



The School Federation of Scouts and the School Federation of Girl Guides: notes to think about primary education in the city of Rio de Janeiro at the end of the 1920s¹

A Federação Escolar de Escoteiros e a Federação Escolar de Bandeirantes: notas para pensar a educação primária na cidade do Rio de Janeiro em finais dos anos 1920

Federación Escolar de Scouts y Federación Escolar de Guidismo: apuntes para pensar la educación primaria en la ciudad de Río de Janeiro a fines de la década de 1920

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Abstract

The School Federation of Scouts and the School Federation of Girl Guides were created in the city of Rio de Janeiro. They established an approach that had already been taking shape between some educators who advocated for “school renovation” and the Scouting proposals, in the Education Reform approved in 1928, under Fernando de Azevedo as Director General. This article aims to discuss some points of view and aspects related to the operationalization of these proposals, using newspapers, magazines, and educational legislation as sources. We discuss how the conception and operation of the Federations were articulated with the understanding that the need to organize, discipline, and harmonize everyday life in the city should correspond to a (re)signification of the knowledge and practices of primary schooling.

Keywords: History of Education. Scouting. History of the City of Rio de Janeiro.

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Resumo

Consagrando uma aproximação que já vinha se estabelecendo entre alguns educadores que propugnavam a ideia de “renovação escolar” e as propostas do escotismo, na Reforma da Instrução, aprovada em 1928, tendo Fernando de Azevedo como Diretor Geral, foram criadas a Federação Escolar de Escoteiros e a Federação Escolar de Bandeirantes na cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Este artigo objetiva analisar alguns pontos de vista e aspectos referentes à operacionalização dessas propostas, utilizando como fontes periódicos e a legislação educacional. Discutimos como a concepção e o funcionamento das Federações se articularam com a compreensão de que a necessidade de organizar, disciplinar e harmonizar o cotidiano citadino deveria corresponder a uma (re)significação dos saberes e práticas da escolarização primária.

Palavras-chave: História da Educação. Escotismo. História da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro.

Resumen

Consagrando un acercamiento que ya se había establecido entre algunos educadores que propugnaban la idea de “renovación escolar” y las propuestas del escultismo, en la Reforma de Instrucción, aprobada en 1928, con Fernando de Azevedo como Director General, se crearon la Federación Escolar de Scouts y la Federación Escolar de Guidismo en la ciudad de Río de Janeiro. Este artículo tiene el objetivo de analizar algunos puntos de vista y aspectos relacionados con la operacionalización de esas propuestas, como fuentes utilizando periódicos y la legislación educativa. Discutimos cómo el diseño y funcionamiento de las Federaciones se articularon con la comprensión de que la necesidad de organizar, disciplinar y armonizar la vida cotidiana de la ciudad debería corresponder a una (re)significación de los conocimientos y prácticas de la educación primaria.

Palabras Clave: Historia de la Educación. Escultismo. Historia de la Ciudad de Rio de Janeiro.

Introduction

In the city of Rio de Janeiro, during the 1920s, there were a series of initiatives aiming to shape a new tradition of urbanity, marked by the search to (re)signify the public space reforms held by the municipal and federal governments in the early years of the 20th century (SILVA, 2015). In this scenario, strategies to instill and spread conducts and behavior seen as adequate became increasingly more intense as key to harmonize *carioca*² everyday life.

In this arena, characterized by progressively more intertwined times and city spaces with practices and types of knowledge from the school environment, Fernando de Azevedo became the General Director of Public Education of the city in January 1927. A position he held until October 1930. A mark of his management, emphasizing “school renovation”, was the advocacy for students and young people to have an active position in the learning process. Through this perspective, teachers would channel, discipline, and articulate students’ interests, using them as references for the development of their intervention (AZEVEDO, 1929; VIDAL, 2000).

To Azevedo and other educators that presented themselves as “renovators”, the articulation of school with students’ everyday life was an important dimension. In their understanding, there was the need to look for an articulation with other experiences of social schooling, so as to share their beneficial influences. Thus, it is no surprise that they have highlighted circumstances that could, in a way, contribute to the teaching of adequate ways of living and behaving in the city: trips to fields, farms, and public gardens; visits to museums and factories; demonstrations of physical exercises; conversion of city life in school content; among others (NUNES, 1994, 1996, 2000; SILVA, 2009, 2015, 2020).

