

History of education in the Journal of the Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo, Brazil

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Abstract : Although Historical and Geographic Institutes are of great value to Brazilian historiography, only limited attempts have been made in the area of educational historiography to draw on these journals as primary sources of information about the History of Education. This article analyzes the manner the Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo has contributed towards the History of Education in Brazil, by analyzing a selection of articles published between 1923 and 1996 by Hélio Viotti, Serafim Leite, Affonso de Carvalho, Ernesto Penteadó and Ernesto de Sousa Campos. These articles are of fundamental importance for the historiography of Brazilian education because they enable us to understand the literary elite's opinions (represented by scholars who published articles in the Journal) on Brazilian education of the period.

Keywords: History of Education, Historiography of Education, Journal of the Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo.

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História da educação nas páginas da Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo

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Resumo: A despeito da importância dos institutos históricos e geográficos para a historiografia nacional, há uma lacuna na historiografia educacional brasileira quanto ao uso das revistas desses institutos como fontes primárias para a História da Educação. Neste artigo, analisam-se as contribuições da Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo para História da Educação brasileira. Para a análise, foram selecionados artigos publicados entre 1923 e 1996 por Hélio Viotti, Serafim Leite, Affonso de Carvalho, Ernesto Penteado e Ernesto de Sousa Campos. Esses artigos são fundamentais para a historiografia da educação brasileira, pois permitem compreender como a elite letrada, representada pelos intelectuais que publicam artigos nessa Revista, pensava a educação brasileira nesse período.

Palavras-chave: História da Educação, Historiografia da Educação, Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo

Historia de la Educación en las páginas de la revista do *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo*

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Resumen: Pese a la importancia de los institutos históricos y geográficos para la historiografía nacional, existe un vacío en la historiografía educativa de Brasil cuanto al uso de las revistas de estos institutos como fuentes principales de la Historia de la Educación. En este artículo, se analizan las contribuciones de la Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo para la Historia de la Educación brasileña. Para el análisis, fueron seleccionados artículos publicados entre 1923 y 1996 por Hélio Viotti, Serafim Leite, Affonso de Carvalho, Ernesto Penteado y Ernesto de Sousa Campos. Dichos artículos son fundamentales para la historiografía de la educación brasileña, porque permiten entender cómo la élite letrada, representada por los intelectuales que publican artículos en esta Revista, pensaba la educación brasileña en este período.

Palabras clave: Historia de la Educación, Historiografía de la Educación, Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo

Introduction

Although Historical and Geographic Institutes are of great relevance for national historiography, there is a gap in the educational historiography of Brazil since, out of a large number of academic studies published, only a limited use has been made of the Institutes' journals as primary sources for the History of Education.

An attempt was made to answer the following question: What has the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo (RIHGSP)* been able to offer to the History of Education in Brazil? The urgent need for a reply is foregrounded on the conviction that studies on the intellectual publications recorded in the pages of the journal are of value not only because they assist us in reconstructing national historiography itself, but also because they show what role the sources of information play in disseminating information and enabling scientific research to be conducted in the field of education. In addition, attention should be focused on the following issues: a) the manner the RIHGSP has contributed towards the historiography of Brazilian education by being involved in mapping out a historic panorama of Historical and Geographic Institutes worldwide and, on a national level, of the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo*; b) the task of describing the main features of the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo (RIHGSP)*; c) the need to analyze its scientific output according to the following bibliometric parameters: authorship, subject area and temporal distribution; d) the analysis of a selected sample of articles taken from *RIHGSP* and related to the history of education.

Current paper is a shortened version of a broader research study (Pereira, 2013) which investigated the way *RIHGSP* provided a greater understanding of the history of education in Brazil during colonial times, through an analysis of articles published in the journal for the subsequent period (1895-2004). In this study, five articles, published between 1923 and 1996, by Hélio Abranches Viotti (1996), Serafim Leite (1937), Affonso de Carvalho (1937), Ernesto Goulart Penteado (1923) and Ernesto de Sousa Campos (1970), have been selected. They were selected to determine their contribution towards the historiography of education in Brazil.

The connection underlying the articles is the concept of historiography (understood as the expression and outcome of an

intellectual practice) which, depending on the literature in question, has several meanings, namely: a) ‘the story of history’ (Rodrigues, 1978, 1981); b) the “[...] critical analysis of historical and historiographical knowledge and the way it develops, acknowledging a type of scientific knowledge defined by methods, techniques and laws of the historical science” (Lapa, 1981, p. 18-19); or even c) a view of historiography as ‘a work of history’ or something that deals with ‘works that have been planned and are not derived from documents’ (Iglésias, 1972). Without disregarding the above-mentioned ways in conceiving historiography, the historiographer Torres (1996, p. 56-57) explains the concept more clearly:

[...] historiography has to do with construction and interpretation because it is a kind of knowledge that is historically located within an intellectual context and within a socio-economic, political and mental framework. Historiography consists of the whole output of historical knowledge (or other areas of knowledge) with regard to a particular issue and period of time. It is not history (in the sense of being a process) nor is it just historical knowledge, but knowledge based on the historicity of what is happening since it consists of a historical process in the dimension of its contemporary setting. Historiography is part of an epistemological process and mirrors the intellectual output at a particular time in the past. It is of a fragmentary nature and may thus enable us to understand the past – to obtain a holistic view. All the anxieties of a particular epoch may be found in historiography, together with the social dynamics of the ideas that will become discredited with the passing of time. Hence, historiography, in terms of intellectual output, passes on the vestiges of particular events so that they may be analyzed. Consequently, historical knowledge, observed from the perspective of historicity in action, becomes the object of analysis or the process of history in the realm of written evidence.

Further, with regard to reflections on the concepts of historiography, it is worth remembering that there is no neutrality in the creation of knowledge because “[...] there is no way of denying the historicity of the individual who constructs the truth” (Torres, 1996, p. 56). This viewpoint corroborates the criticism Schaff (1983) makes on positivism, by relegating the subject who creates knowledge to a condition of impartiality.

With regard to the IHGSP's historiography practices, they are foregrounded on the accumulation of knowledge about the land and people of São Paulo with a view to discover their regional identity.

[...] in the (almost mythical) recreation of the past, they looked for the hidden powers that were able to ensure social cohesion and cultural resilience in a society undergoing intense and radical change. In looking forward to the future, they had a utopian vision that was appropriate for their different kinds of regionalism and nationalism. (Ferreira, 2002, p. 353).

