

SCHOOL MUSEUM: MEANINGS, PROPOSALS AND PROJECTS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES)

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to study school museums introduced into Brazilian schools in the late 19th century and during the 20th century. It was motivated by the finding that there are various proposals for, forms of operation of and different objects called school museums. For this reason we sought to identify these differences in pedagogical documents and in educational laws, focusing on Santa Catarina state as a context of reference for the document study. As a result, we identified six definitions that apply to distinct forms, although they had the same objective: to make teaching methods more concrete. The main objective of this article is to present these definitions, which are inserted in the discussion about the teaching materials and their introduction to schools.

Keywords: school museum, pedagogical museum, school objects, school space.

Resumo

O presente artigo tem como objeto de estudo os museus escolares introduzidos em escolas brasileiras no final do século 19 e ao longo do século 20. Sua motivação partiu da constatação que existiram diversas propostas, formas de operacionalizar e diferentes objetos nomeados museus escolares. Buscamos, a partir disso, identificar diferenças em impressos pedagógicos e na legislação do ensino, privilegiando o Estado de Santa Catarina como contexto de referência para mobilizar o segundo tipo documental. Como resultado, chegamos a seis acepções que assumem formatos distintos, embora visem ao mesmo objetivo: tornar os meios de ensino mais concretos. Apresentar tais acepções é o objetivo principal deste artigo, que se insere na discussão acerca dos materiais de ensino e de sua introdução na escola.

Palavras-chave: museu escolar, museu pedagógico, objetos escolares, espaço escolar.

MUSEO ESCOLAR: SENTIDOS, PROPUESTAS Y PROYECTOS PARA LA ESCUELA PRIMARIA (SIGLOS 19 Y 20)

Resumen

El objeto de estudio del presente artículo son los museos escolares introducidos en las escuelas brasileñas al final del siglo 19 y a lo largo del siglo 20. El estudio fue motivado por la constatación de diversas propuestas, formas de operacionalizar y diferentes objetos denominados museos escolares. Buscamos, entonces, identificar diferencias en impresos pedagógicos y en la legislación de la enseñanza, privilegiando el Estado de Santa Catarina como contexto de referencia para movilizar el segundo tipo documental. Como resultado, llegamos a seis acepciones que asumen formatos distintos, aunque objetiven lo mismo: tornar los medios de enseñanza más concretos. El principal objetivo de este artículo es presentar tales acepciones, que se insertan en la discusión acerca de los materiales de enseñanza y su introducción en la escuela. Palabras-clave: museo escolar, museo pedagógico, objetos escolares, espacio escolar.

MUSÉE SCOLAIRE : SENS, PROPOSITIONS ET PROJETS POUR L'ÉCOLE PRIMAIRE (19ème ET 20ème SIÈCLES)

Résumé

Cet article a pour objet d'études les musées scolaires introduits dans les écoles brésiliennes à la fin du 19ème siècle et au cours du 20ème siècle. Il a été écrit en raison du constat de l'existence de plusieurs propositions, de différentes formes d'opération et de divers objets nommés *musées scolaires*. Nous avons cherché, à partir de ce constat, à identifier des différences dans des imprimés pédagogiques et dans la législation de l'enseignement, en focalisant l'état de Santa Catarina, en tant que contexte de référence, afin de mobiliser le deuxième genre documentaire. Nous avons abouti à *six acceptions* qui prennent différentes formes, malgré le fait qu'elles aient le même but: rendre plus concrets les moyens de l'enseignement. Présenter ces acceptions constitue le principal objectif de cet article qui intègre la discussion concernant les matériels d'enseignement et leur introduction à l'école.

Mots-clé: musée scolaire, musée pédagogique, objets scolaires, espace scolaire.

Introduction

The materiality of the school has gained visibility in studies of the history of education, in Brazil and abroad. There have been studies that in various ways seek to understand the constitution of schools through their material aspects, whether through the analysis of architecture, books and notebooks or through the study of particular objects, such as blackboards, desks, laboratory instruments, and other artifacts found in schools. Among the many school facilities analyzed include school museums, not only as objects, but also as physical space.

Considering this first distinction, as well as others that were gradually identified in the historiography of education and in the sources consulted, an attempt was made to find indications for composing a historic trajectory of school museums. Were they places inside or outside schools? Were they places or objects? Were they objects or series of things? Were they collections? Were they be something defined, homogeneous, similar at all schools, or were they diversified, heterogeneous, changing in accord with the locations?

Considering that objects have a trajectory, to trace and explain their biographies, “it is necessary to examine them within their situations, in the various modalities and effects of the appropriations of which they were part. This does not involve a material scenario, but understanding the artifacts in the social interaction” (Meneses, 1998, p. 92). In this sense, we emphasize the description of the objects within their situations.

Considering these countless possibilities and the indications identified, we present six uses of the term school museum, each of which has some imprecision, for which reason we consider the word to be polysemic, given that the meaning varies according to the context. As occurs with any word of this kind, when it is used, it is necessary to relate it to the content and context specified, as a way of qualifying its usage.

The different museum formats

In some cases the expression school museum may be associated to types of museums that it does not represent, such as an art or historical museum or even certain school museums, such as the Minas Gerais School Museum, or the Santa Catarina School Museum. These museums are related to the theme of education in a perspective that is very often historical, but is not in fact an extension or continuity of the museums constituted as pedagogical facilities. Even if they may have similar purposes as those of institutions for teacher education, they are the fruit of a context that is quite different and has distinct purposes.

