm welcome. I was able to examine the collaborations sent by other states for the *Grande Dicionário* and I was truly desolate with the poverty and deficiency of our contribution. What is still left is the part related to general history and also to mesography, both written by Commander Lucas. The others, compared with the other states, are empty and do not give a precise idea of what we are worth [?]. Even the remote and *savage Goiás* sent a complete memorial, which, in all truth, according to the scientific criteria with which it was written and the care with the language, can be called monumental. I was truly woe-begone and appeal to Sr. and to Lucas so that we can leave their situation of inferiority.<sup>23</sup>

Henrique da Silva Fontes' letter to José Boiteux expresses the appeal to writing and the sending of 'a memorial about Santa Catarina' as the state's contribution to the *great dictionary*. The intention and the content of this letter require some comments. The content, the writer and the addressee of the letter and the actual historical context show the legitimacy and the responsibility which the members of the Catarinense Institute imposed on themselves in relation the writing of the history of Santa Catarina. They chose this task for themselves. The second point opens possibilities for thinking about the places of regional histories in this threshold of the twentieth century. The date of the letter and the allusion to the 'great dictionary,' very probably deal with 'Santa Catarina's part' of the project of the *Dicionário Histórico, Geográfico e Etnográfico do Brasil*, organized by the IHGB as part of the commemorations of the first centenary of independence.

The preparation of this *Dicionário*, which had been underway since 1917, was aimed at the lay public, in other words, it represented the efforts of

IHGB to popularize historical knowledge about Brazil. More than this, it signified a patriotic initiative, since it aimed to fill one of the great absences in the education of Brazilians in relation to their common past: “The preparation of the Dictionary represented the attempt to organize a large ‘repertoire,’ bringing together the basic knowledge good Brazilians needed about their Patria.”<sup>24</sup> The aspects of regional histories surveyed through questionnaires, served to compose the common past and affirm national unity; this was the objective to be followed. The materialization of the *Dicionário* did not turn out as the IHGB imagined, with one of the reasons being the “lack of updated information about the locations in the national territory in light of the areas of knowledge covered by the *Dicionário*” (Guimarães, 2007, p.96), which not even the questionnaires sent to the states were capable of resolving, since the majority were returned to the Institute. Due to the problem of the lack of time and the scarcity of necessary data, the organizers maintained the name, but the publication did not have the usual characteristics of this genre. The first two volumes of the *Dicionário* were published in 1922. The first volume was a general introduction to Brazil, including aspects of patriotic history and biographies of illustrious persons, while the second was dedicated to the states. The second volume contained only summaries of the histories of the states of Amazonas, Pará, Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte and Paraíba, since the other states were to be covered in later never published volumes.

The appeal to ‘Lucas,’ made by Henrique Fontes in his letter, was due to his recognition as the ‘authorized voice’ for the writing of the history and ‘memory’ of Santa Catarina. Admiral Lucas Alexandre Boiteux (1880-1966) was the first to make an effort to summarize a history of Santa Catarina, by publishing the book *Notas para a História Catarinense* in 1912.<sup>25</sup> The publication of this book served to disseminate the existence of a Catarinense ‘space’ and ‘people.’ Admiral Lucas Boiteux – brother of José Arthur Boiteux – took on himself the responsibility to guard the memory and disseminate the history of Santa Catarina. In the same form as his brother, Lucas Boiteux played an important role in the projects of the state government. By way of example, we can cite his participation in the commission for the demarcation of the border with the state of Paraná between 1918 and 1922.<sup>26</sup>

It can be said that the territorial dispute between Santa Catarina and Paraná was one of the principal catalysts of ‘Catarinense patriotism.’ It should

be noted that Lucas Boiteux was more than anything an officer, and as such was concerned with the modern question of linking the territory to the nation. Nor were history books written by the military completely uncommon in Brazil in the nineteenth century. We will cite, just to illustrate this, the first officers to start this tradition: Henrique Luiz Niemeyer Bellegarde, military engineer, author of *Resumo de História do Brasil até 1828*, published in 1831, and José Inácio Abreu e Lima, a general from Pernambuco, author of *Compêndio de História do Brasil*, published in 1843 (see Gasparello, 2004; Bittencourt, 2008).

As a historian, but also an officer, Lucas Boiteux constructed his trajectory, committed to the history and geography of the region, which involved both the recovery of information judged pertinent to the historical past and to the geographic space, and the dissemination of the history of the state, aimed at promoting the civic and patriotic spirit of the Catarinense population.