In this framework, under the logic of government actions, focusing on the diffusion of primary schooling meant trusting the possibility that teaching from educational precepts embodied in the bodies and behaviors of the school community would be spread and apprehended by the population. Therefore, the insistence on the educational debate of an important question presents itself since the 19th century: the need to connect instruction to education³. Here are some manifestations of this debate published in the magazine *A Educação*⁴.

To José Escobar⁵: “Instruction, compared to education, is a drop of water in the ocean” (1923, p. 511). Carneiro Leão⁶ insisted that “primary instruction was not only learning the first letters, but a way to guide young people for life” (1923, p. 386). Pires Ferrão⁷ inferred “in fact, the illiterate causes less harm to society than a person that has a rudimentary misguided instruction” (1924, p. 6). Carlos Alberto Porto Carreiro⁸ also

² Translator note (N.T.): The term *carioca* refers to those born in the city of Rio de Janeiro

³ On the governmental actions that tried, during the 19th century, to connect instruction (teaching of elementary knowledge- reading, writing, and counting) to the educational concerns related to the shaping of adequate behavior, hygiene habits, and disciplined manners, see: Schueler (1999) and Gondra e Schueler (2008).

⁴ *A Educação* defined itself as “a magazine dedicated to the defense of instruction in Brazil”. On its pages, there were articles from educators, teachers, and physicians. In 1925, the director was Heitor Lyra da Silva one of the people responsible for the *Associação Brasileira de Educação* (Brazilian Association of Education).

⁵ Escobar was a teacher in different cities in the state of São Paulo (Cravinhos, Itapetininga, and São Simão). In 1921, he became a teacher at *Escola Normal* in the city of São Paulo (CAMPOS, 2018).

⁶ Antônio Carneiro Leão was the General Director of Public Instruction in the city of Rio de Janeiro (1922 to 1926), among other functions.

⁷ Estevão Pires Ferrão was a sanitation physician. He participated in the *II Conferência Nacional de Educação* promoted by *Associação Brasileira de Educação* in the city of Belo Horizonte, in November, 1928 (SILVA, 2004).

⁸ Porto Carreiro was a teacher, journalist, and poet. When Carneiro Leão was in charge of the General Board of Public Instruction, he helped apply pedagogical and psychological tests in school, as well as creating teacher

emphasized that “instruction to a certain degree, without education is of the most dangerous individual and social perils” (1925, p. 476). Jonathas Serrano⁹ followed a similar understanding: “instruction without education is a weapon more dangerous than a benefit for the individual and the social assemble” (1925, p.572).

Among the different voices, throughout the 1920s, we can see the association of elementary knowledge teaching (reading, writing, and counting) with the concerns related to the disciplining of behaviors and moderation of habits. Along this line, an idea got stronger. According to it, if school contents were not well guided, they would cooperate for the *contamination* of the population, leading to turmoil in Brazil, as a whole, and to the city of Rio de Janeiro in particular (PIRES FERRÃO, 1924, p.6).

To harmonize *carioca* everyday life, it was not enough to have schooled inhabitants; they needed to be educated. Several times Fernando de Azevedo insisted that “*escola nova* [was] not only an instruction device” (1958, p. 77)¹⁰, but an institution that should invest in “integral education guided towards a certain end and in harmony with new ideals”. Amongst which he highlighted the relevance of working daily on hygiene, health, work, physical education, moral, patriotism, as well as the indispensability of teachers and students to be disseminators and stimulators of educational renovation.

The approximation of Fernando de Azevedo and the scout movement should be seen in this scope. It is worth highlighting that, for several times, the educator indicated the importance of the scout movement and the affinity he had for the ideas of Robert Baden-Powell (NASCIMENTO, 2004a). Therefore, it is no surprise that the legislation that regulated the Public Instruction Reform¹¹ included a title exclusively on the theme, foreseeing the work of an entity to stimulate students’ involvement:

Art. 648 – Creates the *Federação Escolar de Escoteiros*, as an auxiliary institution of *physical, moral, and civic education*, composed by 11-year-old students, with the written agreement of parents.