Thus, the first relationship of proximity that we propose is in the use of the terms school museum and pedagogical museum¹. Although they are often considered to be synonyms, the differences are revealed through a more thorough incursion through the literature in the field and the official documents that shaped schools. It is important to look precisely at the different concepts built into the terms without making judgments about the ways of using the expression.

In a quick incursion through educational literature from the late 19th century and early 20th century, the terms can be distinguished in the following manner: the first - school museum - is found among educational institutions, and should serve teachers and

¹ Vidal (2012) considers the distinction between the two terms a fundamental theoretical concern.

students for conducting studies based on the concrete, that is, this form of museum aggregates a set of objects to make learning intuitive. The second - pedagogical - is characterized as a center for teacher education, at which is developed, tested, presented and promoted new didactic methods, furniture and equipment.

The distinction between these terms can be found in an important set of texts from the pedagogical literature, as in the dictionaries published by Buisson (1887, 1911), and Monroe (1926), in the text of Frazão, which is included in the minutes of the Congress for Public Education (1884 *apud* Vidal, 1999) and in an article by Lemos (1923)². The functions of a pedagogical museum were also described by Cossío (1884, [18--?]), director of the National Pedagogical Museum of Spain, which would warn of a certain confusion in the use of the terms:

Both contain *teaching material*, and the same teaching material. This is the reason for the confusion that can easily occur and that occurs frequently between the two. Nevertheless, the distinction is clearly established and in an absolute manner, through observation, already indicated, through *critical examination*. Between a school museum and a pedagogical one there is the same difference as between education and pedagogy. The material of the first serves to educate and the second to *learn to educate*³. (Cossío, [18--?], p. 134)

The references located compose an explanatory framework of what would be a pedagogical museum, or that is, a space that would gather objects that would teach teachers to educate.

Historiographical studies from the educational field⁴ indicate that the school museums were driven by another modality of museum, the pedagogical ones. The later found their peak at the time of the universal exhibitions, which functioned as a type of stimulus to the creation of museums dedicated to the theme of education (Bastos, 2002, p. 254). Combined with these exhibitions, there were congresses⁵ in a wide variety of fields, which were characterized as spaces for discussion that sought to standardize some sectors.

The pedagogical museums had the common characteristic of functioning as institutions for teaching teachers. In general, they were accompanied by libraries, and they produced and distributed periodicals and books dedicated to modern teaching methods and materials, to support the practice of teachers.

For Maria Helena Camara Bastos (2002, p. 258), the concept of a pedagogical museum was inserted in the "representation of Brazilian educational modernity" since

² At the end of this article there is a long biography from the period about school and pedagogical museums.

³ "Ambos contêm material de ensino, e o mesmo material de ensino. Daí a confusão que facilmente pode fazer-se e faz-se com frequência entre uns e outros. Sem dúvida, a distinção é claramente estabelecida e de um modo absoluto, mediante a nota, já indicada, do exame crítico. Entre um Museu escolar e um pedagógico há a mesma diferença que entre educação e pedagogia. O material do primeiro tem de servir para educar; e o do segundo para aprender a educar".

⁴ Mainly Felgueiras (2011), Mogarro (2010), Meneses (2003), Bastos (2002), Vidal (1999, 2006, 2009).

⁵ After the Paris Exhibit of 1878, it began to be mandatory to hold congresses during international fairs. These became one more thing to be exhibited. They were promoted "as the main spectacles of science and progress," but open only to a selected public." Exhibitions with specific themes also began to be held, allied or not to the congresses. For education, there were three examples of events of this type, in 1880 in Belgium, in 1883 in Brazil and in 1884 in England (Kuhlmann Júnior, 2001, p. 88).

1870, the consequence of the participation in international exhibits, contact with publications and visits to foreign establishments.”

The first Brazilian pedagogical museum was created on december 2, 1883, and was called the National School Museum, located in Rio de Janeiro. Its concept was related with the First Pedagogical Exhibition, which donated some of the objects that would come to constitute part of the museum's collection. After the founding, the National School Museum operated on the top floor of the National Press building, and was open to the public twice a week, and all day on Sundays. From 1884-1887 it promoted annual school exhibitions (Bastos, 2002). The fact that Brazil's first pedagogical museum was called the School Museum in part explains the proximity of the terminology and the imprecision mentioned.

In 1890, a new pedagogical museum was founded called the *Pedagogium*, by decree no. 667, of august 16, during the mandate of Minister Benjamin Constant. It began, according to the records, with a library and classic material from the Custodial Association of the School Museum, which had been terminated, and from the Association for the Promotion of Teaching. Menezes Vieira was named the director of the *Pedagogium* on August 20, 1890, and can “be considered its creator and great catalyst” (*Ibid.*, p. 274).

The activities of the *Pedagogium* included the publication of a magazine entitled *Revista Pedagógica*, which

Existed for six years, first circulating on 15/11/1890, the date that was celebrated as the first anniversary of the new republic. The final issue, as found in the archives of the National Library, was published on 15 June 15 1896, although the periodical *Educação e Ensino*, which presented itself as the sucessor to the *Revista Pedagógica*, reported that the final issue was published in January 1897. (Gondra, 1997, p. 375)

According to Gondra (1997), the magazine served as a “tool for circulating the Republican discourse to be distributed free of charge to all teachers - public and private” (p. 378). In addition to this publication, the museum also promoted from 1891 - 1896, courses and conferences as well as annual school exhibits, with the work of students, teachers and educational material.