Current paper is divided into three parts. In the first part, a brief historical outline of the IHGSP and *RIHGSP* is provided; the second part describes the methodological procedure adopted for the analysis of the articles; the third part comprises an examination and discussion of the results of the research.

The Journal of the Historical and Geographic Institute, São Paulo: a brief sketch of its historical background

Callari (2001, p. 59) argues that Historical and Geographic Institutes are currently viewed “[...] with a certain bias by specific sections of the academic community [...]”, although they have been “[...] pioneers in collecting and compiling historical documents, geographical surveys and ethnographic and linguistic studies”.

The Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute was founded in 1838¹, as the result of the “[...] aspirations of an organization that reflected the Brazilian nation which, not long before, had won its Independence” (IHGB, 2013). Its foundation, together with the Imperial Public Archives, added to the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, strengthened the power of Conservatives in their attempt to build a strong, centralized imperial State. However, when the History of Brazil was

¹ Four years earlier, in 1834, the Historical Institute of Paris (IHP) had been founded in France. Between that year and 1856, many Brazilians, including “some of the main political representatives of the official world of the Empire, took part in the activities of the Institute”, a fact that led to the founding of the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute in 1838 (Carraro, 2003, p. 2). From this author's perspective, “it can be assumed that this group had an influence on Brazilian intellectuals in the first half of the 19th century”.

written by members of the IHGB, they had to stress the values linked to national unity and political centralization by treating the young Brazilian nation as the heir and preserver of the Portuguese civilizing mission. The nation, whose past the IHGB intended to rebuild, had to appear as the outcome of a white and European civilization in the tropics (Guimarães, 1988; Guimarães, 1995).

For a long time, the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute (IGHB) represented the only instance of national historical knowledge that was being produced. Based in Rio de Janeiro, the headquarters of the Imperial Court, which gave it enough prestige to represent the whole nation, it brought together the cream of society and the intellectual world of the time, coupled to effective members and accredited correspondents who, in turn, hailed from other several provinces of the country and even from abroad. Its hegemony was only partly broken when the Pernambuco Archaeological and Geographic Institute (IAGP) was founded in 1862. Henceforth, other locally-based Institutes² were affiliated with the IHGB model, while at the same time they tried to highlight aspects of their local history by underlining the importance played by the respective regions in the construction of national history (Callari, 2001, p. 60).

The Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo (IHGSP) was founded on the 1st November 1894. Its main objectives were to encourage research and disseminate information on history, geography and related areas, mainly with regard to the city and the state of São Paulo.

The IHGSP's first Board of Directors laid down the underlying principles which have guided the policies of the institution until the present: a) to foster the study and practice of History and Geography in Brazil, particularly in the state of São Paulo, while, at the same time, addressing literary, scientific, artistic and industrial issues which might be

² Since it was first established, IHGB has stimulated the foundation of counterpart entities in the provinces (currently called states). At present, there are 23 institutes throughout Brazil, which were founded at the end of the 19th century or in the 20th century, namely: Alagoas (1869); Amazonas (1917); Bahia (1894); Ceará (1887); Distrito Federal (1964); Espírito Santo (1916); Goiás (1932); Maranhão (1925); Mato Grosso (1919); Mato Grosso do Sul (1978); Minas Gerais (1907); Pará (1900); Paraíba (1905); Paraná (1900); Pernambuco (1862); Piauí (1918); Rio de Janeiro (1957); Rio Grande do Norte (1902); Rio Grande do Sul (1920); Rondônia (1979); Santa Catarina (1896); São Paulo (1894); Sergipe (1912). However, several other Historical and Geographic Institutes were founded outside the capital cities, for example, Santos (1938), Petrópolis (1938) and São João del Rey (1970).

of interest to the country, whatever their standpoint; b) to publish a journal, at least once a year, outlining the vicissitudes of the association, and archiving research works deemed useful and interesting by the Institute; c) to maintain correspondence and close links with its counterpart societies, whether at home or abroad.

As Scabin (2011, p. 1) stated, the activities of the recently-founded (1894) Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo represented “[...] an attempt to form a history of Brazil from the perspective of the state of São Paulo, and justify the rise of the upper-class ‘coffee-plantation elite’ on the national scene, in terms of its glorious and exalted past”.

In the first half of the 20th Century, the IHGSP recorded the involvement of distinguished academics such as Affonso Taunay, Clovis Bevilacqua, Euclides da Cunha, Fernando de Azevedo, Alcântara Machado, Julio de Mesquita Filho, Mário de Andrade, Orígenes Lessa, Roberto Simonsen and Sérgio Milliet. Since it was founded, this over 100-year-old institution has played a significant role in building up a cultural identity for the people of São Paulo. Such leadership may be attributed to the fact that its effective members included renowned intellectuals, who authored key works in the national bibliography. However, the core of founding members was not only made up of citizens from São Paulo. A member who stands out in the history of the IHGSP and its journal is Orville Adelbert Derby, born in the USA in 1851. He graduated in Geology in 1873 and devoted his whole life in exploring the geology of Brazil. The most distinguished members at the end of the 20th Century included Alice Canabrava, Anita Novinsky, Aziz Ab’Saber, Erwin Theodor Rosenthal, Hernani Donato, José Sebastião Witter, Miguel Reale, Nícia Vilela Luz, Odilon Nogueira de Matos, Paulo Bonfim and Samuel Pfromm Neto. This group brought together a new generation of leading personalities in the cultural life of São Paulo and those qualified in various areas, such as the human and exact sciences, hailing from a wide range of professions, such as university teachers, writers and journalists – for example, the jurist Octavio Bueno Magano, the environmentalist Paulo Nogueira Neto, the journalist José Marques de Melo, the entrepreneur Ruy Altenfelder Silva and the teacher Vavy Pacheco Borges.

The precise role and importance of IHGSP for Brazilian history was addressed by Schwarcz (1993) who drew attention to the fact that although the Institute shared the same features as the IHGB, they actually reflected the differences that characterized the Monarchy and the Republic,

respectively. In the case of the IHGSP, the approach adopted was to rewrite national history based on examples from the city of São Paulo. In other words, it had to “[...] search for facts and meanings in the history of the state that might be of value in forming a historiography that reflected the features of the region, while at the same time it was able to take account of the country as a whole” (Schwarcz, 1993, p. 166).

The RIHGSP began to be published in 1895, one year after the foundation of the IHGSP and, by 2004, it had already published 96 volumes³. The first volume of the RIHGSP consisted of two installments, respectively published in 1895 and 1896.