Art. 649 – Scouting will be used in public schools as an instrument of complementary education with students from both genders, between the ages of 8 and 16 years old.

Single Paragraph: the implementation of scouting principles will be rigorously held according to the bases of Baden Powell.

The importance of scouting in the 1920s has already been studied¹², as well as its articulation with sport initiatives (HEROLD; MELO, 2018), another practice that became more strongly connected to the educational principles that were forged (LINHALES, 2009). Considering this relevance, as well as Azevedo’s connection with the scouting movement, this article aims to discuss some points of view and aspects on the operationalization of *Federação Escolar de Escoteiros* (FEE- Scouting School

training courses (PAULILO, 2013). In 1926, he was part of the commission responsible to create the *Programas para o Ensino Primário Carioca* (SILVA, 2009).

⁹ Director of *Escola Normal do Rio de Janeiro* and a teacher at *Colégio Pedro II*. He was a Technical Subdirector of Public Instruction under Fernando de Azevedo’s management.

¹⁰ The book “*Novos caminhos e novos fins*” was released in 1931. It gathers lectures, conferences, and interviews given by Fernando de Azevedo during the implementation of *Reforma da Instrução Pública* in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In this article, we use its 3rd edition (1958).

¹¹ The *Reforma da Instrução Pública* of the Federal District was approved and sanctioned by the mayor Antônio Prado Júnior on January 23, 1928 (Lei do Ensino decreto n. 3.281) and regulated, with no alterations, on November 22, 1928 (Decreto do Ensino n. 2.940).

¹² Among others, see: Nascimento (2004a) and Herold Júnior (2015).

Federation) and *Federação Escolar de Bandeirantes* (FEB- Girl Guides School Federation) (created *a posteriori* and not explicitly foreseen in the Reform legislation).

According to Telma Valério (2013, p. 93), FEE “had the objective to, besides strengthening the connection between school and community, perfect physical, moral and civic education of children”. How was the proposal enacted? Which discourses surrounded its implementation? How was FEB created?

Expecting to raise possible answers to these questions, we used as sources some periodicals published in Rio de Janeiro between 1928 and 1930 and the educational legislation at the time. This time framework corresponds to the working period of the two Federations studies. To develop this analysis, we were guided by Luca’s (2005) reflections on *materialities* of information that circulated on periodicals, seen here as points of view on the theme.

The emergence of both Federations

The creation and work of FEE were detailed in the *Reforma da Instrução Pública de 1928* (1928 Public Instruction Reform). In this year, actions were enacted towards its implementation. In June, Mário Sérgio Cardim – “ardent and convincing propagandist of scouting in Brazil, since 1914, after his stay in England” (O PAIZ, 16 out. 1928, p. 7)¹³ – was chosen to lead the initiative. In September, Fernando de Azevedo published the instructions to organize the entity (JORNAL DO BRASIL, 6 set. 1928, p. 20).

As foreseen in the *Reform*, the idea was that FEE would operate following the principles formulated by Baden Powell as well as articulated with the *União dos Escoteiros do Brasil* (UEB- Brazilian Scout Union). The proposal was to implement it in public schools in the city of Rio de Janeiro to all students of 11 years and more. The instructions aimed to emphasize that it was a matter of combining two instances (school and non-school). This was not an easy task, due to operational and cultural issues – both spheres had different work dynamics that should find a synergy somehow.

We can see that Fernando de Azevedo and Mário Cardim intensively acted to involve school community in the proposal, recommending inspectors, principals, and teachers that the regulations should be “rigorously obeyed to avoid that isolated could disturb the perfect organization of *Federação Escolar de Escoteiros*” (JORNAL DO BRASIL, 18 set. 1928, p. 21). It was first an issue of disseminating scouting ideas, and only later undertaking efforts to organize nuclei and activities. It was clear the concern to guarantee that the initiative aligned with the educational principles of the *Reforma*.

In the occasion, scouting already had many sympathizers that considered that their proposals had the potential to intervene in compelling issues for the country (NASCIMENTO, 2004). The movement was going through a moment of major structuring. Created in 1824, UEB started to welcome associations similar to FEE, such as state entities (for example, the *Federação Fluminense de Escoteiros*- Scouting Federation of the State of Rio de Janeiro) and beliefs (as *Federação Evangélica*- Evangelic Federation- and *Associação de Escoteiros Católicos*- Catholic Scouting Association).