The objectives of the *Pedagogium* included the dissemination of similar institutions in other states and the organization of school museums in Brazilian schools. The presence of museums in the schools was determined by article nine of the Regulations for Elementary and High School Instruction of the Federal District, approved by decree number 981, of November 8, 1890.

In addition to this national initiative, some states created their own pedagogical museums. The state of Alagoas installed its *Pedagogium* on May 3 1891, and in 1895 São Paulo created the Instituto Pedagógico Paulista (Bastos, 2002).

In addition, Leontina Busch (1937) identified the presence of this institution in the educational legislation of some states, for example in the Regulation of Public Elementary Instruction of Rio de Janeiro of 1929, which created a pedagogical museum. According to a regulation of 1932, Maranhão state created its pedagogical museum in the capital in 1932. In 1934, an exhibit about the teaching organization of Pernambuco, mentioned the presence of a Central Pedagogical Museum, created in 1931. According to Busch (1937),

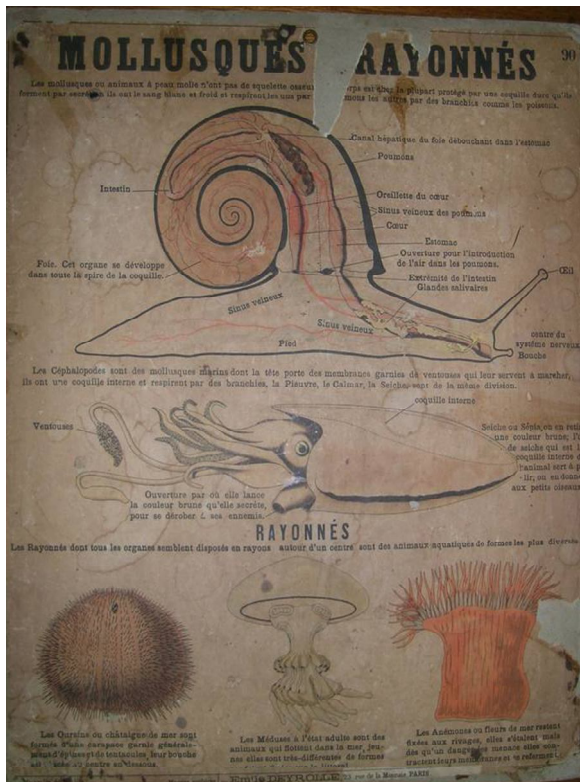
school and pedagogical museums were present in the legislation of at least seven Brazilian states in the 1920s and 1930s⁶.

The second reference that the term school museum relates to can be found, more easily, in Brazilian educational historiography, mainly since the studies of Vidal (1999, 2006, 2009, 2012) about the Brazilian School Museum, a national version of the Musée Scolaire Deyrolle. According to Vidal, the Brazilian School Museum corresponds to a collection of wall posters produced in France, translated, adapted and taken to Brazil, by all indications by Menezes Vieira, who was the director of the *Pedagogium* from 1890 to 1896. These posters were aimed at “the basic teaching of the natural sciences, mainly, but also of history and of that what we modernly call human geography” (Vidal, 2009, p. 44).

Below are two examples of the posters from this collection. The image on the right is a French example and on the left a model translated and adapted by Menezes Vieira to the Brazilian reality. Both are part of the archives of the Escola Normal Caetano de Campos.

Figure 1

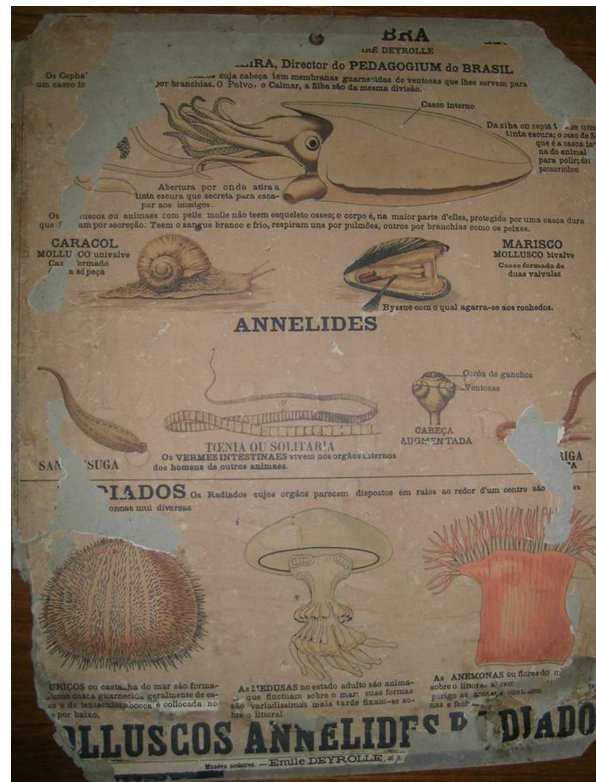
Example of poster from the school museum from the French collection.



Source: Vidal, 2006, p. 256.

Figure 2

Example of poster from the school museum from the Brazilian collection.



Source: Vidal, 2006, p. 256.

⁶ They are: Minas Gerais (MG), the Federal District (DF), Bahia (BA), Sergipe (SE), Piauí (PI), Pernambuco (PE) and Maranhão (MA).