In the first installment of 1895⁴, the journal announced in the Preface what would be expected from the Institute. The opening sentence of ‘To the Reader’ includes the phrase ‘The history of S. Paulo is the history of Brazil itself’. The emblematic significance of this fact did not leave any doubt about the ‘apologetic’⁵ aims of the Institute when it stated that:

‘The history of S. Paulo is the history of Brazil itself’. The need for an association that may provide the means to study the documents through which one learns the origins of the most important achievements of our ancestors or to clarify erroneous notions about facts that deserve to be better known, was one of the gaps that had seemed difficult to fill. Fortunately, our initiative was crowned with success and we are currently enjoying a more fruitful relationship with our literary colleagues who now eagerly compete to ensure themselves a brilliant career in the Historical Institute (Ao leitor, 1895, p. 2, emphasis added).

The RIHGSP’s aims were thus asserted:

³ The IHGSP has produced a cd-rom for sale with the complete text, in facsimile file format, of articles published by the RIHGSP between 1895 and 1999, from the first to the last of the 96 volumes, together with a general Index. The volumes were published annually with the exception of some that covered two years owing to a shortage of funds in the Institute, making publication unfeasible to undertake the printing.

⁴ The original spelling has been kept in all the quotations from articles in the RIHGSP.

⁵ The adjective ‘apologetic’ which is employed here was borrowed from Ferreira and Mahl (2011, p. 4). In explaining the objectives of the IHGSP, the authors argue that they are “the eloquent expression of a project that is at the same time, cultural and political; in other words, it may lead to a laudatory view of the much vaunted civilization of São Paulo”.

[...] the work is foregrounded on the study of history which is of inestimable value, and may be very useful in enabling students to learn and get to know it, as well as allowing other academics to continue with their work in the future. Given the importance of the subject, their current output is small. At any rate, the outlines may be traced and left for others to put into shape and perfect until our history becomes a reliable interpretation of events and a useful means of instructing patriots (Ao leitor, 1895, p. 2).

In the following quotation from the preface of the first installment of the RIHGSP, the writer makes clear to the readers what will be included. At the same time, he praises the objectives of the Institute for seeking to interpret and provide knowledge on the historical past of the civilization of the state of São Paulo:

The Historical Institute is publishing the first part of the 'Journal' with some works that were approved for publication by the General Meeting. It also intends to publish other articles that have already been read. The subjects of these publications are of such great interest that they will certainly appeal to any readers of the 'Journal' who have a serious and conscientious desire to know that the Institute intends to fulfill its patriotic obligations. It is for our readers to decide whether we have undertaken this responsibility in an honorable way (Ao leitor, 1895, p. 2).

As a matter of fact, in the minutes of the first meeting of the Institute, held on April 1st, 1895, the members began to discuss what would be worth publishing in the RIHGSP:

Mr Duarte Azevedo recalls that it would be appropriate for him to send a letter to the municipal Chambers of the State requesting the dispatch of a bundle of documents for the Institute that may be found in its files. These documents concern aspects of our history or else they are of a general interest and importance because they are the means of retrieving material that is required for carrying out thesis work. This means they may also serve as a source of material for publishing the Journal (Ao leitor, 1985, p. 168).

In the view of Ferreira and Mahl (2011, p. 8-9), the articles published in the RIHGSP are characterized “[...] by Belles-Lettres or literary features of the intellectual climate of the period”, and the authors express in their work “[...] an unusual blend of erudition and stylistic sophistication, in the light of which science is understood to shift between different issues and narrative genres”. Advancing forward to the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, we may also be able to see the image that the *RIHGSP* has currently of itself. The article ‘Presentation’ in Volume 95, published in 1999, and the account written by the President of the Institution (Roberto Machado de Carvalho) for the three-year period (1999-2002), is a clear sign of this:

The Journal of the Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo is the oldest publication of its kind published in the state of São Paulo. The Journal was first launched in 1895, precisely 105 years ago, shortly after the foundation of the ‘Sodality’. The first volume which was divided into two installments, comprised a select group of collaborators and works of recognized scientific value. [...] Many of the volumes of our Journal have been turned into documentary sources for new academic researchers concerned with the past and with natural and human space, especially in the state of São Paulo. Naturally there have been periods of difficulty and brief interruptions in the publication – there is a statutory requirement to publish at least one annual volume – but this has not caused any setbacks and the journal has risen again, reinvigorated and triumphant. Today, the 94 published volumes represent a significant body of knowledge, studies and documents that are available to anyone who is interested. The minutes of the meetings and annual reports provide valuable information about the activities of the Institute and include striking episodes in the republican history of São Paulo (Carvalho, 1999, p. 4, emphasis added).

A number of people in the same number and volume confirms this viewpoint. The statement is signed by the drafting committee of the RIHGSP, namely, Alexandre Hecker, Amélia Franzolin Trevisan, Dóli de Castro Ferreira, Hernâni Donato, Juvenal Fernandes, Nelly Martins Ferreira Candeias and Roberto Campos Gomes. The ‘Notes by the Editor’ which supports the opinion of the President of IHGSP on the Journal, states the following:

The Journal of the Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo represents one of the oldest publications in the country in the area of human sciences. Since 1895, it has included articles that represent - in particular in the case of historical studies – a significant contribution towards national thought and ideas. [...] Thus, our aim is to pave the way for a new phase of the Journal's history which entails opening up a wide-ranging field of new conceptions to enhance the quality of historical knowledge in our State of São Paulo (Apresentação, 1999, p. 5).

One way of following the activities of IHGSP lies in the pages of the book about the institution itself *Jubileu Social [Centenary Jubilee](1894-1944)*⁶, published 110 years after the foundation of the Institute. The book provides information on the history and life of this traditional institution within the culture sphere of São Paulo and outlines the 'achievements' of the institution by describing the features that characterized the IHGSP during the first fifty years of its existence.

A methodological itinerary

Current paper is foregrounded on bibliometric analysis, or rather, a methodological resource which maps out a scientific field by handling and quantifying written forms of communication similar to scientific publications. It is, in fact, the purpose of current research on RIHGSP. Through this methodology, indicators may be produced which, among other bibliometric parameters, may determine which authors are most cited, the issues that are most in evidence in a particular sphere of knowledge and the periodicals which have published most articles about them. However, Silva, Hayashi and Hayashi (2011) argue that bibliometric studies should go beyond merely providing a pure and simple statistical survey; they should rather scrutinize the indicators more closely by a more qualitative kind of analysis. From such a perspective, the combination of a bibliometric analysis coupled to the analysis of material may be an in-depth interpretation on indicators produced for the research.