Therefore, it is no surprise that UEB, through the mediation of one of its main leaders, Gabriel Skinner¹⁴, was enthusiastic with the proposal of the General Board of

¹³ Cardim was a student of Baden Powell and one of the pioneers of scout movement in Brazil (NERY, 2003). He was secretary to the mayor of the Federal District during Antônio Prado Júnior’s management (1926-1930) and responsible for scouting organization in municipal schools (VIDAL ET AL., 2000).

¹⁴ An important leadership of national scouting and an effusive defender of *scouting pedagogy*. Skinner was also one of the founders in 1930, of the *Federação Espírito-Santense de Escoteiros* (HEROLD JUNIOR; VAZ, 2015).

Public Instruction. The representative entity of the scouting movement emphatically saluted Cardim's initiative to print and distribute in the schools several documents to disseminate scouting proposals (O PAIZ, 17 out. 1928, p. 4).

After an initial period of structuring and awareness, in December 1928, the first nucleus of scouting of FEE was inaugurated, in *Escola Prudente de Moraes*, with teacher Maria Loureiro Dias Costa¹⁵ as a coordinator. Athletic presentations and a great civic character marked the ceremony, with many authorities from the city and the national scouting. It celebrated that the Federation was giving its more effective first steps.

Photo 1: Inauguration of the new headquarters of Escola Prudente de Moraes (December 15, 1928). The 5th, from left to right, is Fernando Azevedo; the 7th, is Mário Cardim (in a light suit) besides Maria Loreto Machado (teacher and school inspector).



Source: Arquivo IEB-USP; Fundo Fernando de Azevedo; FA-F-024.

The perspectives were bright. Through the papers, it was possible to see that there was a desire to build a headquarter for FEE (GAZETA DE NOTÍCIAS, 28 nov. 1928, p. 4), and also to have a *Escola de Instrutores* (Instructors' school) to better train teachers involved with the activity (JORNAL DO BRASIL, 2 nov. 1928, p. 16). Complementarily, there was a discussion on how to attract students and parents. To Armindo Maritas, chief scout, they should avoid any type of imposition. Young people should be attracted by the proposal when observing the workings of the nuclei, a "method, though slow and laborious, (...) was better because it would form better scouts" (O JORNAL, 26 out. 1928, p. 12).

In fact, they needed not only to mobilize students, but, mainly, the school technical body, making them open to the proposal. On January 1929, in a meeting at *Escola Deodoro*, presided by Fernando de Azevedo, with the presence of school inspectors, the Principal of *Escola Normal* and the Technical Subdirector of Public Instruction, Jonathas Serrano, Mário Cardim emphasized "the advantages of scouting, to help on the physical,

¹⁵ Together with the teaching activities, Costa was one of the guidance counselors of FEE. She wrote the book "*Síntese do Escotismo*". About this, see: Jornal do Brasil, 14 dez. 1928, p. 16 and Correio da Manhã, 14 dez. 1928, p. 7.

moral, and civic education of childhood” (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 10 jan. 1929, p. 8) and presented the program to be implemented in the beginning of the school year. The idea was to enact nuclei in 281 schools of primary education in the city.

Photo 2: Fernando de Azevedo in a meeting with school inspectors and the future presidente of *União dos Escoteiros do Brasil*, prof. Ignácio Manuel de Azevedo do Amaral (1930-1934), held at Escola Deodoro to study and organize Scouting in Municipal schools (January 08, 1929). Azevedo do Amaral is the 2nd from left to right; the 3rd is Mário Sérgio Cardim; the 4th, Fernando de Azevedo; and the 5th, Jonathas Serrano.



Source: Arquivo IEB-USP; Fundo Fernando de Azevedo; FA-F-028.

In Azevedo’s and Cardim’s perspectives, the awareness phase was over. It was then urgent to enact the creation and action of nuclei, a process in which they detailed all the procedures, among them the uniforms to be used (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 6 fev. 1929, p. 3) inspired by models from France and adapted to Brazilian weather.