In addition to the posters in this style, the Deyrolle company manufactured “parts of the human anatomy and compared anatomy and models of flowers and fruits” (Vidal, 2009, p. 48). Vidal (2009) observed the presence of materials from this company in inventories and correspondence from the Escola Normal Caetano de Campos and the Escola Normal do Brás (SP). Vidal affirmed (*Ibid.*, p. 53), that the Maison Deyrolle had a strong commercial instincts. Created in 1831, it began to produce the school posters in 1861 and in 1870, the French government was its main buyer. The company had a sales representative in Brazil. It is not known exactly when the posters began to be translated into Portuguese. According to Vidal (2009, p. 48), the posters in Portuguese and Spanish are found in the catalog of 1897, however, in 1895, the Escola Normal de São Paulo already had translated versions, as can be seen in a photograph album.

The language barrier was not felt only in the Brazilian case, which in some way led Menezes Vieira to translate and adapt the school museum collection. The inspector of schools of Buenos Aires province, Honorio Senet (1896), indicated as impediments to the adoption of this material by the schools: the high prices, the poor relation with the reality of Argentine schools, as well as language.

The position of Inspector Senet (1896) appears to have been considered by the French businessmen, who perceived the existence of an important consumer market. An 1898 sales catalog from the French company presented posters edited for the Americas, with versions in Spanish and Portuguese about the following themes: elements of the natural sciences, 20 posters; useful animals and vegetables, 23; extractive industries/technology, 26; and human anatomy, 12; from a total of 81 posters (Les Fils d'Émile Deyrolle, 1898).

A catalog from 1939 offered for sale “color wall posters mounted on tagboard.” This was the Portuguese language collection School museum for lessons about objects. The first page of the catalog informed that “this museum is presented in posters of 0,59 x 0,47 with colored designs and samples of natural” objects (Estabelecimentos Deyrolle, 1939, p. 1), these being the components of the complete school museum collection. In addition to the themes presented in 1898, in 1939 a series of posters was introduced called “comparative types,”⁷ and supplemented posters about technology, totaling 156 units and 500 natural samples⁸. The posters that did not have related natural samples could be sold in paper, without being mounted on tagboard, which allowed a lower price.

It is clear that some schools in São Paulo had these imported materials, such as the two schools mentioned: Escola Normal Caetano de Campos and Escola Normal do Brás. Nevertheless, Souza (1998, p. 230), analyzing the primary school universe, emphasizes that “there were few school groups fortunate enough to have access to this modern teaching resource,” as well as other imported materials, which were found mainly in urban schools. In Santa Catarina there are not enough studies or data that reveal the purchase and presence of imported museums. There is a record, in a report from the secretary of business of the state, sent to the governor in late 1912, in which he affirmed:

⁷ Each slide from this series presents the illustration of a species along with similar ones. The examples range from mammals to mollusks and microbes.

⁸ The following series have natural samples: elements of the natural sciences; the animals and vegetables and the extractive industries.

In each school group, as mentioned above, there is a small, although adequate school museum, which includes specimens of natural history, apparatus of physics and chemistry, which can be used for experiments related to the programs of these subjects; allegoric posters about the harmful use of alcohol; posters about products from the country, of machinery used in farming and in husbandry. The museum for the Conselheiro Mafra school group and for all the others of the state, lacking only for Itajahy, whose creation was resolved after the order was placed, was acquired in Paris, at the known firm of E. Deyrolles & Fils. (Santa Catarina, 1912, p. 61)

The item delineates a quite generic image of what a museum would be, that is, a collection of specimens about natural history. This is to say that it could include small stuffed animals, or those mounted on boards, in the case of butterflies, for example, or even of thematic posters, according to the teaching materials⁹.

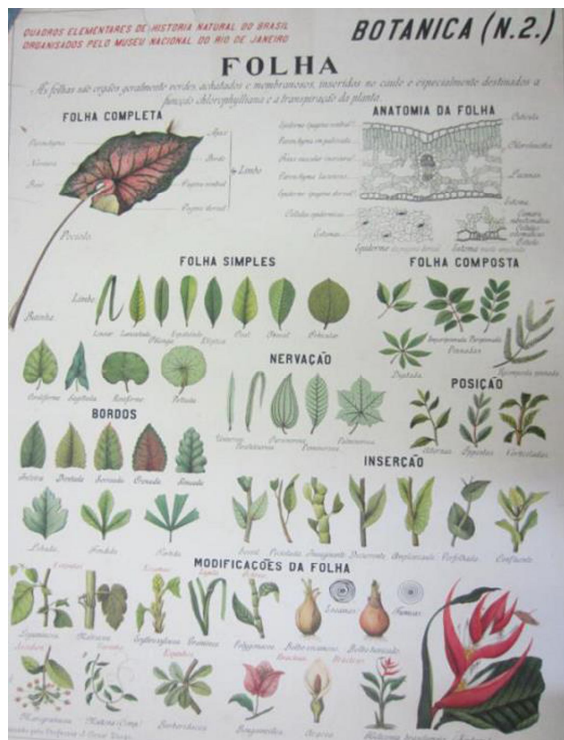
In addition to these posters imported from the *school museum I series*, we identified the presence of other similar ones, although they were not described as such. They involve material produced by the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro. The relationship between the National Museum and the schools, in relation to the supply of collections, appears to have begun in the 1890s, through the action of the *Pedagogium*. The organization of model school museums was one of its activities and, for this reason, in 1891, Benjamin Constant, minister of public instruction, requested from the director of the National Museum, Ladislau Neto, “to prepare small collections about natural history that are appropriate for elementary school teaching that should be sent to the *Pedagogium* for later distribution in the teaching establishments” (Sily, 2010, p. 9).