For the members of the Institute, the writing and principally the keeping of documents about the state was related to the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the state, the 'little patria.' According to the historian Janice Gonçalves, IHGSC "positioned itself in favor of maintaining Catarinense territorial integrity (one of the fundamental elements of the 'little patria,' alongside its 'people' and customs and traditions), as well as the maintenance of Brazilian territorial unity" (Gonçalves, 2006, p.88). The definition of the limits of Santa Catarina had important repercussions for the writing of its history. Reflections of historic disputes, such as between Portugal and Spain, or later between Argentina and Brazil or between Paraná and Santa Catarina (the Contestado War, 1912-1916) can be perceived in the intellectual and political action of the members of the do IHGSC, constituting an important index in Catarinense history.

The repercussions of the work *Notas para a História catarinense* accredited Lucas Boiteux as the person who had responsibility for disseminating the history of Santa Catarina in the schools. He was the pioneer of 'popularizing' historical knowledge about Santa Catarina by publishing in 1920, *Pequena História Catarinense*.<sup>27</sup> The book was financed by the Santa Catarina state government for the *Escolas Normais* and the fourth year of the School Groups. The same book would also be published by Melhoramentos Publishers in

1930, with the *História de Santa Catarina – Resumo Didático*.<sup>28</sup> Illustrated and carefully published, it was part of the ‘Text Book Summaries Series,’ which circulated between 1918 and 1932 dedicated to the narrative of the history of a Brazilian state.<sup>29</sup> Its reading was proposed to students of the *Escolas Normais* and teachers in primary schools.

Illustrated and with evident didactic intentions, the books were accompanied by the information that they had been ‘officially adopted’ by the Escola Normal Catarinense. This adoption was evident in the transcription of Decree 1267, dated 21 July 1919, signed by the then governor Hercílio Pedro da Luz, which opened the books. Following the decree were statements from Henrique da Silva Fontes (also a member of IHGSC), Director of Education, and Orestes Guimarães, Inspector General of Education, stating that the book would also be adopted in the fourth year of *Catarinense* School Groups. This process shows that the writing, financing and official adoption of this work was strongly related to the control and interference of the state in didactic production (Bittencourt, 2008).

After the analysis of the works, it is clear that Lucas Boiteux prepared this didactic version based on the 1912 book *Notas para a História Catarinense*, principally summarizing the texts and adding illustration in black and white: photographs, maps, engravings and autographs of the different well known political personalities. Lucas Boiteux was, it is safe to say, one of those principally responsible for the construction of a narrative about the history of Santa Catarina, which was, above all, patriotic. The narrative characteristics of his works are important means of perceiving how political and cultural networks were connection in the context of the initial decades of the twentieth century. The members of the Catarinense institute represented the values manifested in the republican pedagogical project, in other words, belief in the virtues of moral and civic education as a form of maintaining the social order and strengthening the national character. IHGSC’s affiliation with this project discursively met the feeling of love for the ‘little patria.’

Generally speaking it is possible to accompany the expression ‘little patria’ as it came to circulate more systematically among the political and lettered Catarinense elite after the events which culminated in the so-called Federalist Revolution. Due to the conflicts between those who defended the

autonomy of states in relation to federal power and the governing republicans, meanings of the little patria of positive inspiration were appropriated and circulated among the supporters of Júlio de Castilhos and those led by Gaspar Silveira Martins.<sup>30</sup>

Meanings constructed around this expression could be sought much before in history. In antiquity, for example, according to Fustel de Coulanges, the word 'patria' meant the land of the country, the terra patria; while the little patria "was the closed area of the family, with its tomb and domestic fire," differentiated from the great patria, "which was the city, with its prytaneum and its heroes, with its sacred enclosure and its territory demarcated by religion."<sup>31</sup> Since then, in different places and times, relative notions about the little patria had their meanings reworked, without losing their initial meaning from all the evocation of parts. Just to illustrate, meanings about this little patria circulated both in Germany and in France and were valorized in the teaching of children until the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup> It is supposed that in Santa Catarina in the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, the written and (re)constructed representations about the Catarinense little patria were connected to the nationalist ideal, reinforcing the notion of the great patria, the Brazilian patria mother. The project contained in the representation of the little patria was constructed with the purpose of integrating the state into the national whole and not the contrary.