A chronicler saw the initiative as an “evident truth to postpone the organization of scouting in the public schools of the federal district” (JORNAL DO BRASIL, 1 jan. 1929, p. 19). The leaders considered it propaganda. After, this perception proved to be right, the use of the uniforms became a highlighted factor of visibility (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 31 mai. 1929, p. 9).

Other awareness meetings were held with teachers to listen them on the difficulties to implement the proposal, and to render an account of their developments. There is something worth mentioning. In one of these meetings, Cardim invited the “members of the municipal teaching staff that are currently doing a course on physical education, through the Joinville method, in *Escola de Sargentos* [Sargent School]” (GAZETA DE NOTÍCIAS, 9 mai. 1929, p. 5) to participate in the dynamic of scouting nuclei. It was an

action aiming to develop physical education from the proposal seen as the most appropriate: the French Method¹⁶.

Similarly, they continued to distribute documents to inform and praise the scouting movement, Cardim also signed an agreement with *Livraria Alves* to edit works on scouting (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 5 mai. 1929, p. 11).

Besides this, Mário Cardim started to visit schools to convince them to get involved in the proposal. It is worth highlighting his dialogue with the direction board of *Institutos Ferreira Viana* and *João Alfredo*, establishments of great importance in the end of that decade (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 28 abr. 1929, p. 9). He was even surprised with the advanced scout nuclei he visited in both institutions.

To better train teachers interested in participating in the nuclei organization, Cardim once more appealed to UEB, especially Gabriel Skinner (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 17 abr. 1929, p. 7). The city hall and the union designed together an ambitious action plan (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 21 abr. 1929, p. 8). Chief Scouts started the activities in some schools, also being responsible for prognosis and evaluation. Besides this, a call for an “Instruction Course” was published (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 21 mai. 1929, p. 8).

As an incentive, they foresaw the register of merit as a promotion to teachers that involved FEE actions, one more evidence of the strong intention to enact the initiative (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 26 abr. 1929, p. 8). In the end, there were more than 300 people enrolled (O PAIZ, 1 jun. 1929, p. 4), a number that surpassed the initial expectation and was seen as a welcome sign, a prognostic for the success of the proposal.

The idea was to offer 32 lessons of 12 points, which would deal with principles, and possibilities of intervention, divided in three phases: theoretical, practical, and administrative. Those approved in a final evaluation, after going through an internship with an already licensed chief that was acting in school, would receive the title of “Scouting Instructor” (JORNAL DO BRASIL, 24 abr. 1929, p. 17).

Even before the beginning of the course, teachers from the municipal system started to circulate in scouting events, invited by UEB chiefs, to know better the dynamic of the movement (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 3 mai. 1929, p. 8). Cardim closely followed all these steps. We can see the care, the organization, and the rigor of the initiative. The leaders seemed eager to lead everything in the best way possible (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 10 abr. 1929, p.3).

New support arrived. For example, Arnaldo Guinle¹⁷, as the president of one of the better-structured clubs of Rio de Janeiro, the *Fluminense Futebol Clube* that also had a scouting group, opened all the installations of the club to FEE activities (GAZETA DE NOTÍCIAS, 24 mai. 1929, p. 2).

These actions seemed to be successful. On many occasions, we can see the advancement of the interest of part of the technical staff, teachers, and parents (O PAIZ, 11 mai. 1929, p. 4). On May 1929, the result was positive. Though there were differences between school districts, 4,000 students from 13 districts participated in FEE nuclei (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 31 mai. 1929, p. 9).

On June 1929, they celebrated the first meeting of the nuclei of Deodoro, José de Alencar and Prof. Frazão schools, held at Rodrigues Alves School, all in the 3rd district

¹⁶ Azevedo considered this was the most adequate method to the proposals of a renovated school perspective, especially because it advocated for a “scientific gymnastic (...) controlled and moderate” (GOIS JUNIOR, 2015, p. 144).

¹⁷ Guinle was part of “one of the most powerful families of carioca elite in the end of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century” (SANTOS, 2014, p. 35). Among other important positions as a sport manager, he was president of *Fluminense* (1916-1931) and the *Confederação Brasileira de Desportos* (1916-1920).

(Sacramento). More than 70 boys participated in a typical scouting celebration with all its rituals (JORNAL DO BRASIL, 19 jun. 1929, p. 16).