Beginning in 1916, the Regulations for the National Museum established as one of its purposes “to study, teach and promote natural history,” coming to regularly prepare specimens and collections in its laboratories, which would be distributed among the schools, for the teaching of natural history in school display cases and museums (Sily, 2008). The themes of the maps, from 1919 to 1922, were: anthropology, zoology, geology and botany (*Ibid.*, 2008). Below are two examples of simple posters about the natural history of Brazil organized by the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, referring to botany and zoology.

⁹ It is worth recalling, however, that the report presented to the governor fulfills the function of informing about the realizations of his government, at the same time in which it seeks to legitimate its action, highlighting important acts, such as the purchase of international educational objects.

Figure 3

Wall poster about zoology published by the National Museum in 1921



Source: Sily, 2012, p. 261.

Figure 4

Example of school museum poster from the Brazilian collection



Source: Sily, 2012, p. 264.

In relation to Santa Catarina, there is a record of the purchase of these collections by the Ginásio Catarinense, which was a private Catholic school for boys. Nevertheless, this was a high school at the time, and cannot be used as an example for the study of elementary schools. According to data from the annual report of 1929, the natural history teacher, Padre Maute, went to Rio de Janeiro “to study in the museums of the federal capital the most recent installations and to add to our museum” (Gymnasio, 1929, p. 65). He gathered objects from different institutions - the Ministry of Agriculture, the Biological Institute, the Botanic Garden - and at the National Museum obtained wall posters for natural history education.

In relation to the public schools, we have the following information from the Municipal School of Joinville, written by Orestes Guimarães, school director from 1907-1909. In the item school materials, the director observed:

Today the school has a good collection of wall maps for teaching the natural sciences (Deyrolles collection, Brazilian version), maps for teaching geography, above all about Brazil (Olavo Freire and Rio Branco), terrestrial, celestial and clay globes, a Level device, etc. all found in inventory (annex 37). This material, adopted in the schools of S. Paulo, some under the direction of the Pedagogium Brasileiro, is of the best quality and beyond any criticism, as didactic material. (Colégio, 1909, p. 16-17)

This passage offers two elements to consider in the circulation of school objects, which show that Santa Catarina was connected to pedagogical novelties. First, the mention of the existence of the collection of Deyrolle posters for teaching the natural sciences, in the translated and adapted version, as indicated, referred to in the studies of Vidal (1999, 2006, 2009). Secondly, the reference that some of these materials were from the *Pedagogium*, without indicating whether they were produced or only distributed by it.

Thirdly, an allusion is made to a piece of furniture that stores the collections of the objects for the classes about the items, which is also named as a school museum. An emblematic piece of furniture is the wooden cabinet, with partial glass doors (Teive, 2007), which was quite common in school furniture during the 20th century, as can be seen in various photographs of classrooms. In the organization of the classroom or of the school, this furniture could assume, according to records, the function of a museum. But, because of its versatility, this cabinet could perform a variety of functions. According to the bylaws for the school groups of 1914 (Santa Catarina, 1914a), each class should have “a cabinet with a glass door,” whose function would be to store the student’s material.

A reference is found to the cabinet-museum in the report of the Grupo Escolar Particular Stella Maris and Curso Complementar Anexo in the municipality of Laguna, from 1947.

According to the inventory of the existing furniture and material in the classes, there was in the 4th grade classroom a cabinet preceded by the indication, between parentheses (museum) in good state, valued at 300 cruzeiros (Grupo, 1947, p. 46).

Figure 5 is representative of the cabinet mentioned that according to most of the pedagogical literature was used to store the collections. It is an example from the collection of the Museu da Escola Catarinense, of Florianópolis.

Figure 5
Wooden cabinet with glass doors.



Source: collection of the Museu da Escola Catarinense (photo 22/1/2013).

The supplying of schools with cabinet-museums is mentioned by Martin Lawn (2005) in the text *A pedagogy for the public: the place of objects, observation, mechanical production and cupboards*. According to Lawn, after 1871, the natural sciences were added to the school curriculum in England, and became mandatory in 1882. This requirement created the need to gather many objects that would allow teaching classes. As a result of the growth in the quantity of objects that entered the schools, it became necessary to store them in cabinet-museums, which should be supplied by the School Board. After 1888, the issue was mentioned in the records of this agency, which recommended that the local boards attend the requests of the school directors to provide the cabinets.