It is possible to see Lucas Boiteux's text books and the actions of the members of IHGSC as representing part of the process of making the history of Santa Catarina teachable, which certainly helped the design of the programs for teaching history. According to Circe Bittencourt, in the national context at the end of the nineteenth century and the initial decades of the twentieth century, text books were important mediators of the construction of curricula and school proposals (Bittencourt, 2008). These indices allow us to infer the importance of the works of Lucas Boiteux for the construction of school knowledge in Santa Catarina, not in a hierarchical sense, but in an operation of the exchange and reworking of discourses between school, state government and members of the institute, who in turn circulated both in school spaces and in positions and projects of the state executive.

## THE PRESCRIPTIONS OF SCHOOL HISTORY IN CATARINENSE TEACHING PROGRAMS

Every curriculum implies a cultural selection. School disciplines are symbolic bodies which born out of are based on the educational system as a consequence of administrative decisions. In the ultimate instance the existence or not of history in educational institutions and a large part of their definition and education value are conditioned by political acts and social determinations. (Fernandez, 1997, p.107-108)

The teaching programs published during that period reworked discursive traditions about the value and use of historical knowledge for civic-patriotic education. In 1914, the content of the history course prescribed for the first year of the School Groups was supposed to start from local history, such as “Name of the establishment and for what it serves. Who founded it. Date founded.”<sup>33</sup> Only after this introduction was the teacher supposed to “in the form of narration in very simple language, seeking to awaken the taste and the curiosity of students for narrations” to tell:

- 1 – what was the initial location, what its primitive aspect should have been like, its founders and how much they had suffered in the settlement.
- 2 – that Brazil is now a large country, but at the beginning it was not, since it was only inhabited by savages;
- 3 – that the way of life of the savages was different from ours and what this difference was. (Santa Catarina, 1914, p.26)

In the contents for the second year, the process was repeated of beginning teaching with the local, although much better defined and more wide-ranging aspects about what this place was were included: “what was the *location*: its primitive aspect, the first inhabitants, the development of the place, its improvements and those responsible” and “the *Spanish* in Santa Catarina.” This year the discipline was given a name, specifically the History of Brazil and among the content listed, the teacher was asked to emphasize: “that *Brazilians* were always united to fight the *foreigners who wanted to capture Brazil*” (Santa Catarina, 1914, p.38-39, original emphasis). In this and other educational programs published until 1928, systematic investment can be noted in the production of Brazilian nationality, identification and belonging.

As highlighted by Raimundo Cuesta Fernandez, school disciplines cannot be looked at outside the process of the creation and expansion of the nation state, since it is this process which created them and gave them legitimacy (Fernandez, 1997, p.11).

For the third year the History of Santa Catarina continues as an introduction to the History of Brazil. The teaching notes for this year show that it should follow the same procedures as the second year, highlighting that “teachers should not lose the opportunity to emphasize the principal facts which demonstrate the union of Brazilians against usurpations by foreigners” (Fernandez, 1997, p.52). The history content served to create a common past and identity. Fighting in defense of the territory helped to reinforce the place and the role to be played by republican citizens in the unity of the territory and the progress of the nation. These are solid components which compose the disciplinary code of history.

In the fourth year, local aspects no longer introduce the content of history, while the themes related to the state of Santa Catarina are also reduced, opening space for a greater list of content:

Recapitulation of the captaincies, the first three governors general. The French in Rio and Maranhão. Dutch in Pernambuco and Bahia. Time of Dutch dominion, the Pernambuco rebellion and the expulsion of the Dutch. The *bandeirantes*. Patriotic revolutions – *mascates, emboabas, inconfidência mineira*.

Invasions of Santa Catarina. The state of Brazil when it passed under Spanish dominion and what occurred. Arrival of D. João VI, his motives. Progress of Brazil under João VI. Return of João VI. Pedro I. Oppressive measures in Portugal against Brazil. Independence – study of the principal facts. Abdication of Pedro I. Regency. Majority. Paraguay War. Abolition. Proclamation of the Republic. Summaries: the principal facts of the Provisional Government, of Deodoro da Fonseca, Floriano Peixoto, Prudente de Moraes, Campos Salles, Rodrigues Alves, Afonso Penna and Hermes da Fonseca. (Santa Catarina, 1914, p.63-64, original emphasis)

The way the history content was selected and distributed also should be read in the context of the method of teaching adopted at the time: the intuitive method (*the lessons of things*). This method valorized the role of the meanings of the child in their learning process, incorporating the so-called *lessons of things*, through which children were stimulated to observe the phe-



nomena studied or their representation through images, amongst other resources. It was in light of this method that the program contents were organized (Teive, 2008).