In August that year, at Quinta da Boa Vista, there was a big public demonstration of FEE developments. They announced that the instruction course for teachers moved forward, the perspective was to reach a higher number of schools (O PAIZ, 2 ago. 1929, p.4). The most optimistic ones estimated that there could be more than 30, 000 people, including “fairies and *bandeirantes*”¹⁸ (JORNAL DO BRASIL, 17 mai. 1929, p. 8).

In fact, in June, a novelty expanded the reach of the initiative- they announced the creation of *Federação Escolar de Bandeirantes* (FEB- Girl Scout School Federation) also considering the involvement of girls that were not embraced by the scouting proposal (O PAIZ, 9 jun. 1929, p. 12), even though their participation was foreseen in the Reform of 1928. The initiative seemed to be the result of a demand of those involved in girl scouting¹⁹.

As the scouts, the *Federação de Bandeirantes do Brasil* actively participated in the initiative. Chiefs would instruct female teachers to assume school nuclei. The working model would be very similar to FEE. A peculiarity: it was decided that FEB would also accept the enrollment of younger boys (O PAIZ, 24 e 25 jun. 1929, p. 6) that would be led by teachers, reproducing the primary education model.

In Brazil, the *bandeirante* (Girl Guides) emerged in 1919 in Rio de Janeiro. Since the beginning, it was led by women aiming a more active role of women. In this respect, we highlight that Jerônima Mesquita, a leader of girl guides in Brazil, president of *Federação das Bandeirantes do Brasil*, also involved in FEB working, was a suffragist leader. Regarding some conservative focuses, when considered through current parameters, we have to consider that:

the girl guide movement had an important role as an institution of women’s non-formal education, as it allowed women to do tasks beyond the domestic space and, certainly, provided them experiences that could hardly be experienced outside the institution. Another important question is that, as a strictly feminine body, the *Movimento Bandeirante* left a pertinent contribution to the history of women (CARVALHO, 2014, p.174).

In July 1929, as happened in the scout movement, the women instructor course started with more than 80 teachers enrolled. The schools José de Alencar, Deodoro, and Rodrigues Alves were rapidly involved with the proposal (JORNAL DO COMÉRCIO, 11 jul. 1929, p. 6). In August, there was the first big FEB public ceremony (O JORNAL, 16 ago. 1929, p. 6), organized in the Flamengo stadium, at the time located on Paissandu Street, on the corner with Guanabara Street, currently Pinheiro Machado, thus, close to the headquarters of Fluminense²⁰ which hosted the FEE activities.

During the final months of 1929, we see a sequence of actions from both Federations. Though facing several difficulties, we can see that they attempted to consolidate on-going experiences and expand the nuclei to other schools and districts in the city. FEE and FEB were constantly complimented. Why? What would be their importance according to the leaders and chroniclers? We will discuss these topics below.

¹⁸ T.N.: “Fairies” referred to the younger girls (around 6- 10 years old), while the *bandeirantes* were the older ones, from 11-15 years old.

¹⁹ The Decree 3.058, from May 31, 1929, created the Federation.

²⁰ N.T: Flamengo and Fluminense are traditional soccer teams from Rio de Janeiro.

Perspectives on the federations

After a bit more than 15 years of intensification of that political-administrative concept accentuated under Francisco Pereira Passos's management, they started to connect more intensively the measures of hygiene and "progress" to the practices of urban reconfiguration that intended to undermine a sector of the city, "distant and alternative, with its own rationalities and movements, experienced and built, mainly, by slaves, freed slaves, and poor people" (CHALHOUB, 1990, p. 28). The 1920s was marked by mismatches between planning and reality.

In other words, the former Brazilian capital was invaded by a turmoil of everyday events that unveiled the incompleteness, insufficiencies, and contradictions of the undertaken reform projects: a rampant increase of *illicit practices*; mismatched expansion of *alternative occupations*; strengthening of workers' claims; military uprising, to cite some examples (SILVA, 2009).

This scenario of tensions contributed for President Epitácio Pessoa to decree a measure that, at least since 1920, had been considered: the state of siege. On this decade, Paulilo (2014, p. 181) highlights that:

After almost half a decade in the state of siege, between 1922-1926, historiography noticed a movement of insistent contestation against the State power, an answer to the attempts to consecrate the oligarchic pact. [...] the attempts against the federal government or its official institutions, during most 1920s, reiterated the mistake of the Republic, its incomplete truth.