According to Lawn,

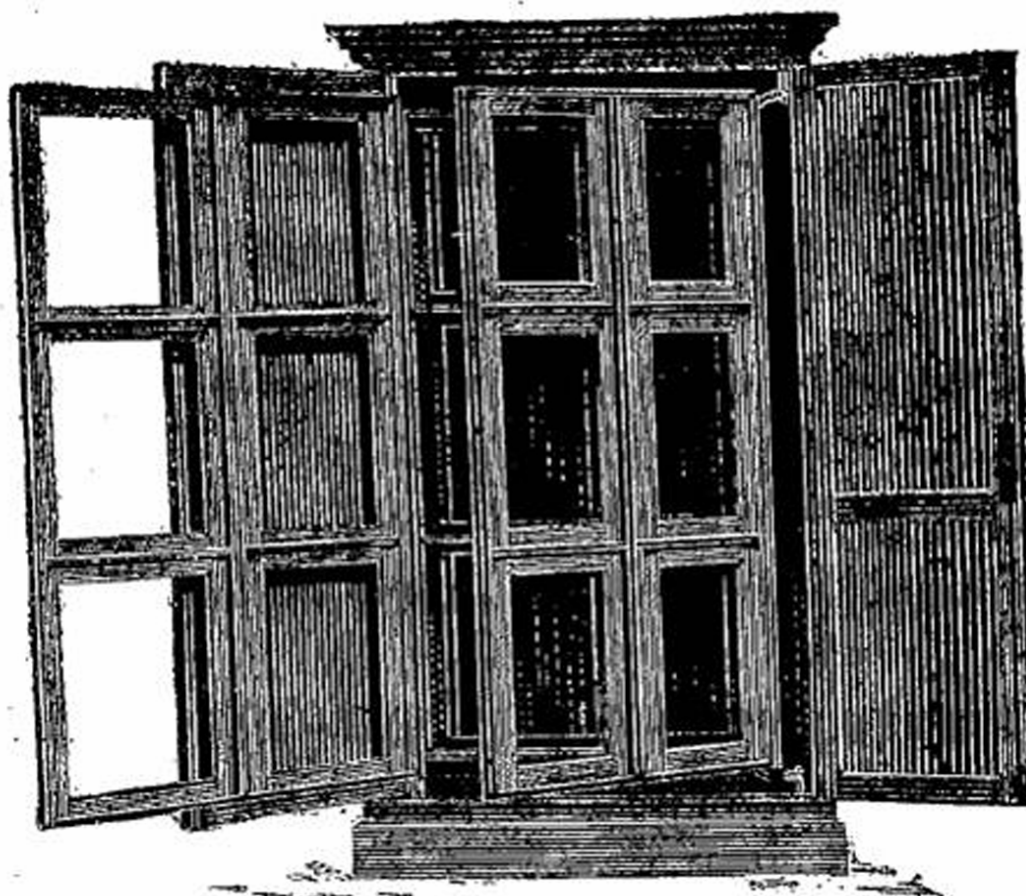
object lessons begat objects which begat cabinets. The series of events which lead from a curriculum instruction to a minor industry of object supply and the creation of school cabinets or museums took place within a few years in many state schools. (Lawn, 2005, p. 160)

In this process, the schools needed to develop a capacity to store objects (Lawn, 2005). The solution was found by purchasing and providing cabinets or wooden and glass cases.

Another example of the furniture whose function would be to store objects from the museum, specifically the posters in the style of those studied by Vidal (Fig. 1 and 2), is a cabinet with internal dividers, where a large number of boards could be stored. This cabinet would allow the prints from the museum to remain in the children's view without needing a large wall surface. (Les Fils D'émile Deyrolle, 1898).

Figure 6 presents a model of this cabinet, which is 2,20m tall, 1,24m wide and 0,40m deep. It comes from a sales catalog for educational furniture and materials of the Maison Deyrolle.

Figure 6
Armoire porte-tableaux.



Source: Les Fils d'Émile Deyrolle, 1898, p. 34.

This museum format can be related to the collections, considering that it would store them, recognizing that the definition of what constitutes a museum is tenuous: if it is the collections, if it is the furniture or a combination. In any case, this distinction helps to alert to the fact that when we observe in the documentation that a school has a museum, it can be referring to quite distinct situations.

In addition to these situations, the research revealed a fourth format, which is the museum as a pedagogical resource installed within the classroom. It is particularly related to the cabinet described above, because it eliminated the need to have a specific fixed place to install a museum: a cabinet, a stand or an apparatus would serve to store or exhibit the objects, such as tables, small boxes, vitrines. What is of interest in this case is that the two versions were considered and placed in practice without being exclusive, as can be observed in school reports. We refer to the Lauro Müller School report and to the Complementary Course Appendix, of Florianópolis, in 1946. According to the director of the school in the municipality of Lauro Müller: “each class has its museum. During the year, each teacher collects what the students bring. At the end of the year, the most interesting objects or items are taken to the General Museum” (Grupo, 1946, p. 24).

In addition to informing about physical dispositions, the statement provides clues about one methodology used to constitute the general museum collection and indicates the existence of two types of museums: that in the classroom and another general one, in a specific space of the school.

In figure 7 we can see an example of a museum installed in a classroom.

Figure 7

Photo of the Museu Silva Jardim in the Escola Estadual de Papanduva, Campo Alegre, 1946.



Source: Arquivo, 1946c, p. 424.

A detailed examination of the photograph indicates that the objects are organized on a horizontal piece of wood on the wall. The collection includes, among other things, tree branches, an animal skin mounted to the wall and a support, which appears to be made of fabric, next to an animal skin, with two parts. The classroom also has a geographic map and four posters with prints; the two on the right side of the photo look like those used for teaching sciences.

To this fourth type of museum, a fifth is added which has the condition of a physical space¹⁰. The museum not only provides a name for the collections of posters, various objects and furniture, but also occupies a physical space in the schools, a small cabinet where collections would be stored. The destination of a specific space in the architecture of the school composes an intriguing question, given that at first glance it appears to heed the pedagogic maxim of the need to establish more concrete teaching processes by creating material conditions for their realization, with priority over other activities that could be exercised within the school space.

