

Luiz Trindade – trajetórias, alianças e redes (Santa Catarina, décadas de 1920 e 1930)¹

Carolina Cechella PHILIPPI²

Resumo

Este artigo tematiza a movimentação funcional, política e as ações de reforma encampadas por Luiz Trindade em Santa Catarina entre as décadas de 1920 e 1930. Para tanto, tomou como fontes os ofícios expedidos pela Diretoria Instrução e pelo Departamento de Educação, a imprensa periódica e a legislação da época. O referencial teórico mobilizado considerou o estudo das práticas como operações (CERTEAU, 1985) e sua categorização em estratégias e táticas (CERTEAU, 2009), bem como a potencialidade do mapeamento das redes de sociabilidades (SIRINELLI, 1996) para entendimento dos deslizamentos políticos e disputas empreendidas pelo sujeito. Como conclusões, destacou os efeitos dos arranjos políticos nas disputas travadas na instrução, na atuação de Luiz Trindade e na historiografia a seu respeito.

Palavras-chave: Burocracia educacional. História da Educação. Reformas da Instrução Pública.

Nota sobre a autora

Professora assistente junto ao Departamento de Educação da Faculdade de Ciências e Letras (Unesp - Araraquara). Pesquisadora colaboradora junto à Linha de Pesquisa Educação e História Cultural (Faculdade de Educação - Unicamp). Coordenadora docente do Cursinho Popular Geração Near, (Proec/Unesp). Atuou como supervisora da Seção Sociopedagógica e Pedagoga da Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP). Doutora em Educação pela Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP) vinculada à linha de pesquisa Educação e História Cultural. Pesquisadora junto ao Programa de Extensão e Pesquisa Historiar a Educação. Atuou como professora de História na rede particular de Campinas em 2019 e com projetos na escola pública em 2017 e 2018. Realizou estágios docência nas disciplinas de História da Educação e História da Profissão Docente (Faculdade de Educação/Unicamp). Mestre pelo Programa de Pós-graduação em Educação da FE/UNICAMP na área de Filosofia e História da Educação. Possui graduação em Pedagogia (Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina) e História (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina). Tem como temas de pesquisa as Reformas da Instrução Pública, burocracia educacional e formação docente.

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² Doctor in Education. Assistant Professor (Education), Faculty of Sciences and Letters (FCLAr), São Paulo State University Júlio de Mesquita Filho (UNESP), Araraquara Campus, Rodovia Araraquara-Jaú, km 1, Bairro dos Machados - Caixa Postal 174, 14.800-901, Araraquara - SP. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6121-254X>. E-mail: carolinacechella@gmail.com.

Luiz Trindade – trajectories and networks (Santa Catarina, 1920 – 1930)

Carolina Cechella PHILIPPI

Abstract

This article focuses on the functional, political and reform actions undertaken by Luiz Trindade in Santa Catarina between the 1920s and 1930s. the legislation of the time. The bibliographic sources were the official letters issued by the Education Board and the Department of Education, the periodical press and the legislation of the time. The theoretical framework considered the study of practices as operations (CERTEAU, 1985) and their categorization into strategies and tactics (CERTEAU, 2009), as well as the mapping sociability networks (SIRINELLI, 1996) for understanding political shifts and disputes undertaken by the subject. As conclusions, it highlighted the effects of political arrangements in the disputes fought in education, in the performance of Luiz Trindade and in the historiography about him.

Keywords: Educational Bureaucracy. Educational Reforms. History of Education.

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Resumen

Este artículo aborda el tránsito funcional, político y las acciones de reestructuración de la instrucción efectuadas por Luiz Trindade en Santa Catarina entre 1920 y 1930. Para ese propósito, ha examinado las cartas circulares remitidas por la Directoria de la Instrucción Pública y la Consejería de Educación, la prensa diaria y la legislación. La base teórica ha considerado el estudio de las prácticas como operaciones (CERTEAU, 1985) y su categorización en estratégicas y tácticas (CERTEAU, 2009), así como el mapeo de las redes de sociabilidad (SIRINELLI, 1996) para entender, así, los desplazamientos y litigios del sujeto. En conclusión, destacó los efectos de los acuerdos políticos en los litigios efectuados en la instrucción, en la actuación de Luiz Trindade y en la historiografía a su respecto.

Palabras clave: Burocracia de la instrucción. Historia de la Educación. Reformas de Instrucción Primaria.

Introduction

The political and partisan proximity between the then Director of Public Instruction in Santa Catarina, Luiz Trindade, and the state governor, Adolpho Konder, in the early 1930s was well-known. It was common for both to be present at inaugurations (INAUGURATION OF FRANCISCO TOLENTINO SCHOOL, 1929, p. 2), speeches (THE DIRECTOR OF INSTRUCTION'S SPEECH, 1930, p. 1; ADDRESS BY THE DIRECTOR OF INSTRUCTION, 1929, p. 2), and tributes (TRIBUTE, 1930, p. 1), all extensively covered in the pages of the Santa Catarina newspaper “A República.” On these occasions, it was also common for the Secretary of the Interior and Justice, Cid Campos, and the journalist Tito Carvalho, director of the aforementioned newspaper, to be present.