This confusing dynamic that manifests itself in everyday life decisively helped to approximate what happened in the educational field and scouting. In the perspective of educators and scouting leaders, FEE and FEB could contribute to school's efforts, to control and discipline the population on the then State capital. In the words of a chronicler: "Brazil needs to be more respects and stronger, it needs, beyond coffee, mate herb, rubber, dairy, nuts, and mineral, the physical, moral, and civic fosse of its children, the foundations in which scouting doctrine rests" (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 6 fev. 1929, p. 3).

Faced by such intentions that, strategically, tried to intertwine the educational apprehensions with the precepts of the scouting movement, it is no wonder that such attention would be guided towards offering training courses to instructors. More than convincing teachers, it seemed necessary to train them to understand the method, based on experiences and great corporeal movement. At the same time, these two dimensions approximated the proposal of a renovated perspective of school action that, in the perspective of some educators, was so necessary.

The notions of patriotism, for instance, were constantly connected and enacted in the initiatives of both Federations. However, certain distinctions were maintained. On the "*Decálogo para dirigentes do escotismo da Federação Escolar de Escoteiros*", article 1 highlights: "Scouting is absolutely not a military-type of movement" (O PAIZ, 27 abr. 1929, p. 8). Common points cannot be seen as a confusion of principles.

The same document states that FEE was neutral, regarding religious and party subjects. However, it recognizes the importance of political education during youth, specifically regarding moral and civic education. It points out that the idea of democracy should guide the working of nuclei and leaders should be committed to this principle.

One of the most interesting aspects of this document is the defense of a balanced and moderate education. The suggestion is to avoid "any type of excess: excess of exercises or

efforts disproportional to the childhood physical resistance, excess of discipline, excess of exhibition, excess of passion” (O PAIZ, 27 abr. 1929, p. 8).

Besides this, it emphasizes that the activities should have a practical character. Azevedo and Cardim aimed to read the principles of the scouting movement from the ideas of educational renovation debated at the time” (O PAIZ, 16 mai. 1929, p. 5).

In the case of FEB, the periodicals tried to highlight, probably to appease parental resistances, that the doctrines “were based on the same principles of scouting organization, though applications were necessarily different. The scope is the same: to form a generation of women strong in body and soul, useful to itself, to the country, the family, and humanity” (O PAIZ, 6 jun. 1929, p. 5).

At first, the initiative recognized a new posture and a greater social protagonism of women. On one hand, it affirmed the idea that girls would become “more vigorous to better perform their social mission as good mothers, and, with a more developed intellect, help men in the moral and material development of Brazil” (O PAIZ, 9 jun. 1929, p. 12). In this perspective, women would still play a supporting role.

There were, however, those who understood the initiative as an indicator that “women’s education nowadays would be leveled to that of men and their work efficiency in all activity areas” (O PAIZ, 11 jun. 1929, p. 4). Under this perspective, women were not inferior or supporters but participate in the same degree to the necessary process of “reacting to the social ills that afflict us”.

At the same time, chronicles, educators, and leaders tried to balance between educational novelties and the persistence of ideas of the pasts, regarding the *bandeirante* movement. In general, they exalted the initiative, establishing value standards similar to those of scouting. However, there were adaptations.

They highlighted physical development, but eventually related it to motherhood. They complimented the formation of character, but also were concerned to think a partnership, in many occasions, submitted to men. They mentioned the importance to prepare for the job market, but also reminded that women should not abandon the domestic world and the household chores (JORNAL DO COMÉRCIO, 25 ago. 1929, p. 13).

Such adaptations indicate some tensions, fights, and contradictions involved in the appropriations of the educational field on the *bandeirante* movement, in particular, and the representations of women, in general, at the end of that decade. Nevertheless, as was the case of FEE, FEB actions were highly praised.

Final remarks

According to Baden-Powell, these should be the main characteristics of an educational project:

An education to life is needed, as scholastic realizations help just a little, while life has to be lived by each individual born in the world. Education also aims to prepare boys and girls to examination standards, more than to life needs; and by life I mean not simply to earn a living, but how to live, how to enjoy and take the most out of life, to be happy and useful (*apud* HEROLD JUNIOR; VAZ, 2012, p.175).