The description of the museums in the classrooms and in a specific cabinet appears to be a Brazilian peculiarity (Backheuser, 1934; Busch, 1937). Backheuser suggests that the school museum is not

always available to the students, which would quickly make it an object of less interest, but whenever a change or improvement has been made to it, the class should be informed, so that it awakes the desire for a new visit, a yearning for new observations. (Backheuser, 1934, p. 298)

We see here a type of transition between a pedagogical apparatus, which should offer students and teachers the possibility of direct contact with teaching materials, for a concept more of a space that stores things to be contemplated.

In relation to the first school groups in Santa Catarina, their construction called for devoting space to a cabinet for the museum. The regulations applicable after 1914 determined that the school groups should have eight classrooms. Similar to the 1911 guidelines, the classes would be separated into male and female sections and the size of the classes should be at least 9m x 7m x 5m. In addition to these spaces, the regulations determined that each school group should have: a cabinet for a school museum; a cabinet for the director; a chest for the front office; a storage space for each section, as well as toilets and sinks and urinals in the male section; and patios with trees for the recreational period (Santa Catarina, 1914a, p. 8). Curiously, the presence of a library was optional, and a school group may have one or not. If it had one, the archives would be loaned to both teachers and students of the establishment.

Of the first six school groups, only that at Vidal Ramos, in the municipality of Lages, had a cabinet for physics and chemistry and a cabinet for the school museum, due to the larger size of the building. In the five others the physics and chemistry apparatus were placed in the same space reserved for the museum (Santa Catarina, 1914b, p. 153).

Because they shared the space with the physics and chemistry laboratory, and because of their reduced size - in the school group of Lauro Müller the sizes of the space

¹⁰ For more information about the distribution of physical spaces in school environments and their possible meanings see: Viñao (2005).

destined for the museum were 4,00m x 3,50m x 4,40m (Grupo, 1946) - it is probable that the location was not used for practical classes. According to the records, it was the function of the office staff to remove the materials from the museum and from other spaces, which indicated its use as a place for storage, distancing it from the function as a laboratory. According to article 12 of the Bylaws for the School Groups (1914), the material for common use would remain in the director's cabinet, in the school office and in the museum cabinet. The fourth paragraph indicates that "the teacher must request from the office the posters or devices needed for teaching class and recommended that each day, when classes were over, to put these items back in the proper *storage* places" (Santa Catarina, 1914a, p. 9).

Until the 1930s, there was no mention of the existence of museums, in isolated schools, whether as collections of objects or as a physical space. This would change at the beginning of the 1940s when Santa Catarina laws determined that a museum would be an auxiliary association of the school, which constituted the sixth format that we identified. In 1944, the Santa Catarina Department of Education regulated the existence of the following associations: a national pro-language league; a library; a school newspaper; an agricultural club; a "circle" of parents and teachers; school museums; centers of interest; a goodwill league; a reading club and a health squad (Santa Catarina, 1944). However, in following years, the list also included the school treasury, the school consumer cooperative, the choral group and the school soup [meal program] (Santa Catarina, 1942a, 1942b, 1943b). All of these had would be gradually placed in operation. The chorus and the agricultural club would be installed when possible (Santa Catarina, 1943a). Nevertheless, long before they were characterized as such, some of these institutions were already part of daily life at the schools, such as the museum and library, since the 1910s, such as the school treasury (1916), and the agricultural clubs, which were introduced in 1935, according to Fiori (2002).

The associations had specific functions and objectives but, in general, they should promote the formation of student groups, and prepare them to live in society, promote within schools, the creation of miniature societies, which develop qualities such as order, initiative and leadership (Santa Catarina, 1941).

They are basically student organizations, formed by students from various grades, coordinated by a teacher, each one with certain tasks according to its purpose. They functioned as a type of auxiliary entity to the teaching activity or for socialization, development of morals and the civilization of the students, as well as the approximation of the school with the family. The associations were organized at the beginning of each school year, when a teacher was designated to be its coordinator, usually at the first or second pedagogical meeting. After that, they elected a board composed of students who must comply with some tasks, which should be recorded in monthly acts and annual reports.

As an association, the museum must comply with a series of bureaucratic measures, like the election of the board, recording of meetings in minutes and the writing of annual reports of the activities undertaken, a report on the objects purchased, etc. This requirement, created in the 1940s, meant that the number of registrations related to this period, deposited in the Public Archives of Santa Catarina State (Apesc) and that informed about museums, is much higher than that in previous decades. The status as an

association led to some questioning: after all, did it involve a revision of the functions and profile of the museums? Or, was it only that the bylaws that named them changed?

Decree number 2.991, of 1944, established instructions for the operation of the associations, and was the first complete document to specify the function of each one, although they dated back to the late 1930s. This document considered that “everything that could be capable of offering a motive for study should be part of the museum” (Santa Catarina, 1944, p. 142).