In common, these individuals shared not only their frequented places. Adolpho Konder and Cid Campos, for example, both had affiliations with the Santa Catarina Republican Party³ and were close to the former governor Hercílio Luz⁴. He former held the positions of Secretary of State for Finance, Transportation, Public Works, and Agriculture during his government from 1918 to 1921. Later, he was elected Federal Deputy and Governor of the State from 1926 to 1930, also representing the same party (POLITICAL MEMORIES OF SANTA CATARINA, 2019a). Cid Campos, on the other hand, was an Auxiliary Delegate and Cabinet Officer during Hercílio Luz's administration and had also served as a school inspector in the municipality of Lages (POLITICAL MEMORIES OF SANTA CATARINA, 2019c).

Luiz Sanches Bezerra da Trindade, unlike his colleagues, had his functional movement confined to positions within public education. The professor from Santa Catarina, a graduate from the Capital Gymnasium (FIORI, 1975, pp. 147–148), began his career at the Complementary School attached to the Jerônimo Coelho School Group in Laguna (DIVERSAS, 1914, p. 1; 1916, p. 4), where his performance was publicly praised in an official letter issued by the then General Inspector of Education, Orestes Guimarães (EXPEDIENTES DO SR. SECRETÁRIO GERAL DOS NEGÓCIOS DO ESTADO, 1916, p. 2), and shortly thereafter, also by the state inspectors Altino Flores and José

³ Political party founded in 1887 and dissolved by Decree No. 37, dated December 2, 1937, after the establishment of the Estado Novo (New State) (FGV; CPDOC, 2020b).

⁴ A prominent politician from Santa Catarina, born in 1860 and deceased in 1924, he held the position of state governor between 1894–1898, 1918–1922, and again between 1922–1924 (PIAZZA, 1985). In 1891, amidst the crisis triggered by Floriano Peixoto's assumption of power and Lauro Müller's resignation, Hercílio Luz emerged as the leader of the republican reaction in Blumenau. He was the first republican governor elected by direct vote from the Partido Republicano Catarinense in 1894. In August 1918, he was elected Vice-Governor on the ticket headed by Lauro Müller, who did not attend the inauguration, thereby assuming the governorship himself (MEMÓRIA POLÍTICA DE SANTA CATARINA, 2019d).

Duarte de Magalhães (PELA INSTRUÇÃO, 1917, p. 2).

Starting in 1917, Luiz Trindade joined the board of the Escola de Escoteiros de Laguna (DIVERSAS, 1917, p. 3) and, in September of the same year, took on the role of Director of the Grupo Escolar Jerônimo Coelho (NA CATHEDRAL, 1917, p. 1). During this period, Hercílio Luz replaced Felipe Schimidt as governor of the state, and Adolpho Konder was appointed State Secretary of Finance, only to become a Federal Deputy for the Partido Republicano Catarinense less than a year later (FGV; CPDOC, 2020a).

However, this political and functional arrangement experienced significant changes after the events of October 1930. One key consideration is that Governor Adolpho Konder publicly supported Júlio Prestes, the opposition candidate to Getúlio Vargas in the 1930 elections. At that time, Konder was running for a seat in the Federal Senate. Both Adolpho Konder and Júlio Prestes emerged victorious (FGV; CPDOC, 2020a). Even after the start of Getúlio Vargas's Provisional Government, Adolpho Konder remained in opposition, including supporting the Constitutionalist Revolution launched in São Paulo in 1932. Unsurprisingly, Getúlio Vargas soon appointed a new interventor for the state of Santa Catarina. The chosen name was General Ptolomeu de Assis Brasil, a member of the Aliança Liberal (FGV; CPDOC, 2020a).

Adolpho Konder, in turn, continued to be one of the main strategists of the Partido Republicano Catarinense during the transition to Vargas's Constitutional Government. As President of the party, he organized the front in the Coligação por Santa Catarina. However, this coalition was ultimately overshadowed by the opposition organized by the Partido Libertador, which was responsible for electing Nereu Ramos as the state governor in 1935. It is worth noting that Nereu Ramos remained in the state interventorship throughout the entire period of the Estado Novo (1937–1945).

Luiz Trindade, on the other hand, navigated these political shifts by moving through various levels of public education administration in Santa Catarina. Despite the restrictions placed on some members of the local Partido Republicano and the strengthening of the Partido Liberal, Luiz Trindade was responsible for reorganizing the Diretoria Geral da Instrução in 1933 (SANTA CATARINA, 1933) and reordering it as the Departamento de Educação in 1935 (SANTA CATARINA, 1935, n.p.). However, the changes in federal and state political organization affected his role and stability in managing the department, impacting the functional hierarchy of public education during this period.

This article, therefore, explored the professional trajectory of Luiz Sanches Bezerra da Trindade, relating it to the political and social context in which he operated. It aimed to examine the impact of political alliances—or the lack thereof—on his movement and performance in office. It

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also assessed the key issues he championed, particularly during his tenure as Director of Instruction, and how he navigated the increasing bureaucratic demands faced by the Department of Education.