Educate to life. This seems to be an interesting key to analyze the approximation of the *Reforma da Instrução Pública* and the educational field with scouting. As seen, the teaching of elementary knowledge (read, write, and count) was defended as an introductory step. However, more importantly were the dimensions related to the

formation of the character, the stimulus for habit moderation, the emergence of a civic sense, the exercise of moral discipline, the concern with a balanced development, and the defense towards the avoidance of any excess.

About this, it is interesting to follow the Azevedo's ideas in an interview given to the newspaper *A Noite* (23 jan. 1930, p. 1):

Literacy, pure and simple, is not, today, ideal in terms of education. The language, writing, and calculation- indispensable instruments of expression- cannot be considered fundamentals of education that is first based on physical and mental hygiene, the formation of character, civic sense, cooperation spirit, and social solidarity, that is, the development of individuals that can improve their life and contribute to the prosperity of their environment they belong. These are the true fundamentals of common basic education that should be given to all (single schools).

The end that is proposed to modern education, though elementary and basic, is to provide citizens with the elements that can enable them to guide themselves and improve life, in two sense- their lives and social life. This means, in few words, that, within our ideas of education, education itself surpasses instruction, thus seeking a way to enlarge and elevate the first.

We can see that, in the educator's perspective, physical and mental hygiene, as well as character and the social solidarity, were the foundations laid to highlight some roles that should be played by education. They are indicators that contribute to better understand what would be *educating to life*, which was highly emphasized in the educational debate at that moment.

Regarding the theme, it is worth noting what is registered in the prescriptions gathered in the "*Programas para os Jardins de Infância e para as Escolas Primárias*" (Programs for Kindergarten and Primary Schools), written by Azevedo in 1929:

Every teacher, according to the ideas of *escola nova*, is an educator: the teacher that, while teaching, consider the task finished, is not worthy of the profession, of the public interest. It is up to him to contribute to the moral and civic education, through the constant example and the opportunities that arise from the teaching under his responsibility. There is no subject, no school activity, and no solemnity that does not give way to a moral or civism lesson. Instill in the student spirit the awareness of duty and responsibility; form his character; create and develop the Brazilian spirit; raise the awareness of citizen's duties (AZEVEDO, 1929, p. 13).

For the General Director of Instruction, teachers were responsible to instill and disseminate moral and civic education among students. In this sense, the educational precepts explored would help stimulate "the awareness of duty and responsibility [and] create and develop Brazilian spirit".

According to Marta Carvalho (2003), it is from and due to these considerations that it is possible to highlight the education of the body towards a healthy and moral life, as well as the civic formation, became preponderant aspects in the approximations aimed by the General Board of Public Instruction in the city of Rio with scouting. Evidence of these dimensions can

be seen in the creation of FEE and FEB, with explicit mentions to physical, moral, and civic education and Baden-Powell himself.

About these aspects, we intend to show that social demands – the insistence on the need to organize, discipline, and harmonize city-life experiences – induced an approximation of scouting with the representations related to the (re)signification of knowledge and practices of primary schooling. In fact, the need for school to get closer to students' everyday life was proclaimed. Even better if it was, in some way, converted in a field of exploration to educational intervention (NUNES, 1994; SILVA; 2009; PAULILO; SILVA, 2012).

In this scenario, the ideal was to make students perceive everyday elements as circumstances able to be experienced and appropriated to develop the learning process (VIDAL, 2000). Therefore, students' experience was supposed to be submitted to the educational experience, from which a type of exam would be promoted, sanctioning what was closer to school truth and rejecting what deviated from it.

This was systematized by Fernando de Azevedo himself in the “*Programas para os Jardins de Infância e para as Escolas Primárias*” (1929, p. 13), in the topic entitled *physical, moral, and civic education*: “*Escola Nova* is not only a device of instruction: it aims to provide a full education guided by a certain end and in harmony with new ideals”. On this purpose, he continues: “the student himself, in the health squad, or in scouting, is an effective element to disseminate habits”.

Education and scouting converged then towards a closer direction: investing in the preparation of students to secure a harmonic, educated, and hygienic future of the city. FEE and FEB were attempts to potentialize this promising relation.

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