In the two later teaching programs for the school groups, published in 1920 and 1928, some changes can be noted in relation to the continuities. In the 1920 teaching program for the School Groups, the teaching of history disappeared in the first year. For the second year, as well as the content that had appeared in the 1914 program, generally speaking the same sequence and hierarchy of content was maintained, although new themes were added, such as, for example, “abolition, the republic and the national dates.”<sup>34</sup> For the third year, in addition to the national figures, already covered in the 1914 teaching program, the theme of famous people from Santa Catarina was added. The following was included for teachers: “The teacher should remember that patriotic history is one of the principal elements of civic education. For this take advantage of all opportunities to awaken in students feeling of healthy patriotism” (Santa Catarina, 1920, p.30).

Something that can be noted is the valorization of primary education in themes related to the history of Brazil, with insertions of local and/or regional themes. The History of Brazil in the republican regime, as it had in the imperial regime, possessed very clear objectives: forming national identity, constructing a common past with which Brazilians could identify. The focus of national history with these parades of deeds and heroes participated in the work of nationalizing citizens through teaching and the exaltation of what their common past.

Education and history are central mediators in civic, political, social and cultural construction. The teaching of history performed an important function in the dissemination and consolidation of these patriotic discourses in the intersection between national history and regional history. Although themes related to the History of Santa Catarina occupied a lesser space in relation to the History of Brazil in all the programs, its place has to be weighed in the actual construction of national history. Region history constructed in this period was done so with the firm disposition to constitute it as an inseparable part of the history of the nation, serving the purpose of educating for the patria, for the nation. The Catarinense little patria was the path to educate for the great patria. A complementarity can be observed which shows a clear

hierarchy between the History of Brazil, the nation, and Santa Catarina, the region. The hierarchical division between nation and region implied a separated definition of regional history from national history in the national historiographic tradition.

The teaching programs published in the same period for the individual schools and the schools from the colonial regions<sup>35</sup> had sensitive differences in relation to those meant for School Groups. The 1914 history teaching program for individual schools stipulated that the material would only be taught in the third year:

Explanations of the facts which motivate the national dates. Caramuru, Tomé de Souza, Anchieta, Nóbrega, Dias Velho Monteiro, Duque de Caxias and Ozório. Show the tenacity of the Brazilians expelling the French from Rio and Maranhão; the Dutch from Bahia and Pernambuco; the Spanish Santa Catarina and Rio Grande. Episodes of Paraguay. No compendium. (Santa Catarina, 1914, p.74)

The 1920 teaching program for individual schools covers the second and third years and lists not only events from the History of Brazil, but also from that of Santa Catarina (Santa Catarina, 1920, p.10-13). In relation to the teaching programs for the individual schools and the schools from the colonial zones, it is worth observing an important question: these schools had to deal with a long emerging problem, namely the question of the education of foreigners, principally Germans and Italians and their descendants, centered on the precariousness of the diffusion of the official language within the state. In her analysis of the curriculum and school historical knowledge in Santa Catarina at the beginning of the twentieth century, Luciana Rossato highlights that the 1911, 1914 and 1920 Programs, unlike the 1903 and 1908 Programs, did not have any general history content. In her analysis this data allows the observation of the growing emphasis on the teaching of patriotic history and the history of Santa Catarina which shows the effort to constitute and consolidate a national identity given the tensions of the 'German peril' in the state. Tensions and disputes represented in the concerns of the military officer and politician Gustavo Lebon Régis in the publication in 1917 of the book *O Perigo Alemão e o problema do Ensino em Santa Catarina* which highlighted the need to integrate German immigrants in the nation.<sup>36</sup>

The teaching programs published after 1911 highlighted the concern with the ‘assimilation of foreigners,’ and the greater focus of attention given to schools in the colonial zones, as Decree 1.944, dated 27 February 1926, left clear by emphasizing that: “for schools of these zones, the organization of a program which without increasing school time, can meet the problems of teaching literacy and the Portuguese language.”<sup>37</sup>

In his studies of the social construction of the curriculum, Ivor Goodson observed that education created distinct groups of students, as well as differentiated treatment for each social group, which required appropriate treatment.<sup>38</sup> This did not just involve exposing differences based purely on social status, but also preparing mechanisms of differentiation based on other strategies, such as different content for different groups. According to the report signed by Henrique da Silva Fontes, director of Public Education: “Sr. Orestes Guimarães, Inspector of Schools Subsidized by the Federal Government, told me of the inadaptability of the current program for individual schools to the schools from the colonial zones, ‘where almost all, if not all, of the children only speak foreign languages.’” (Santa Catarina, 1926, p.5).