To this end, the article is organized into two main sections, which reflect different phases of his career, distinguished not only by his professional transitions but also by his alignment with political dynamics. The first section, "Sociabilities and Affiliations," focuses on his role prior to the establishment of the Department of Education in 1935. It delves into his involvement and trajectory as Director of School Groups and Inspector of Circuits, highlighting the political alliances he formed within the national political landscape. The second section, "Management Procedures," examines his role as head of the Department, exploring the educational initiatives he advocated, the movement known as the Trindade Reform, and how this movement has been treated in the historiography on the subject (BOMBASSARO, 2009; BOMBASSARO; SILVA, 2011; FIORI, 1975; MOREIRA, 1954; SCHWEITZER, 2008).

To this end, a documentary series was organized, consisting of local press reports⁵, as well as educational publications distributed by the Department of Education itself⁶. It also considered practices already mapped in official correspondence issued and received by the Director of Instruction and the Department of Education during Luiz Trindade's administration⁷. The issue that guided the organization and analysis of this documentary series, and that enabled tracing Luiz Trindade's professional trajectory, took into account the categorization of practices into strategies and tactics (Certeau, 2009, pp. 91–108), as well as the mapping of continuities and deviations within his scope (Certeau, 2002, pp. 65–110). Among the theoretical and methodological effects of this interpretation are the consideration of practices as operations (Certeau, 1985), embedded within the routines of inspection, teaching, and management of instruction, as well as the understanding of these practices as part of a polemical game (Certeau, 2009, loc. cit.), in which strategies and tactics coexist interdependently.

The consideration of practices as operations and their subdivision into these categories allowed for an understanding of Luiz Sanches Bezerra da Trindade's professional movement within the

⁵ The newspapers from the periodical press were accessed via the Hemeroteca Digital database of the National Library, using the name Luiz Sanches Bezerra da Trindade as the search query. Available at <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital>. Accessed on March 3, 2023.

⁶ When under Trindade's leadership, the Department of Education published seven issues of the *Revista de Educação*, self-styled as the "organ of the teaching staff of Santa Catarina." For a mapping of the themes and authors featured in this publication, see Favarin (2018).

⁷ For a mapping of the management practices of education in Santa Catarina during the period, see Philippi (2022).

bureaucracy of public education in Santa Catarina. His constant functional mobility allowed for a critical examination of this analytical model, revealing the gradual construction of his command strategies and how they were linked to his networks of support. Through this lens, his performance both inside and outside the classroom, as a member of the State Inspection and as Director of Education, could be understood within a contested political field. As such, his practices gain theoretical status for analysis in all the poles in which he worked, differing between them in terms of his insertion in the management of education and, consequently, the networks of sociability (SIRINELLI, 1996, p. 248-259) that he activated. It is on the basis of these theoretical postulates that we sought to understand the way in which Luiz Trindade, as Director of Education in the state, occupied the strategic pole of management of local public education, mapping out some of the rules of the power games, the deals and political alliances that took place there. We were interested in understanding his platforms of action and support, nuancing them as ways of guaranteeing his permanence and performance in various positions, and of delimiting a place of command, understood here as a delimited and institutionalized *locus* of management of an exteriority. As we understand it here, the list of practices operated from his functional movement allowed us to perceive the repeated use of tactics and strategies in the constitution of a bureaucratic place for the management of teaching - in this case, in the Department of Education - but which, depending on the scope of his sociability, was not sustained in the structure of the command that was being set up.

Sociabilities and affiliations

When Luiz Trindade began his role as a teacher at the Grupo Escolar Jerônimo Coelho, the head of the Directorate of Public Instruction was Horácio Nunes Pires. He had held the position since 1896 (El-Khatib, 1970), when he was appointed by Hercílio Luz. After 1911 (Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública, 1911a; 1911b), Horácio Pires also took on the directorship of the Escola Normal Catarinense, now under the appointment of Vidal Ramos (Costa, 1911, p. 75). Supported by a solid network of family and political connection ⁸, Horácio Nunes was only replaced as Director of

⁸ Horácio Nunes was the grandson of the former Provincial President, Feliciano Nunes Pires, and the son of the former Deputy of the Conservative Party, Anfilóquio Nunes Pires (MEMÓRIA POLÍTICA DE SANTA CATARINA, 2019b). He had held various positions including collaborator of the Provincial Treasury, Provincial and Government Secretary Engineer, literary delegate, Secretary of general preparatory examinations, Police Delegate of the capital, professor at the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios, clerk and 2nd Officer of the Government Secretariat, and Director of State Treasury Accounting (EL KHATIB, *loc. cit.*).

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Education by Henrique da Silva Fontes⁹ upon his death in 1919. The new Director, with a functional and political support network as robust as his predecessor's, was also appointed by Hercílio Luz and held the position until 1926. During this period, both the federal and state governments launched a partnership that led to the creation of the Nationalization of Education Inspectorate (MOREIRA, 1954, p. 24). For the newly opened Inspectorate position, the São Paulo teacher João dos Santos Areão was appointed, who was the former director of the Grupo Escolar Jerônimo Coelho (MOREIRA, 1954, p. 23).