In this new condition, the museum should possess the following collections:

- a) a collection of wood from the region and from outside it: classified according to the name, habitat and use of each species;
- b) collection of minerals found locally, and if possible, in the state and in Brazil; the classification should be done by someone who knows the characteristics of the minerals. According to the decree, small samples that have high value “should be placed in small boxes covered with glass or clear paper, to avoid contact with the hands and consequent decomposition” (Santa Catarina, 1944, p. 142). The collections will be organized on stands, on tagboard that has the data about them;
- c) collection of agricultural products: grouped by family and by the municipality where they are produced, they will be distributed in small jars with labels indicating their practical utility: corn provides: flour, meal, grits, cracked corn, popcorn, etc. This collection will also include products for making cloth such as linen, cotton, *rama*, *pita*, *gravatá*, *tecum*, jute, *graxima*, *caroá*, etc.;
- d) industrial collection from the municipality: if possible, each type of industry should have a miniature representation: “The beverage factories can be represented by the labels of their various products” (Santa Catarina, 1944, p. 143);
- e) historic collection: composed of objects used by the Indians and other people, with information about their origin, to “make comparisons with the objects of life today, because there are historic objects that have no value when dispersed but when combined can reconstitute “episodes that gave origin to our lives” (Santa Catarina, 1944, p. 143).

Considering the body of documents accessed until now, this is the first moment in which the composition of a museum was made clear in the case of Santa Catarina. The text provides details of what it involves and how to organize it, which can be done by means of excursions or correspondence with other schools. Nevertheless, we do not consider this content to be completely original, because it replicates a certain consensus that existed among educators in the late 19th century, which considered the museum as more than a tool for studying the natural sciences, although the affinity with this field of knowledge was more evident: the need for it to adapt to the reality of the region where the school was located; the importance of not being too specialized or rigorously classified

based on the repertoire of specialists; the need for its composition to be related to the teaching program, and not be casual or random¹¹.

More or less at the same time in which the auxiliary associations were being discussed in Santa Catarina, Backheuser (1934) and Busch (1937) sought to affirm the new characteristics of the museums. For these authors,

the school museum in the new school could not be identical to that of the traditional school. There, with the school essentially concerned with *teaching*, the only museum of interest was the natural history museum, with some stones, some plants, some animals. (Backheuser, 1934, p. 295)

In addition, this new museum,

losing that static character, given to it by the traditional school, based on collections of Deyrolle posters, natural history and other subjects, stuffed animals, etc., not rarely representing or concretizing many things foreign to the school program, the evolved, if not renovated school museum, should be dynamic and its content should reflect the teaching program. Established, gradually, as a function of the development of the teaching program for each subject, by a combined effort of the students and teacher, who is a guide while the students multiply their research activities with items from the environment and from afar. (Busch, 1937, p. 36)

For Houssaye (2007), this polarization between the new and the old is explained by the need to establish a difference, because this is what gives a new pedagogy the status of new. The forgetting of previous ideas is essential in this process, because, if not, the new thinking becomes an inheritance of the past and not a creator, which supposes lying about its origins, from the author's perspective. Despite this effort to deny the origins, we note, in the documents and printed items we analyzed, a certain circularity of thinking.

On the other hand, by mapping educational statistics from the national census agency, the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE), we see that nationally, until 1937, the museums were considered to be part of the material structure of the school. In its records, IBGE considers them to be school facilities, along with the library, and fixed or moving projection equipment and laboratories, while it presented separate statistics concerning school institutions, which was another way of designating the auxiliary associations¹². But if until 1937 the museum was considered a material part of the school, at least since 1938 it is clearly considered a school institution by the Department of Education of Santa Catarina (Santa Catarina, 1942b; 1943b). This change in format would lead to an expansion in the number of associations. While in 1937 there were 46 museums in Santa Catarina primary schools, including the federal, state, municipal and private spheres, in 1938 there were 71 and in 1942 there were 205.

One of the noticeable changes in relation to this change in status of the museum in Santa Catarina was its progressive expansion through the schools throughout the state, including isolated schools or those in groups. From documents located at Apesc, from

¹¹ These principles are found, although in a dispersed manner, in the following references: Amor (1935), Backheuser (1934), Bannwarth (1925), Busch (1937), Ferreira (1914), Figueiredo (1924), Frazão (1884), Senet (1896).

¹² Data available at: <<http://www.ibge.gov.br/seculo20/default.shtm>>.

1944-1951, we identified the presence of museums in 319 schools. This universe gave origin to a document base composed of 1,148 meeting minutes and reports, which presented information about the daily activities of the associations, including an accounting of the existing collection, the forms used to gather objects, the activities undertaken, from cleaning, classification, disposal, exhibition and their use in classes about common concepts.

Final considerations

This article presented various possible meanings attributed to the term school museum since the 19th century and above all in the 20th century. Six definitions were presented, demonstrating what was called a polysemy of the term and the impossibility of associating it to a single definition. This reveals the need to understand an object, artifact or utensil of the past, inserted within the context in which it was produced, whether rhetorically or materially.

Upon speaking of the school museum or pedagogical museum of the late 19th century, in the mid 20th century and now in the 21st century, in the case of the school museums, one is not speaking of the same thing, although it would be possible to find affinities. To say that a given school has a school museum is not enough to understand the meaning that the expression had at a given time and place, making it necessary to question about the type or modality of the museum considered or instituted and its purpose.

The museum not only involves various meanings, materializing them in various formats, but also receives distinct denominations, and has also been called, for example, a *didactic museum* (Busch, 1937). In addition to these distinctions, to conceptualize and define what it was based on a meaning, whether a *cabinet museum* or an *auxiliary association of the school*, is not simple, given that we find that the schools found a unique way to assemble their own museums, emphasizing certain elements over others, using them for distinct functions. Thus, to present a clear and objective explanation of what was a museum would be to run a risk of making a generalization.

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Received 12 april 2013.

Accepted 17 july 2012.