⁶ The current Chairperson of the IHGSP, Nelly Martins Ferreira Candeias, has to a certain extent updated the history of the IHGSP in a book which was first published in 2013, with the title *10 years of memories in São Paulo: the Historical and Geographic Institute, São Paulo (2002 – 2012)*.

The bibliometric analysis, discussion on the material and investigative technique employed involved an objective and systematic description of the material produced in the scientific articles. It is also an attempt to find out the articles' significance through the use of analytic units. 'Category analysis' is the oldest kind of investigative inquiry and the most widely employed in analyzing material, since it "[...] works by dismembering the text into units or categories according to analogical regrouping" (Bardin, 2004, p. 153).

Consequently, the methodological procedures employed for conducting a bibliometric analysis and investigating the material in RIHGSP articles, required completing the following stages: a) a preliminary analysis of the material – a CD-ROM with a summary of the 96 volumes of the RIHGSP, including a 70-page general Index; b) an investigation on the material to find out how the journal was structured; the above involved a careful and close reading of all the titles of the articles and names of the authors recorded in the volume's general Index; c) a definition of two terms that were often found when searching the articles – 'education' and 'Jesuits'. We agree with the opinion of Bittar and Ferreira Junior (2001) that it is impossible to separate the History of Education in Brazil from the influence of the Jesuits, since they were active in Brazil for 210 years and had a notable influence on Brazilian education. The terms generated 186 articles in 71 out of the 96 volumes of the RIHGSP collection, and covered the period from 1896 to 2004, with 3,567 pages. The 186 articles were later divided into six analytical categories:

1) Education and teaching: The category includes articles on Brazilian education in different historical periods and covers issues such as the setting up of higher education courses, secondary-school education, instruction and public learning, academic groups and educational personalities (for example, Lourenço Filho).

2) Jesuit education in colonial Brazil: the category comprises articles on the manner Jesuits' educational 'spaces' and pedagogical practices became institutionalized; it includes issues such as catechism, colonization and evangelization, indigenous peoples, the Brazilian language, the Indian languages, villages, missions, Jesuit reductions, basic literacy schools, colleges, the *Ratio Studiorum* (The Official Plan for Jesuit Education that contains the principles of Jesuit education), corporal punishment, learning the alphabet, etc.

3) The historical figures of Jesuit education in Colonial Brazil: such as Anchieta, Nóbrega, and other important people in education, including Alexandre de Gusmão, Diogo Feijó and Quirício Caxa.

4) Historical figures from São Paulo and from other provinces of Brazil: such as João Ramalho, Diogo Álvares Correa (nicknamed Caramuru), Antonio Raposo Tavares, Amador Bueno, and others, such as Tiradentes, Varnhagen, etc.

5) The History and Geography of São Paulo and Brazil: or rather, articles that explore the historical roots of the founding of the city of São Paulo and other towns in the state (São Vicente, Itu, Santo André, Indaiatuba, Tietê) and others in Brazil.

6) The Background of the Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo and the journal of IHGSP: the category comprises articles on the foundation of the IHGSP and speeches delivered on the occasion of the anniversaries of the Institute and the RIHGSP, among other events.

Twenty articles were selected from this initial *corpus*, which may be categorized for analytical purposes as 'The historiography of education and teaching', 'Jesuit education in Colonial Brazil' and 'Key figures in Jesuit education'. The choice of the articles was not foregrounded on a statistical sample but was elaborated to ensure that the documentary material selected allowed: a) the articles published in RIHGSP (the main object of the study) to be fully understood; b) non-measurable data to be detected and analyzed – for example, as a means of understanding the reasons, meanings and motivating factors of particular groups of people (the literary and intellectual elites of São Paulo and from other places in Brazil represented by IHGPS members in the 19th and 20th centuries, and who published articles in RIHGSP) with regard to one specific issue – The History of Education in Brazil.

Due to the limited scope of current article,⁷ the inquiry was restricted to a small section of this *corpus*, and a sample of five articles were selected (Viotti, 1996; Leite, 1937; Carvalho, 1937; Penteado, 1923; Campos, 1970) and will be analyzed in the next section.

It is also worth pointing out that a short biographical note on each author has been included in the footnotes. The reason for biographical information is to understand their lives and the driving-force underlying

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This is the reason why the bibliometric indicators and the biographical descriptions of authors and subjects covered by the 186 articles are not shown in current paper.

their thoughts, as well as to have a better awareness of the main events of their time and the intellectual contribution each of them made.

The RIHGSP's contribution to the historiography of education

The issue of public education institutions in São Paulo, between 1551 and 1759, is addressed by a *RIHGSP* article that traces the chronology of educational activities carried out by the Jesuits. The author of the article, Father Hélio Abranches Viotti⁸, states that Jesuit teaching began with the founding of the 'Catechumen School' in São Vicente, one year after the arrival of Father Leonardo Nunes in Brazil in 1550. A year later, some orphans from Lisbon – students who arrived in Bahia with Manuel de Paiva, in 1552 – began their elementary education in the same school, together with the white and mestizo children of the colonial settlers. In 1553, the first attempts were made to introduce secondary education through lessons given by a student from Lisbon who had migrated to Brazil.

Following the arrival of Anchieta on Christmas Eve of the same year (1553), on the orders of Nóbrega, this teaching began for the candidates for the priesthood in the Society of Jesus, together with other young students who had already been gathered there by Leonardo Nunes, as we have seen. As a result, this was strictly speaking the beginning of secondary education, especially

⁸ The Jesuit priest was born in São Paulo on 15th October 1906 and died in Belo Horizonte-MG, on 28th November 2000. At the age of 15, he became a novitiate of the Society of Jesus and was ordained as a priest in Buenos Aires in 1936. He was Director of São Luís College in São Paulo, from 1946 to 1949, and founded and supervised the São Luís Faculty of Economics in 1948. He was Professor of Catholicism at the Sedes Sapientiae Faculty of Philosophy from 1949 to 1952 and Rector of the Antonio Vieira College in Salvador, Bahia, from 1958 to 1959. In 1969, he became the director of the Casa de Anchieta, (a historic monument to commemorate the founding of São Paulo). He studied the life of Anchieta in such depth that he eventually became the main authority on this Jesuit priest, led the campaign for the beatification of Anchieta and put forward reasons for his canonization. He was a Correspondent Member of the Historical and Geographic Brazilian Institute and also a member of the Historical and Geographic Institutes of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, São Vicente-SP; the Historical, Geographic and Genealogical Institute of Sorocaba-SP; the Genealogical Institute of Brazil; the Association of University History Professors (ANPUH) and the Society of Historical Studies (Brazilian College of Genealogy, 2013).

with regard to the teaching of Latin in the Captaincy of São Vicente (Viotti, 1996, p. 67).