It is important to outline the political alliances that were established and then reorganized with the reorganization of power in the state. Hercílio Luz was the Governor responsible for appointing Horácio Nunes Pires and Henrique Fontes, both of whom served as Directors of the General Directorate of Public Instruction in Santa Catarina between 1896 and 1926. As a member of the Partido Republicano Catarinense, Hercílio Luz represented the interests of the industrial oligarchy from the Itajaí region and established political alliances that distanced him from the agendas previously endorsed by Vidal and Nereu Ramos. Among these alliances, his political proximity to Adolpho Konder was particularly notable. It was this network of political relationships and social connections, even though fragmented, that provided support to Luiz Trindade's field of activity.

It is not surprising, therefore, that his functional movement was both ascendant and fortuitous during that period. In the meantime, Luiz Trindade took on the commissioned role of Director of the Vidal Ramos School Group in the city of Lages (O ESTADO, 1919, p. 1), where he remained until July 1922 (BACHAREL LUIZ TRINDADE, 1922, p. 1). Although this reorganization involved a shift in his functional base, Trindade did not detach from significant political events that highlighted his closeness to the then-Governor Hercílio Luz. Notably, his participation in receiving the Chief of Police Abelardo Luz¹⁰ (DR. ABELARDO LUZ, 1921, p. 1) and his attendance at the celebrations for the third anniversary of the government (UMA VERDADEIRA SAGRAÇÃO POPULAR, 1921, p. 1) were prominent. By the end of that year, he even served as Acting Director of Education when the then-incumbent, Henrique Fontes, represented the state at the Interstate Education Conference in Rio de Janeiro (INSTRUCÇÃO PÚBLICA, 1921, p. 1).

⁹ A Santa Catarina educator who taught at the Gymnasio Catharinense (1910) and served as School Chief in the capital before becoming Director of Public Instruction (PIAZZA, 1985; PROCHNOW, 2009). During his tenure, the Fontes Reading Series was adopted in state educational institutions, replacing the previously recommended Viana Reading Series, as indicated by Orestes Guimarães in his Report on the Adoption of Didactic Works.

¹⁰ This political connection with the Luz family remains evident. The following year, his presence is reported at the reception of Edmundo Luz, described as a “prestigious politician,” and Edmundo Luz, in the role of “distinguished deputy to the State Representative Congress” (DR. ABELARDO LUZ E EDMUNDO LUZ, 1922, p. 1).

Luiz Trindade was also present at the inauguration festivities of Adolpho Konder as Governor of the State (A POSSE GOVERNAMENTAL, 1926, p. 4), representing the Partido Republicano Catarinense. From then on, he began to hold the position of State School Inspector and frequently accompanied the then Director of Education, Antônio Mâncio da Costa, on visits to state educational institutions (INSTRUÇÃO PÚBLICA, 1927, p. 1). It is important to note that, following the reorganization of inspection services and the reassignment of Orestes Guimarães, by 1918, all state inspection officers were subordinated to the Director of Education, Antônio Mâncio da Costa.

The political alignment between Hercílio Luz and Adolpho Konder was also reflected in a posthumous tribute to the former during the State Conference on Primary Education in August of that year. The tribute was signed by Mâncio da Costa, Barreiros Filho, Luiz Trindade, João Tolentino Júnior, and Orestes Guimarães, who was now serving as Federal Inspector of Schools Funded by the Union. Guimarães was responsible for drafting and delivering the tribute. During this occasion, he began his speech by honoring Deputy Vidal Ramos and Senator Felipe Schmidt for “[...] the significant contributions they made to education in Santa Catarina, respectively, during the periods 1910 to 1914 and 1914 to 1918 [...]” (FALA O SR. ORESTES GUIMARÃES, 1927, p. 1). At that event, Luiz Trindade served as the 1st Secretary of the Conference, sharing the space with members of the teaching staff, other State Inspectors, and the Director of Education in the state, Antônio Mâncio da Costa (CONFERÊNCIA ESTADUAL DO ENSINO PRIMÁRIO, 1927, p. 1).

His trajectory was thus set for him to eventually be announced as Acting Director of Education in 1929 (INAUGURAÇÃO DO GRUPO ESCOLAR FRANCISCO TOLENTINO, 1929, p. 2). In line with this political alliance, Luiz Trindade was also listed among the senders of congratulatory telegrams for Júlio Prestes' electoral victory in the presidential race against Getúlio Vargas in 1930. Alongside his name were numerous other signatures, including notable figures such as Tito Carvalho, Cid Campos, Fúlvio Aducci, and Flodoardo Cabral (UM TELEGRAMA AO SR. PRESIDENTE JÚLIO PRESTES, 1930, p. 1). The newly elected President of the Republic responded promptly, publicly expressing his thanks to Governor Adolpho Konder and his party affiliates (O PLEITO DE 1º DE MARÇO, 1930, p. 1).

Until then, the development of Luiz Trindade's political support networks led him to a functional rise that not only swiftly removed him from the classroom but also secured him various positions within educational management. In this regard, the political connections strengthened in Santa Catarina throughout the 1920s supported Trindade's actions, allowing him to ascend within the hierarchy of public education and gradually approach a strategic managerial position (Certeau, 2009).