To resolve the problem of foreigners in Santa Catarina, some disciplines considered “dispensable in teaching in schools from the rural zones” were removed or had their content reduced. The aim was to ‘free up the program’ and open space for the increase of classes in the ‘teaching of the vernacular:’

The new program will, it is true, leave the teaching of geography, history, arithmetic and geometry less developed; but, in compensation, which is of capital importance, it will give greater development to the exercise of language, vital for students who do not speak correctly, and at times neither good nor badly, the Portuguese language. (Santa Catarina, 1926, p.5-6)

In this program the teaching of history only appeared in the third year, entitled History of Brazil, and repeats, generally speaking, the previous programs. In reality Henrique da Silva Fontes’ reports shows the recurrent question of nationalization which accompanied the reform of public education in the state. The ‘German peril’ was widely disseminated in the discourse, due to the context of the First World War. Schools therefore had to act in civic-patriotic education and not just education, as this was a factor of national cohesion. It is not by chance that these programs invested more in the idea of

“showing that Brazilians were always united against the foreign invader” (Santa Catarina, 1926, p.23).

In 1928 all the teaching programs were revised, based on Decree 2.218, dated 24 October. The individual schools once again were taught history in the second and third years, although with a reduced list of contents. The novelty of this moment is that in the History of Brazil, as in previous programs, in this the teaching of history came to be called “Patriotic History.”<sup>39</sup>

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The writing of history by members of the Institute was elitist and exclusionary, did not exist in the absence of official documents, and could not have been different at the time. Even today the filling of the gaps is still sought in a historiography whose origin is in the discourses of those who would one day design the writing of a history of Santa Catarina. In this way, we accompany part of the findings of Raimundo Cuesta Fernandez about the disciplinary code of history,<sup>40</sup> in his long-term analysis of the teaching of history in Spain. For this historian, part of the disciplinary code of history, in a pronounced and repeated manner, are: “Elitism, nationalism and memorialism, three substantial characteristics of the disciplinary code, which acquired very particular matrices and intensities depending on whether this or that history is involved” (Fernandez, 1997, p.318). These traits were present and distributed both in the visible texts and in the invisible, thereby constituting a lasting social tradition.

Analyzing the IHGSC journals published in the initial decades of the twentieth century and the books of Lucas Boiteux, what was noticed was the incessant appeal to the past, the aggrandizement of the qualities of the state, and principally the solidification of a representative regional culture linked to the national whole. The relationship established between IHGSC, curricular programs and didactic production – in other words between IHGSC and the teaching of history –, even when it was done following non-linear itineraries, contributed in its approximations and distancing to establish memories, histories and traditions about Santa Catarina, questions which still circulate in the present.

However, thinking about school historical knowledge based on the discourse which circulated in the first decades of the twentieth century does not signify thinking in a direct and subordinate relationship between the production of IHGSC and what was taught in schools about the history of Santa Catarina. Of course to investigate what was taught about history in schools, it is necessary to have access to other sources which inform the routine of classes, such as copy book, activities about the written texts, exams, class plans, etc. Nonetheless, the discourses produced and given to read by IHGSC, in all their changes and continuities, have certainly reached the present. These discourses and the supports which transmit them form a set of constitutive elements of the practices which accompany the construction of historical knowledge and its teaching. Nationalism constitutes one of the most permanent elements of the teaching of history and recreated in different contexts, it is certain that it continued to appear in curricular programs. In text books, in routines of teaching history, even in contemporaneity, in different countries.

The comings and goings of the foundations of a pretended *Catarinensism*<sup>41</sup> and the joint affiliation of this identity to national history initially puts in evidence the failure of the nationalist projects carried out by the state, which in some form always sought the construction of unity, undermining differences. In distinct or overlapping moments it was chosen to remember or forget the memories of the indigenous, Azorians, black, German, Italian, populations, etc. The regional differences in Santa Catarina provide the reason for part of this forcefulness. The west of Santa Catarina, for example, was defined as a 'demographic vacuum,' a no-man's land. It would only be officially visited by a governor in 1929, in the person of Adolfo Konder Reis. The times of the places in this construction indicate the problems when it is sought to understand what was being Catarinense in relation to being Brazilian, in a scale of superimposing only of spaces, which in turn requires greater care in the production of a history to be taught.