Later, following the arrival of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and the report by Luis da Grã, who arrived from Bahia in 1556, called by Nóbrega, “[...] the Casa de São Paulo, which until then had only been a residential dwelling, became (in strictly legal terms) the first college of the Jesuits in the Americas” (Viotti, 1996, p. 68).

The system of education that prevailed in the College of Saint Ignatius was known as the *Ratio Studiorum*, or rather, the Society of Jesus’ learning system based on the *modus parisiensis*, due to the fact that it was in Paris that the first companions had met around the memory of Saint Ignatius, after extensive teaching experience in colleges in several European countries. The standard Plan of Studies was finally approved for use in the Catholic world in 1599 and was fully applied in the following century (Viotti, 1996). The author also mentions that the Jesuits were established in their College of São Paulo again in 1653, where they carried out the educational task of the founders of the city. In fact, he refers to a number of officials and rectors who were active in the 17th and 18th Centuries. However, the local inhabitants were not only taught in São Paulo (both as a town and a city), but also in the school in Santos, maintained by the Jesuits since 1585, later described as a ‘college’ in 1653. Hence, “[...] the expansion of learning which went ahead in the captaincy and in Brazil in general in the 18th Century was not affected by Pombal’s persecution” (Viotti, 1996, p. 70).

The framework for classical learning or its Course of Humanities in the college of the Society of Jesus was structured on Grammar. This was divided into three classes: the lowest, middle and higher, which comprised the Humanities strictly speaking and Rhetoric (in five classes) which was subdivided into different levels. The lowest class took place at four different levels but it was possible to cover two or more of these levels within a single year. Which were the textbooks adopted for study in the colleges in Brazil? Viotti (1996, p. 71) outlines a list:

The textbook that was universally used for Grammar was that of the remarkable Manuel Álvares, which made a good companion to Bento Pereira’s *Prosodia* (a kind of Latin-Portuguese dictionary). The authors recommended to students in Brazilian colleges (which naturally turned to Portugal for

guidance in their teaching courses) were roughly the following: 1) Lowest Class: *The fables of Phaedrus*, *The letters of Cícero*; 2) Middle Class (1st Grade): *The letters of Cícero*, Ovid's *Tristia*, Virgil's Eclogues; 2nd Grade: Cicero's *De Officiis*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Virgil's *Georgics* and the *Fables of Phaedrus*; 3) The highest class: *De amicitia* and *De senectute* by Cícero, the *Post Reditum* speeches; cantos from Virgil's *Aeneid*, *De Belo gallico* by Julius Caesar, *Quinto Cursio* etc. In the Humanities classes, the following were taught: Cívero's *De natura Deorum* et *Quaestiones tusculanae*, *Pro Marcello*; In *Catilinam* orations, Horace's *Odes*, and works by Julius Caesar, Sallust etc. In the Rhetoric classes there were: *De oratore* by Cícero, *Institutio oratoria* by Quintilian, Horace's *Odes*, other cantos from the *Aeneid*, Tacitus, Titus Livy etc. Greek was begun in the Grammar classes and included Demosthenes and the dialogues of Lucian etc.

The four years of teaching by Father Manuel Correia in the captaincy of São Paulo (1732-1735) revealed how pedagogically gifted he was in encouraging the students to be interested in their studies. At the same time, through his exhortations, he encouraged the students to practice their religion regularly and managed to attract some to the religious and priestly life. He left the São Miguel College to proceed with his studies in Rio de Janeiro in 1735. When the news was announced in the provincial press, it received the following comment by the Commander of the town of Santos: 'His removal from here will cause turmoil'. Further, a quarter of a century later, in 1760, when the Jesuits were expelled from the College of São Paulo, "[...] driven out with a military escort, as decreed by Pombal, to the shore, people were in tears when they accompanied them to the outskirts of the city" (Viotti, 1996, p. 72).

The career of Father Leonardo Nunes (1550-1554) is also addressed by Serafim Leite⁹ (1937) who records the arrival of this priest at the end of

⁹ Serafim Soares Leite, was born in São João da Madeira – Portugal, in 1890 and died in Rome in 1969. He was a Jesuit priest, poet, writer and Portuguese historian. He lived for several years in Brazil, first as a teenager and later as a researcher on Jesuits priests and other catechists and educators working in Brazil from the 16th Century onwards. He was awarded the 'Alexandre Herculano Award' for his monumental work, *The History of the Society of Jesus in Brazil*, published in 10 volumes, in 1938. In 1954, on the occasion of the 4th Centenary of the city of São Paulo, on the encouragement of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, he published his *Letter to the first Jesuits in Brazil*. His work is regarded as an indispensable reference for Brazilian

1549 and beginning of 1550, accompanied by ten or twelve boys, “[...] with the fixed intent to open a school for the instruction and the teaching the catechism”. He adds that “[...] when he arrived in the fields of Piratininga, he brought other boys, the sons of Portuguese settlers and Indians; together with other boys from S. Vicente, he began to teach them how to read and write, and in the case of brighter students, to read Latin. The Portuguese orphans learnt the Tupi language” (Leite, 1937, p. 35).

How were lessons given by the Jesuits and who were the students in that initial phase of colonization in Brazil and in the region of São Paulo? Leite (1937) explains that when Nóbrega arrived,

The young boys have their exercises set out in an orderly way in the house. They learn to read and write and are making good progress; some of them can sing. And others who are cleverer are already learning Grammar. They are devoted to their studies and make the most of them. We believe that they are going to be real workers from the great hope we have in their principles. [...] There were seven big brothers and several orphan boys and other sons of the indigenes whom we didn't want to accept, but for the big and principal ones, because we did not have the means to maintain them; as for clothing, the boys had to go naked (Leite, 1937, p. 36).

According to Serafim Leite (1937), the College conceived by Nóbrega had the same judicial form as that in Bahia, when the Confraternity of the Children of Jesus was established there. The financial backing for this institution came from donations by Brother Pero Correia. It was run by two administrators and a chairman, since the priests felt they were responsible ‘only for the boys’ learning and doctrinal beliefs’. The College for the Children of Jesus was inaugurated on 2nd February. 1553.