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In other words, his assumption of commanding roles and the structuring of his strategic management depended on the tactics employed within a powerful network of support.

However, shortly after Adolpho Konder's term ended in September 1930, the movement known as the Revolution of 1930 was set in motion. Led by civil leader Getúlio Vargas and military chief Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Aurélio de Góis Monteiro, the revolution overthrew the government of Washington Luís and prevented the inauguration of Júlio Prestes (FGV; CPDOC, 2020c). On November 24, 1930, Getúlio Vargas appointed General Ptolomeu de Assis Brasil as Federal Interventor in Santa Catarina.

Despite his declared support for the deposed president, Adolpho Konder was a key figure in the reorganization of the Partido Republicano Catarinense and the formation of the Coligação por Santa Catarina, with the collaboration of figures such as Fulvio Aducci, Abelardo Luz, Antônio Vicente Bulcão Viana, and Marcos Konder. It was under the Coligação that Adolpho Konder was elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly in May 1933. At that time, the newly organized Partido Liberal Catarinense, led by the new Federal Interventor Aristiliano Ramos, elected Carlos Gomes de Oliveira, Arão Rebelo, and Nereu Ramos (FGV; CPDOC, 2020a). In October 1934, Nereu Ramos was elected to the state government, shifting the political balance in favor of the Partido Liberal.

The significant changes in political and social configurations led to reorganization in the spheres of action for Luiz Sanches Bezerra da Trindade. In the following years, the professor briefly held the position of Director of the Normal School in the capital before resuming the role of Director of Education in 1932 (PORTARIA N. 32, 1932, p. 1). The following year, he was appointed by the Federal Interventor to organize the state's Educational Statistics service. His work in this area received praise even from Teixeira de Freitas, Director General of Information and Statistics at the Ministry of Education and Public Health (REPÚBLICA, 1933, p. 2).

In the meantime, several reorganizations of the General Directorate of Public Instruction, the Catarinense Republican Party, and consequently, the editorial management of the newspaper "A República" had already been outlined. The General Directorate of Public Instruction, in December 1933, was divided into two Subdirectories: Technical and Administrative, with the latter subordinated to the Educational Statistics section (SANTA CATARINA, 1933). This reorganization justified the workload imposed on Luiz Trindade, who was tasked with organizing the Educational Statistics service (REPÚBLICA, 1933, loc. cit.). The Republican Party, in turn, lost significant ground in the new political configuration that emerged with Getúlio Vargas's ascension to the Presidency. This loss led to the political isolation of its members, including former Governor Adolpho Konder. This

reorganization also resulted in significant changes in the editorial management of the newspaper "A República," which had previously been the "organ of the Catarinense Republican Party." Notably, the editorial board was taken over by Nereu Ramos in 1932, and its presentation was altered. In the early editions of 1934, it began to be referred to as the "organ of the Catarinense Liberal Party".

Despite the repeated praise for his leadership of the Directorate of Instruction and his continued presence in the spheres of management of education in Santa Catarina, Luiz Trindade's functional movement and professional activity were affected by the political rearrangement. This change is evident from the significant reduction in his mentions in the pages of the newspaper "A República." In other words, after the beginning of the Vargas era, Luiz Trindade was notably less cited in the Catarinense newspaper. When he was mentioned, it was to report on inspections and activities of the Directorate of Instruction or the Escola Normal Catarinense, rather than in receptions and party events.

However, Luiz Sanches Bezerra da Trindade not only survived as Director of Instruction but also led the reorganization into Subdirectories and was the main person responsible for establishing the Department of Education. Once in position, he occupied a central role in the strategic management of education in Santa Catarina. From this position, he issued documents related to educational management and employed strategies to promote his permanence and legitimacy in the primary management role of public instruction in Santa Catarina. Nevertheless, once appointed to this strategic position but lacking the support network that had previously helped him attain it, Luiz Trindade employed various tactics in an attempt to maintain the legitimacy of his management space.

Management Procedures

When serving as Director of Instruction, Luiz Trindade was responsible for reorganizing the General Directorate of Public Instruction in Santa Catarina and for the subsequent establishment of the Department of Education (SANTA CATARINA, 1935). Thus, the Department of Education became the "[...] center of deliberations for the field [...]" (BOMBASSARO, 2009, p. 222), functioning as an autonomous entity designed to encompass both technical and administrative services related to education. To this end, it was organized to include the Institute of Education, "[...]" which would be responsible for the training of teachers and technical staff in education [...]" (SANTA CATARINA, 1935, pp. 161-162), and the following Subdirectories: "[...] Administrative; Technical; Cultural and Publicity (statistical); Health and School Hygiene; Physical Education; Recreation and Games; Musical and Artistic Education; Libraries, Museums, and Broadcasting; [...]" (Id., 1935, pp.

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161-162). According to the same Decree that structured it, the last three Subdirectories of the Department would be established as they were requested during the reform. Until then, their functions would be performed by the Technical Subdirectory (SANTA CATARINA, 1935).