If the ideal of Brazilian patriotism was gaining body from the end of the nineteenth century in response to the imperial policy which had to be replaced, it was only after 1930 that the nationalist movement of constructing the patria had its discourse strengthened. Brazilian patriotism was internally stimulated, in response to the threat which national groups represented. The fear of a revolution which would shake the territorial limits, especially in

relation to the question of cultural identity, led to a restricted immigration policy after 1930. Cultural identity was to be constructed covering the entire patria with a single perspective, and the immigrant centers, as well as the other forms of exacerbated regionalism, constituted a threat to the consolidation of this collective imagination of the Patria. Even considering that political culture is a phenomenon with many parameters, it is important to reflect how the teaching of history disseminated nationalism an important characteristic which sustains the disciplinary code of history.

The 'nationalization campaign' conceived in the *Estado Novo* had direct impacts on the education system, also having an impact on the historiographic production of Santa Catarina. The persecution of immigrants was violent and repressive, as they represented a threat to the ideals of national union which circulated with great strength at the time. In Santa Catarina the persecution was principally against Germans and Italians.

This phase represented a great identification of Brazilians with the Lusitanian world. "In the search for the 'recovery' of the bifrontal Brazilian past, what gained weight among the cultural inheritances which crossed in the 'national spirit' was the Portuguese inheritance" (Gonçalves, 2006, p.58). The 'recovery' which the Brazilian nation sought in Portuguese colonization after the 1930s resulted in various discussions emerging in Santa Catarina about immigration from the Azores. The Azorians stopped being the 'cause' of the stagnation in which the fishermen on the island lived, and came to be part of the itinerary linking the Portuguese past to the Brazilian mother patria to the history of the Catarinense little patria. However, this is another history and another teaching of history...

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> An expanded and modified version of the text presented at the IX National Encounter of Researchers in the Teaching of History, held on 18, 19 and 20 April 2011, in Florianópolis (SC). These analyses resulted from the research *A organização do ensino de História e a construção do saber histórico escolar em Santa Catarina (1889 a 1940)* written in the UDESC Post-Graduate Program in History and Education with the awarding of two Scientific Initiation Grants. The research is also linked to the Memory Group of the Post-Graduate Program of Education in Unicamp, as part of the post-doctoral activities carried out under the supervision of Prof. Ernesta Zamboni, between May 2010 and June 2011.

<sup>2</sup> GOMES, Ângela de Castro. *A República, a História e o IHGB*. Belo Horizonte: Argumentum, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> CARVALHO, Marta Maria Chagas de. *A escola e a República e outros ensaios*. Bragança Paulista (SP): Edusf, 2003. p.13.

<sup>4</sup> SAVIANI, Demerval et al. (Org.). *O legado educacional do século XX no Brasil*. 2.ed. Campinas (SP): Autores Associados, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> In relation to Orestes Guimarães see: MARTINS, Elizabeth; SILVA, Vera Lucia Gaspar da. A atuação de Cacilda Guimarães: lugares e fazeres (Santa Catarina, 1907-1931). *História da Educação*, Porto Alegre: Asphe, v.16, n.36, p.121-138, jan.-abr. 2012.

<sup>6</sup> HOELLER, Solange Aparecida de Oliveira. *Escolarização da infância catarinense: a normatização do ensino público primário (1910-1935)*. Master's Thesis in Education, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, Universidade Federal do Paraná. Curitiba, 2009. In relation to the other School Groups in Santa Catarina see: DALABRIDA, Norberto (Org.). *Mosaico de escolas: modos de educação em Santa Catarina na Primeira República*. Florianópolis: Cidade Futura, 2003; and also TEIVE, Gladys Mary Ghizoni. *Uma vez normalista, sempre normalista: cultura escolar e produção de um habitus pedagógico (1911-1935)*. Florianópolis: Insular, 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Decree 572, dated 25 Feb. 1911, lowered the age limit to enter the *Escola Normal Catarinense*; after this it was 16 for boys and 14 for girls.

<sup>8</sup> MOACYR, Primitivo. *A instrução e as províncias* (Subsídios para a história da educação no Brasil) 1834-1889. v.3. Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul e Goiás. São Paulo: Cia. Ed. Nacional, 1940. p.395.

<sup>9</sup> DALLABRIDA, Norberto. *A fabricação escolar das elites: o Ginásio Catarinense na Primeira República*. Florianópolis: Cidade Futura, 2001.