The tribute to historical figures who took part in the historiography of the IHGSP is witnessed in the celebration of the achievements of illustrious people who are worthy of being remembered by posterity. As Enders (2000) makes clear, in Brazil members of cultural and artistic institutions are largely expected to fulfill the task of enumerating and paying homage to distinguished dead people.

historiography with regard to the activities of the religious figures in the Society of Jesus in Brazil. He wrote three articles for the IHGSP in the period 1933-1937.

In his study on the IHGB, Manoel Salgado Guimarães (1989) also showed that the Institute was given the task of selecting which past figures were worthy of being remembered. From the point of Enders (2000, p. 41), “[...] the enumeration of great figures also opens up an academic debate. Owing to its serious social implications, the administration of posterity brings about an encounter between history and memory and blends intellectual and political spheres”.

In the case of IHGSP it was not different, and a concern for biographical factors is evident in the pages of RIHGSP, which has published many biographical portraits of ‘illustrious Brazilian people’, particularly those who were born or left their mark on the state of São Paulo.

Since there was a particularly large number of biographies hailing from colonial times published in the RIHGSP, this fact shows that the biographical genre occupied a central place in the historiography of São Paulo, especially with regard to the missionaries Manoel da Nóbrega and José de Anchieta. This led to the dissemination and spread of information on their lives and works.

One example of this practice is an article by Affonso de Carvalho¹⁰, in which the author provides details of Anchieta’s role in the episode of the Tamoyo Confederation – the revolt led by the indigenous Tupinambá Indians. This tribe occupied the coast of what is now the northern part of the state of São Paulo during the period 1556-1567, in opposition to the Portuguese colonists who sought to bring about colonization by enslaving the Indians.

The main character in this history is Pindobuçu – or Palma Grande – Chief of the Tupinambá tribe. Owing to the intervention of Nóbrega and Anchieta, in the episode known as the Peace of Iperoig (now Ubatuba), there was a peace treaty in which the Portuguese were compelled to free all the Indians who had been enslaved. However, the outcome of this treaty was that it led the Portuguese to strengthen their colonization policy with attacks on Indian villages and the killing or enslaving of the people.

¹⁰ Affonso José de Carvalho (1868-1952) graduated in Law in 1889 and began a legal career in 1890. He cleared all the hurdles in the legal profession and was appointed State Minister of Justice in Galgou in 1927. In 1936 he retired as a supreme court judge. He was a correspondent member and later an effective member of the IHGSP. He published five articles in the RIHGSP between 1912 and 1937 (Câmara Municipal de São Paulo, 1955).

The purpose of Carvalho's article (1937) was to recall the episode and give an account of the relations between Jesuits and Indians, with Pindobuçú and Anchieta as protagonists. It is only at the end of the article that Carvalho (1937, p. 27) refers to the friendship between Pindobuçú and Anchieta. When the latter had to move back in the direction of São Vicente, and was waving goodbye, "[...] tears were shed in the heartfelt farewells of the new friends of Iperoig, and the occasion must have included the more generous and affectionate thoughts of the gigantic figure of Palma Grande".

The contribution made to historiography by Ernesto Goulart Penteadó¹¹ (1923) may be found in the article published in the *RIHGSP* as the result of a conference which the author delivered during the commemorations of the centenary of Independence, in a special event held by the IHGSP on 20th August, 1922.

The author summarized the history of teaching and defined it as "[...] the art of teaching children or a set of principles and means of educating" (Penteadó, 1923, p. 313). The history of teaching is divided into three periods, or "[...] wide experiences in which the human spirit can collect a large amount of facts [...]", namely:

The first teaching took place in the Indo-Semitic civilization, which mainly occurred in the historical period known as 'Oriental antiquity'; the second is represented by the evolution and flourishing of two Arian branches, Roman and Greek. Finally, the third evolved through the Middle ages and in the Modern and Contemporary periods. The societies that lived during the Indo-Semitic period did not undergo an initial educational phase as they also did not undergo an initial social phase. Among those who expanded in the second phase were the Athenians who flourished to a high degree and thus gave proof of the fixed evolutionary pattern of educational systems. The Latin-Anglo-

¹¹ Ernesto Goulart Penteadó "hailed from the capital of the state of São Paulo and studied Law at the Academy of São Paulo, where he was Emeritus Educator and senior lawyer, First Justice of the Peace for the district of Brás, and representative of the people in the "Three-Year" sessions of the municipality of the capital and an effective member and secretary of the Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo" (Penteadó, 1923, p. 309).

Saxon societies which thrived from the beginning of the Middle Ages to Modern times are finally those that offer a more complete and decisive experience (Penteado, 1923, p. 313).

In this account of the history of teaching, Penteado (1923, p. 323) even refers to Luther who in his view is “[...] a notable driving-force in pedagogical theories [...]”, because as a reformer he stated that “[...] the strength of a society lies in good education which provides well instructed, humane and honest citizens”. In the view of Penteado (1923, p. 323), Luther not only made schools available to all social classes and praised their value but also:

[...] drew from them, in a clear and positive manner, the principles proclaimed by the Protestant Movement, in a way that was conducive towards a real educational campaign. He wanted the students to ‘hear, see and learn in a cheerful way’, that is, to carry out their studies in a spontaneous fashion and be guided by their own skills and ideas. (Penteado, 1923, p. 323).

From the standpoint of Penteado (1923), up to the 18th century, the ‘democratization’ in schools was a fact because in German-speaking countries of the 16th and 17th centuries, the teacher was still the priest. In the 18th century, there was a slight attempt to wrest the public schools from the grips of the church, whilst the first primary schools were formed in the 19th century. The author also mentions the small degree of progress made in the educational field throughout the centuries, whether in Catholic countries or not, and argues that, despite the progress experienced by educational work, school discipline was still somewhat barbaric and it could be said that “[...] the students were instructed but not educated” (Penteado, 1923, p. 323). In support of this view, he refers to the fact when a German teacher died in 1782, it was estimated that during his professional life he had given “[...] 911.597 canings, 124.010 whippings, 10.235 slaps and 7.905 ear-pullings”.

Consequently, Penteado (1923) discourses on the Swiss educational reformer Pestalozzi and his German follower Froebel, who shared the honor of ushering in a new phase in the history of education, or rather, popular instruction. In his opinion, both completed the cycle of the great pedagogical thinkers.