This departmental reorganization was presented by the newspaper “A República” as a new Education Reform in the state and as the realization of some of the aspirations outlined at the Primary Education Conference, part of a process of “[...] adherence to a uniformity plan that has been developing with the support of various states in the federation” (A REFORMA DO ENSINO, 1935, p. 1). In an effort to legitimize this initiative, the newspaper also referred to the memory of the education reform led by Vidal Ramos and Orestes Guimarães in 1911 and linked the Department's actions “[...] to the renewing current of public education in Brazil, led by generals Anísio Teixeira and Lourenço Filho” (Id., 1935, p. 6).

In the following months, Luiz Trindade frequently appeared at events related to the State Interventor Aristiliano Ramos (CEL. ARISTILIANO RAMOS, 1935, p. 1; FESTA DE INAUGURAÇÃO DO NOVO PRÉDIO DO GRUPO ESCOLAR JOSÉ BRASÍLÍCIO E DA ELEVAÇÃO DO REFERIDO GRUPO À CATEGORIA DE 1ª CLASSE, 1935, p. 1; SANTA CATARINA E O ENSINO, 1936, n.p.). On these occasions, he often represented the Department alongside João dos Santos Areão, Elpídio Barbosa, and Inspector Antônio Lúcio, sharing space with members of the Central Directorate of the Liberal Party, now leading the state government. However, this situation began to wane, especially after Nereu Ramos's inauguration in May 1935. From 1936 onward, his presence was notably announced at pedagogical events, particularly during Education Weeks and Rural Weeks, with fewer official visits and fewer engagements with the state Governor¹¹.

As understood here, this situation resulted from the political network that supported him in the positions he had held up to that point. However, the political reorganization that led to the rise of the Liberal Party of Santa Catarina and the subsequent appointment of Nereu Ramos as State Interventor marginalized his connections, which were more strongly aligned with the local Republican Party. Not surprisingly, Luiz Trindade's political activity diminished as the 1930s progressed, participating in fewer party events and receptions of government officials. Gradually, he was relegated to political obscurity, confining him to the technical spheres of public education management.

¹¹ A new public appearance of Luiz Trindade with Governor Nereu Ramos was only reported on February 24, 1938, during the inauguration of the Olívio Amorin School Group (A INAUGURAÇÃO DO GRUPO ESCOLAR OLÍVIO AMORIN, NA TRINDADE, 1938, n.p.).

In the meantime, the then Director of the Education Department of Santa Catarina had been investing efforts in organizing the Weeks of Education and raising flags in the fight against illiteracy since its establishment in 1935. Both initiatives were widely reported in the Santa Catarina newspapers and in the pages of the “Revista de Educação” (Education Magazine). As the Director of Education, Luiz Trindade also delivered speeches in favor of active schooling. According to Bombassaro (2009, p. 222), much of the introduction of new school-oriented methods in the state of Santa Catarina was due to the initiatives undertaken by the Trindade Reform. These efforts took shape in campaigns such as the National Education Crusade¹², and initiatives like the creation of Interest Centers.

It was during the Educational Weeks, for example, that Trindade led lectures and courses aimed at in-service training for the state’s teaching staff. His presence at these events was common, and his criticisms of Traditional Schooling were also frequent, as he stated “[...] it claims [...] that it prepares students for life” (OLIVET, 1936, p. 15). The advocacy for the methodological arsenal supported by Luiz Trindade was also reported on other occasions. At the Educational Week in Brusque, the Director spoke in favor of the organization and implementation of “centers of interest” as part of the active education methodology that, according to him, was already being developed in Santa Catarina (SANTA CATARINA, 1937, p. 3). He believed that their creation would provide the necessary environment for children's learning, as well as the spontaneous awakening of their areas of interest (Ibid., loc. cit.). Similar indications had already been made in the pages of the same newspaper, which stated that “[...] in the new school, the centers of interest, which should be organized with the collaboration of the students, stimulate the child’s curiosity by giving the teacher, skillfully, the opportunity to delve into the desired subject” (SANTA CATARINA, 1936, p. 16).

In his speeches during the Educational Weeks, Luiz Trindade frequently employed discursive devices that created a binary opposition between a modern school and a traditional school. The active school, fervently advocated in Trindade's speeches, was associated with a modern school, capable of engaging students in the proposed activities. Beyond that, Trindade linked the methodological apparatus of the active school to the theoretical principles of the New School. This discursive elaboration that contrasted traditional and new schools also resonated in Santa Catarina, serving as a theme to promote the initiatives advocated by the Department of Education. According to

¹² The foundations of the National Education Crusade were established by Decree No. 21,731, dated August 15, 1932, and its announced objective was to combat illiteracy. To achieve this, it called for the participation and cooperation of members of civil society and municipal governments for financial support and implementation (BICA; CORSETTI, 2011, p. 170–180).

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Bombassaro (2009), the so-called active school became part of the national movement of disputes over the control of the educational apparatus that characterized the 1930s. The author also notes that it was under the promotion of this methodological arsenal that a transformation in teaching principles began to be advocated.