<sup>10</sup> FERNANDEZ, Raimundo Cuesta. *Sociogénesis de uma disciplina escolar: la Historia*. Barcelona: Ed. Pomares-Corredor, 1997. p.87.

<sup>11</sup> FONSECA, Thais Nívia de Lima. *História & Ensino de História*. 2.ed. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2006; GASPARELLO, Arlette Medeiros. *Construtores de identidades: a pedagogia da nação na escola secundária brasileira*. São Paulo: Iglu, 2004; BITTENCOURT, Circe. *Livro didático e saber escolar (1810-1910)*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2008; ABUD, Kátia. Currículos de história e políticas públicas: os programas de História do Brasil na escola secundária. In: BITTENCOURT, Circe (Org.) *O saber histórico na sala de aula*. São Paulo: Contexto, 2005.

<sup>12</sup> CHERVEL, André. A história das disciplinas escolares: reflexões sobre um campo de pesquisa. *Teoria e Educação*, Porto Alegre, v.2, p.177-229, 1990.

<sup>13</sup> CUNHA, Maria Teresa Santos. Essa coisa de guardar... Homens de letras e acervos pessoais. *História da Educação*, Pelotas (RS), UFPel, v.12, n.25, p.109-130, maio-ago. 2008.

<sup>14</sup> BERSTEIN, Serge. A cultura política. In: RIOUX, Jean-Pierre; SIRINELLI, Jean-François (Org.). *Para uma História Cultural*. Lisboa: Ed. Estampa, 1998. p.353.

<sup>15</sup> BERSTEIN, Serge. Culturas políticas e historiografia. In: AZEVEDO, Cecília et al. (Org.). *Cultura política, memória e historiografia*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. FGV, 2009. p.29-46.

<sup>16</sup> For example, the works carried out by the researchers of the various research groups and committees of the various universities in Rio de Janeiro in the project “Pronex – Culturas políticas e usos do passado – Memória, historiografia e ensino de História”. One of the results of this can be seen in AZEVEDO, 2009.

<sup>17</sup> IHGSC. *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Santa Catarina*. Florianópolis, Livraria Moderna de Paschoal Simone, n.1, v.1, 1902, p.7. Emphasis added.

<sup>18</sup> This is the name given to the long cycle of armed conflicts which ran from 1893-1895 and covered the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná. After September 1893 the movement was realigned by the Navy Revolt in Guanabara Bay, and had repercussions in the state of Rio de Janeiro and the Federal District. FRANCO, Sérgio da Costa. *A Guerra Civil de 1893*. Porto Alegre: Ed. UFRGS, 1993.

<sup>19</sup> IHGSC. *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Santa Catarina*, 1902, p.27.

<sup>20</sup> NECKEL, Roselane. *A República em Santa Catarina: modernidade e exclusão (1889-1920)*. Florianópolis: Ed. UFSC, 2003. p.47.

<sup>21</sup> GONÇALVES, Janice. *Sombrios umbrais a transpor: arquivos e historiografia em Santa Catarina no século XX*. 2v. Doctoral Dissertation – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social, Universidade de São Paulo. São Paulo, 2006.

<sup>22</sup> Henrique da Silva Fontes (1885-1966) was a member of IHGSC, held various positions in Santa Catarina state, amongst which was director of Public Instruction between 1919 and 1926. His discussions in IHGSC are not rarely directly related to education in the state. He was also the author of *Série Fontes*, a collection distributed freely in the public education network of Santa Catarina and also used in private establishments between the 1920s and the middle of the 1950s. In relation to *Série Fontes* see: SILVA, Cristiani Bereta da; FLORES, Bernardete Ramos. Gênero e Nação. *A Série Fontes e a virilização da raça. História da Educação*, Pelotas (RS): UFPel, v.14, n.32, p.77-108, set.-dez. 2010.

<sup>23</sup> Letter sent on 13 Oct. 1921. Acervo cartas, pasta 196. Arquivo do IHGSC. Grifos nossos.

<sup>24</sup> GUIMARÃES, Lucia Maria Paschoal. *Da escola palatina ao silogeu*: Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (1889-1938). Rio de Janeiro: Museu da República, 2007. p.96.

<sup>25</sup> BOITEUX, Lucas Alexandre. *Notas para a História catarinense*. Florianópolis: Tip. a vapor da Livraria Moderna, 1912.