On this basis, Penteado began to support his ‘thesis’ on popular instruction and again resorted to the historical past of Brazil, setting out with Nóbrega and Anchieta, whom he described as the “[...] real precursors of truly public teaching in Brazil” (Penteado, 1923, p. 325). Thus he recalls historical facts regarding the activities of the Jesuit missionaries in Colonial Brazil in their teaching of the catechism to Indians and public teaching.

In Penteado’s opinion (1923, p. 329), up to 1846, “[...] public teaching remained more or less at a standstill”. The author then goes on to describe at length public teaching in the state of São Paulo, basing his arguments on the wide range of provincial laws that were enacted between 1835 and 1875, and drawing attention to the fact that only Law N. 34 of the 16th March 1846 was particularly concerned with public teaching. Hence, he underlined certain points about this Law which he deemed important, namely:

Art. 1. – Elementary learning includes reading, writing, theory and practice of Arithmetic to the point where it covers the general principles of practical geometry; Grammar and the national language; and the moral principles of Christianity and the religion of the state.

Art. 2. – Elementary education for girls will cover the same subjects, geometry excluded, and limited to Arithmetic, theory and practice of the four operations, as well as skills needed for domestic science.

Art. 3 – The government will establish public schools in every city, town, or settlement which has a sufficient number of people that are deemed appropriate in the circumstances, subjected to the approval of the Assembly of the Province.

Art. 4. – In populated areas, where girls’ schools have more than 60 pupils, there may be another school where subjects will be added on general notions of geography and history, especially with regard to Brazil, and notions of the physical sciences that are applicable to everyday life. In girls’ schools with more than 40 pupils, there may also be another one with the addition of subjects on general notions of Geography, History and Music (Penteado, 1923, p. 329).

Nineteenth century education was still biased on gender issues which prevailed in the education of girls and had the force of law. However, the IHGSP historian does not think it is worth commenting on and restates that he is adopting an a-critical stance in his historiography. The 1846 legislation standardized Art.14 on official exams, punishments and daily duration of exercises.

Penteado (1923, p. 331-335) describes the history of legislation in São Paulo in the period (1868-1921), as it was applied to public teaching. In his view, public teaching in the state of São Paulo had its golden age in the ten-year-period, from 1893 to 1903:

As a result of a developing pattern, we have reached the present time in which public teaching is provided by the public authorities to the highest degree possible. In former times, public teaching was to some extent approached tentatively. We have already examined the teaching program that led to Law N. 24 of 16th March 1846. It was a simple and easy program to carry out, as was also Law N. 54 of the 15th April, 1868 and its subsequent enactment on the 18th April, 1869.

Ernesto de Sousa Campos¹² worked together with the historiographer of education and learning produced by the IGHSP and published an article in RIHGSP which discussed the origins, evolution and progress of Brazilian universities (Campos, 1970). In his view, it is hard to understand the sluggish growth of university teaching in the country:

Four hundred and twenty years elapsed between the discovery of Brazil in 1500 and the establishment of the first Brazilian university in 1920. More than four centuries ebbed away without the idea, albeit sketchy in the 16th century, taking shape and being put into effect. And, as a result, the 1920 core had an artificial form. It did not make available the essential structuring of

¹² Ernesto de Sousa Campos (1882-1870) was trained in Engineering at the Escola Politécnica [Polytechnic] de São Paulo (1906). He became a doctor at the Faculty of Medicine in São Paulo (1918 class) and as a prize for being elected the best student, was granted a scholarship by the Rockefeller Foundation to study in the United States. He was one of the founders of the University of São Paulo (1934), Minister of Education and Public Health (1946) in the government of Gaspar Dutra. He was Chairman of the IHGSP (1954-1956) and wrote eight articles for the IHGSP in the period 1953-1959 (Academia de Medicina de São Paulo, 2013).

organization. It consisted of a grouping (merely on paper) of existing schools that continued to carry out their activities in an independent way. The position of the Rector was that of a figurehead. And these schools were devoted to training professionals in Medicine, Law, Engineering, Pharmacy etc. In that group of faculties, there was no institution devoted to the study and advance of the sciences and culture in the most wide-ranging areas. It was a center devoid of research. The lecturers only carried out this task at the time when they gave their lessons because they essentially lived by exercising the responsibilities of a liberal professional, which at times was very different from the subjects they had on their work load. The very large number of students was not known personally by their hard-pressed lecturers. Moreover, there was no basic Faculty of Philosophy, Science and Arts (Campos, 1970, p. 5).

The author sets out a ‘time-frame’ to show that other people who came from Spain and Great Britain founded universities in the Americas, while Brazil failed to join the movement which began in countries such as the Dominican Republic, Peru and Mexico. Later, between 1600 and 1700, when the countries were on a more permanent footing, there was the founding of the University of Harvard in the United States, the University of Cordoba, in Argentina, the University of Maior Real e Pontifícia de São Francisco Xavier in Bolivia, the University of San Carlos in Guatemala and the University of San Tomás in the Philippines. On the other hand, Brazil remained ‘quiet, indifferent or blind’ to all this because, in its view, in the 18th and 19th centuries nothing happened here and nothing in “[...] the thinking that has taken place in other countries has aroused us from apathy” (Campos, 1970, p. 6).

While significant events unfolded periodically in the colonial history of Brazil, during the Portuguese monarchy with D. João VI, the first and second Empires and the first twenty years of the Republic, Brazilians remained in “[...] a complete state of lethargy during this period of extreme importance for the progress and development of the nation” (Campos, 1970, p. 6). When in 1920, the University of Rio de Janeiro was established, its organization was the outcome of:

[...] a meeting of already existing professional schools, loosely tied to a rector who, it might be said, was no more than a figurehead. Identical subjects or aims were found in different faculties. There was no sign whatever of scientific

research; neither could any research exist because lessons were given by a professional staff who only remained in the schools for the exact time required to teach their classes. And some of the lecturers who undertook their profession were qualified in areas very different from the subject taught in their classes. There was no significant techno-scientific apparatus. There was a very serious shortage of bibliographical sources, in particular with regard to what existed or had been upgraded in the vast accumulation of material in the world scene and in several different languages. There was no system involving full-time staff. The buildings were unsuitable, poorly adapted and restricted in their ability to cope with the growing number of students etc. (Campos, 1970, p. 7).