The National Education Crusade, in turn, utilized statistical data from reports presented by Luiz Trindade to the then Federal Interventor. The Director associated the expansion of literacy with the growth in the number of enrolled students, according to the type of school, as shown in government reports from 1938 and 1939¹³ (RAMOS, 1940a, p. 7–14; 1940b, p. 7–11). This strategy also functioned as a discursively planned method to present and use the data as a means to promote the reform initiatives¹⁴.

The disputes surrounding the implementation of these methods and the establishment of auxiliary associations for schools were not only evident through the discursive opposition between a modern school and a traditional school. They also led to the construction of a memory of educational renewal movements, particularly promoted in publications issued by the Department of Education. This culminated in functional reallocations, as some reform initiatives were promoted over others. Beyond the advocacy for literacy and the support for active teaching methods, what was observed in the official documents issued and received by the Department of Education was a fragmentation of requests for materials and budgetary routines. This bureaucratic profile of operations aligns with the expansion of auxiliary associations to the school, promoted under the banner of active schooling, as these required substantial equipment to function effectively.

However, the limited political alignment between Luiz Trindade and Nereu Ramos resulted in a restriction of Trindade's spheres of activity and a reorganization of the leadership in Santa Catarina's public education system. According to Neide Fiori (1975), the centralization of control mechanisms in public education, brought about by the creation of the Department of Education, hindered the reform process. This was because “[...] some were displeased with the considerable decision-making power held over educational matters [...]”, which even led to discontent from the Interventor himself in the state (FIORI, 1975, p. 149).

¹³ The reports issued by the Federal Interventor Nereu Ramos indicate a growth in the number of school units (categorized into state isolated schools, municipal isolated schools, subsidized private schools, and school groups), as well as increases in enrollment and attendance rates. Emphasis is placed on the presentation of statistics in tabular form, highlighting especially the growth in the number of municipal isolated schools (709 in 1938 versus 1,047 in 1939), which would demonstrate the commitment of municipal public authorities to state initiatives.

¹⁴ On the use of educational statistics as devices for legitimizing educational reforms, see Vallezi (2018).

Esse incômodo culminou na criação da Superintendência Geral do Ensino, já que, para Nereu Ramos, “[...] o Departamento estadual de Educação precisava de modificações, assim na sua orientação técnica quanto na sua atividade administrativa” (RAMOS, 1940a, p. 28). Devido a isso, o interventor solicitou “[...] ao governo de São Paulo que, repetindo o gesto de há vinte e cinco anos passados, pusesse à disposição de meu governo um de seus professores” (Id., *loc. cit.*). Criou-se assim, via decreto, a supracitada Superintendência, ficando a ela subordinados todos os serviços referentes à instrução (FIORI, 1975, p. 149). Para sua chefia, nomeou-se o paulista Sebastião de Oliveira Rocha, que celebrou contrato de dois anos incumbindo-se de superintender matérias de ensino no estado catarinense (SANTA CATARINA, 1940, p. 128).

According to the interventor, the need for changes in the Department was supported by a careful observation of public education and the educational guidelines adopted by the Trindade Reform. Noting what he referred to as deficiencies in the inspection and oversight of education, he claimed that “[...] due to a narrow and reprehensible party spirit, the fact that reality exposed was denied, showing Brazilians who ignored their country's language despite having attended schools in national territory” (RAMOS, 1940a, p. 37). Consequently, he claimed to have mandated “[...] more rigorous school inspection, which was known to be deficient and lax, and [demanded] that the constitutional precept requiring the teaching of Portuguese, except for foreign languages, be fulfilled” (Id., *loc. cit.*).

In addition to the creation of the Superintendency, which surpassed the role of the Department of Education, Nereu Ramos announced the establishment of the General Inspectorate of Private Schools and Nationalization of Education in the same year. This department was linked to the state sphere and had responsibilities including: organizing exams for school inspectors; ensuring the implementation of nationalization laws; overseeing school associations; cooperating with the Superintendency; assisting federal oversight of primary education; and enforcing regulatory penalties where applicable (RAMOS, 1940a, p. 26–27). The interventor appointed none other than Luiz Trindade to this inspectorate, stating that he did so “[...] for his work capacity and perfect knowledge of the field, ensuring the efficiency of this new supervisory body for education and cultural and sporting associations” (Id., 1938, p. 27).

In other terms: Luiz Trindade, previously Director of the Department of Education, was appointed by Federal Interventor Nereu Ramos to the position of Inspectorate. It was also the Interventor who established, via decree, the General Superintendency of Education. This first move repositioned Luiz Trindade within the spheres of educational authority, subordinating him to the General Superintendency of Education. In this new configuration, Luiz Sanches Bezerra da Trindade

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ceased to be the highest-ranking official in the state's education system, thus losing the strategic position he had achieved over the previous decade.

João Roberto Moreira (1954) explained this reorganization, stating that:

[...] In 1937, when an adjustment of the educational apparatus was attempted, which was considered troubled by a director of the then Department of Education who had been influenced by the reform implemented in the Federal District starting in 1928 and continued after 1930, the person chosen was a Paulistano, director of the São Carlos Normal School. (MOREIRA, 1954, p. 23, my emphasis).