- <sup>26</sup> CORRÊA, Carlos Humberto Pederneiras. *História da Cultura Catarinense: o Estado e as ideias*. Florianópolis: Ed. UFSC, 1997.
- <sup>27</sup> BOITEUX, Lucas Alexandre. *Pequena História Catarinense*. Ilustrada. Florianópolis: Oficinas a Eletricidade da Imprensa Oficial, 1920.
- <sup>28</sup> BOITEUX, Lucas Alexandre. *História de Santa Catarina – Resumo Didático*. (Adotada Oficialmente). São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1930.
- <sup>29</sup> RAZZINI, Márcia de Paula Gregório. A produção de livros escolares da Editora Melhoramentos na Primeira República. In: CONGRESSO BRASILEIRO DE CIÊNCIAS DA COMUNICAÇÃO – INTERCOM, 30, 2007, Santos. *Anais eletrônicos...* Available at: [www.adevento.com.br/intercom/2007/resumos/R1479-2.pdf](http://www.adevento.com.br/intercom/2007/resumos/R1479-2.pdf); Accessed on: 12 Mar. 2012.
- <sup>30</sup> Cf. LAZZARI, Alexandre. *Entre a grande e a pequena pátria: letrados, identidade gaúcha e nacionalidade (1860-1910)*. Doctoral Dissertation in History – Unicamp. Campinas (SP), 2004; PEREIRA, Ledir de Paula. *O positivismo e o liberalismo como base doutrinária das facções políticas gaúchas na Revolução Federalista de 1893-1895 e entre maragatos e chimangos de 1923*. Master's Thesis in Political Science – UFRGS. Porto Alegre, 2006.
- <sup>31</sup> COULANGES, Fustel de. *A cidade antiga: estudo sobre o culto, o direito, as instituições da Grécia e de Roma*. Trad. Jonas Camargo Leite e Eduardo Fonseca. São Paulo: Hemus, 1975. p.159.
- <sup>32</sup> THIESSE, Anne-Marie. Ensinar a nação pela região: o exemplo da Terceira República Francesa. *Educação*, Santa Maria (RS), v.34, n.1, p.13-28, jan.-abr. 2009.
- <sup>33</sup> SANTA CATARINA. *Programa dos Grupos Escolares e das Escolas isoladas do Estado de Santa Catarina*. Aprovado pelo Decreto 796 de 2 maio 1914. Joinville: Tip. Boehm, 1914. p.26.
- <sup>34</sup> SANTA CATARINA. *Programa de Ensino dos Grupos Escolares*. Aprovado pelo Decreto 1.322 de 29 jan. 1920. Florianópolis: Oficinas a eletricidade da Imprensa Oficial, 1920. p.21.
- <sup>35</sup> Organized in three course years. Cf. Decree 585, 19 April. 1911.
- <sup>36</sup> ROSSATO, Luciana. Currículo e saber histórico escolar: o ensino da história pátria nos programas do estado de Santa Catarina no início do século XX. *Currículo sem Fronteiras*, v.12, n.3, p.273-286, set.-dez. 2012.
- <sup>37</sup> SANTA CATARINA. *Programa de ensino das escolas isoladas das zonas coloniais*. Aprovado pelo Decreto 1.944, de 27 fev. 1926. Florianópolis: Oficinas a eletricidade da Imprensa Oficial, 1926. p.4.
- <sup>38</sup> GOODSON, Ivor F. *Currículo: teoria e história*. Petrópolis (RJ): Vozes, 1995. p.36.
- <sup>39</sup> SANTA CATARINA. *Programa de Ensino das escolas isoladas*. Aprovado pelo Decreto 2.218, de 24 out. 1928. Florianópolis: Tipografia da Livraria Moderna, 1928. p.16.
- <sup>40</sup> Raimundo Cuesta Fernandez uses the concept of disciplinary code as a central category in his analysis. He defines how a historically configured social tradition consisting of a se-

ries of ideas, values, suppositions and routines legitimated the educational function attributed to history and regulated and distributed regulations and practices for its teaching. To a certain extent, the disciplinary code of history involves socio-cultural norms and conventions which designate what is legitimate and illegitimate in school knowledge. FERNANDEZ, 1997, p.20.

<sup>41</sup> Expression coined by Lucas Boiteux. Cf. PIAZZA, Walter. Catarinensismo. In: *Aspectos da vida e da obra de Lucas Alexandre Boiteux*. Florianópolis: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1981. p.29-34.