Seven years later in 1927, the University of Minas Gerais was founded, and its regulations were drawn up in 1931. It followed the same pattern as that of the University of Rio de Janeiro. In other words, it lacked a Faculty that was solely devoted to scientific and cultural studies or Institutes of a purely cultural or scientific kind. It was only in that year that a law was enacted that established the foundations for learning in Brazilian universities. In 1934, two more universities were founded, namely, the University of São Paulo (in January) and the University of Porto Alegre (in November), but “[...] it was that of São Paulo which was structured along the lines of its great institutional mentors that could be found in the great nations of the world” (Campos, 1970, p. 7).

With regard to his concern on subject matters at the Universities, Campos (1970, p. 8) published a 407-page book titled *University problems* in 1938. This acted as a ‘warning’ with regard to “[...] the dire situation of university teaching in our country within the international academic world [...]”, because the country was at bottom level in the league of civilized nations.

Thus there was nothing more natural than my lively interest in this matter when I took on the educational portfolio in 1946. I would not have agreed to take it when I was invited, if my program had not been accepted. Since I have never had any inclination for party politics and never belonged to any party of this kind, I would not have been interested in that high position in the Republican Government if I had not been able to put into effect my educational aspirations which for many years I have been passionately

pressing for through the written and spoken word. Our plans for dealing with the foundation of new universities were accepted and also for founding primary schools in rural areas along the country's frontier (Campos, 1970, p. 8).

In addition, Campos (1970) revealed his concern about the total lack of 'a really Christian Brazil', or of a Catholic university, despite the fact that:

[...] the Bishop of Campinas wanted an institution of this kind. The idea was pondered but did not get off the drawing board. The Jesuits of Rio de Janeiro had managed to persuade my predecessor in the Ministry (for a brief period) to issue a decree that allowed a Catholic university to be founded there, although at that time, the central core lacked the three higher education institutes required to form a proper institution. No approved statutes were extant. It was thus an incomplete initiative. It was a great honor for me to officially bestow the legal diploma (Campos, 1970, p. 9).

With regard to the activities of the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, and subsequently its other institutional counterparts, Campos (1970) states that he knew that the archdiocese of São Paulo was thinking about actively encouraging the founding of a university on the occasion of the 4th Centenary of the city:

I argued that it was better to found it immediately since I believed it was the leadership of the educational negotiations that was particularly in favor of this undertaking. His Eminence agreed and immediately both the preliminary and definitive studies went ahead. As a result, a few months later it was founded with federal approval and took the name of the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo. Five universities were established in less than six months. We left behind the state of stagnation that had persisted for a quarter of a century to take a new leap forward. The four universities burgeoned into nine and all these five new universities were successful and soon made great progress. New facilities were built and in their expansion, large areas of land were either purchased or granted as donations. The Pontifical University of São Paulo led to another – that of Campinas (Campos, 1970, p. 10).

Thus, as a result of this movement, other universities were established in Brazil. In the opinion of Campos (1970, p.10), it was a *déclenchement* [triggering effect] or rather,

It unbolted a door that had been closed, or only half open, for centuries. Brazil had become aware that it was backward in this respect, which is of supreme importance for our time – the preparation on a large scale and at a high level in the scientific, cultural and technical sense. However, not all the universities that are being established in the country are perfect and some have serious failings. But it has been necessary to take the Brazilian people into this ‘interland’, - the world of the university that is gradually breathing new life and making improvements. On the negative side, the point has not yet been reached when Brazil is able to prepare students at the highest academic levels (Campos, 1970, p. 10).

In a general way, these five articles that have been selected from those published in the *RIHGSP* are a small but significant sample for understanding what the cultural elite – as represented by intellectuals who published articles in this periodical – thought about Brazilian education.

In summary, apart from what is found in the biographies of José de Anchieta, Manuel da Nóbrega and Leonardo Nunes, the writers Viotti (1996), Carvalho (1937) and Leite (1937) are still dwelling on the educational activities carried out by the Jesuit missionaries with regard to teaching the Catechism to the Brazilian Indians and giving lessons in the early stages of colonization in Brazil, in particular the region of São Paulo. From a diachronic perspective, the point of departure for understanding the history of teaching in Brazil, as outlined by Penteado (1923), lies in the practices of the Jesuit priests, whereas the public instruction is best addressed through the wide range of provincial laws, as well as those enacted in the state of São Paulo. Further, when Campos (1970) discusses the origins, evolution and progress of Brazilian universities, he examines the question of why Brazilian universities were established so much later than those in the Spanish-speaking American countries and in the United States.

In addition, the articles about education published in the *IHGSP* journal evidence the links between production and the use of historical knowledge. They are also an attempt to merge a regional identity of the

state of São Paulo with a national identity. Hence, when the nature of the historiographic task carried out by the selected five authors is analyzed, a fertile terrain may be found for the investigation of the relations between historical truth and myth.

The kind of writing practiced by the selected authors provides features that enables the IHGSP to be understood as a privileged social place for historiographic work in the 19th and 20th centuries. As Saviani (2008, p. 3) points out, “[...] the knowledge employed by educational historiography entails using appropriate conceptual tools (categories) to reconstruct the real relationships that characterize education as a concrete phenomenon”.

Final considerations

Current research has drawn attention to some of the contributions made by the Journal of the Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo for the historiography of Education in Brazil. In addition, it has provided elements that may be used to portray a historical panorama of the Historical and Geographic Institutes throughout the world as well as on a national level, through a close examination of the Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo and a description of the main features of the *RIHGSP*. The use of a bibliometric analysis as a methodological resource and the analysis of materials, were essential when investigating the scientific work produced by the *RIHGSP*, as a way of providing portraits of the authors, addressing key issues and finding out about the temporal distribution of the published articles.

The analysis of the articles published in the *RIHGSP* also made possible an in-depth understanding of the role of the ‘organic intellectual’ which this periodical fulfilled. This was achieved in the sense that a so-called national identity was formed on the basis of the legacy inherited from the colonial period and its continuity by the Monarchy, which was made up of sovereigns who were direct descendants of the Portuguese Royal Family.

In the case of the intellectual signatories of the articles published in the *RIHGSP*, the question of Brazilian national identity was the direct result of the evangelizing and civilizing leadership shown by the priests of the Society of Jesus from 1549 onwards. These were joined by Indigenous peoples and by peoples of African and Portuguese extraction who were

amalgamating and becoming Brazilians throughout the centuries (following the first occupation of the immense territory of Brazil by the Portuguese in 1530).

Thus, the articles published by the RIHGSP confirm that this Christian civilizing mission by the West which shaped Brazilian society was initially situated on basic literacy 'houses' and on the colleges governed by the principles of the *Ratio Studiorum* and the Constitutions which ruled the religious order founded by Ignatius of Loyola.

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