According to Neide Fiori, the dismantling of the Trindade Reform began with the enactment of laws and decrees that gradually undermined it (FIORI, 1975, p. 147). This observation follows her characterization of the reform as ineffective due to its limited practical application, predominantly focusing on administrative changes in education (Id., loc. cit.). Moreira (1954, p. 27), in turn, criticized the increasing control and oversight imposed on school associations during the Trindade Reform and the limited effectiveness of adopting the methodology identified as Escola Nova.

Despite the repeated criticisms of the centralization mechanisms resulting from this restructuring of education and the limited effectiveness of its actions, it is important to note that similar initiatives were active in other states. In this regard, Gomes (2002, p. 7–13) highlighted that authoritarianism was associated with nationalism. Specific instrumentalization was therefore required, with repressive force being fundamental. The educational policy of the period must be understood in relation to the political and social contexts it engaged with. For example, the state of São Paulo was undergoing a moment that Marta Carvalho (2003a; 2003b) identified as a proposal for a reform of customs through public instruction. This representation allowed the São Paulo educational field to be progressively surrounded by auxiliary institutions and mechanisms of control, oversight, and coercion during the 1930s.

The year 1938 was marked by the creation of the General Superintendent of Education and the functional reallocation of Luiz Sanches Bezerra da Trindade. Having had his command power curtailed, the former Director of Education in the state was assigned the role of overseeing the designated school units. It is also worth noting that this reorganization of educational bureaucracy made his activities dependent on the decisions of the newly appointed Superintendent, Sebastião de Oliveira Rocha. Trindade had to repeatedly seek budgetary assistance and formal authorization for his inspection trips from Rocha (DEPARTAMENTO DE EDUCAÇÃO, 1939a, fl. 329; 1939b, fl. 206). He also directed his reports and inspection terms to Rocha, needing his approval to proceed with any necessary actions for the effective management of education.

Thus, Luiz Trindade's professional trajectory in the 1930s diverged significantly from that of the previous decade. With the reorganization of political control at both the federal and state levels, the position of command in public education established in the previous decade was affected. The local Republican Party, whose political capital was diminished following the rise of the Liberal Party, could no longer provide Trindade with the strong social ties it once did. Isolated, Trindade attempted to secure the boundaries of his management space through initiatives specifically focused on education, such as the Educational Weeks and the National Education Crusade. However, even these efforts could not shield him from his gradual marginalization and eventual reassignment to the role of Inspector, a position from which he had distanced himself years earlier.

Such political and functional maneuvering, therefore, allows for an analysis of the mechanisms involved in establishing a strategic position (CERTEAU, 2009, loc. cit.) and highlights the significance of social networks (SIRINELLI, loc. cit.). Regarding the first point, it is crucial to note the tactical efforts made to achieve the desired functional advancement throughout the 1920s, as well as the notable proximity to members of various levels within the Catarinense Republican Party. It was based on this trajectory and network of contacts that Luiz Trindade established a strategic position for managing education, ultimately securing the role of Director of Instruction during a central period of restructuring. However, it is important to emphasize that the sustainability of this position did not endure without the connections that helped him to build it. Thus, despite the significant access gained through the polemology (CERTEAU, loc. cit.) of management practices, once detached from these networks and relationships, his management position could not be sustained.

Final considerations

The analysis of Luiz Sanches Bezerra da Trindade's functional and political trajectory, through the tracking of practices, reveals not only his functional advancement but also the significance of the political networks and alliances he established or, in some cases, failed to establish. In this context, it is essential to understand the shift in state and federal policies and their implications for the organization and management of public instruction in Santa Catarina. This is because the reorganization in the executive spheres, particularly following the events of 1930, led to a significant reallocation of the political forces surrounding his activities and the institutionalization of the Department of Education in Santa Catarina.

Such a shift in the political power dynamics not only restricted Trindade's functional and social

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mobility but also influenced some of the historiographical narratives about him (FIORI, 1975; MOREIRA, 1954). In this sense, it is possible to understand Moreira's and Fiori's incisive criticisms through the lens of the social context of their interpretations and the network of influences surrounding their publications. On the other hand, more recent historiography (BOMBASSARO, 2009; BOMBASSARO & SILVA, 2011; SCHWEITZER, 2008) has highlighted Luiz Trindade's actions as head of the Department of Education, emphasizing his achievements with the Educational Weeks, his advocacy for the methods associated with Active School, and his organizational efforts in the bureaucratic management of public instruction in Santa Catarina.

Finally, it is important to consider the understanding of educational bureaucracy as a contested political field, where rules are influenced by broader networks of sociability, influence, and support. This underscores the centrality and validity of Michel de Certeau's and Jean François Sirinelli's insights on the operationality of practices and the density of networks. This interpretive model allows for a nuanced understanding of functional shifts and bureaucratic reorganization through the political actions of individuals. Luiz Trindade's experience is illustrative of this, as his role was heavily dependent on political affiliations that faltered with Getúlio Vargas's rise to the presidency. Thus, the theoretical argument for mapping practices to understand functional and political trajectories is strengthened, as is the methodological defense for extensive documentary series mapping and analysis.

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