



**The expansion of teacher training in São Paulo (1889-1930):  
reflections between the homogeneous and the unequal, the public and the private<sup>1</sup>**

A expansão da formação de professores em São Paulo (1889-1930):  
reflexões entre o homogêneo e o desigual, o público e o particular

La 1professor de la formación docente en São Paulo (1889-1930):  
reflexiones entre lo homogêneo y lo desigual, lo público y lo privado

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**Abstract**

In this article, I discuss the history of primary school teacher training in the state of São Paulo and discuss its expansion during the Republican period. The starting point is the measures that some reformers have undertaken in order to expand teacher training to meet the demand of schools. Therefore, I seek to understand the process of expansion of teacher training through the study and analysis of educational reforms, reflecting on disparate elements that involve public and private education and certain inequality between regions of the state. The objective of this study is to understand and analyze these public policies that have expanded training institutions. I consider that there were three moments of expansion of teacher training (the Reform of 1892; the Reform of 1911 and Reform of 1927) and that this process was not homogeneous in all regions of the state due to the characteristics of each of them.

**Keywords:** Teacher training; Primary school; São Paulo; Public Instruction; First Republic.

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## Resumo

Neste artigo, problematizo a história da formação de professores primários em São Paulo e discuto sobre sua expansão durante o Período Republicano. O ponto de partida são as medidas que alguns reformadores empreenderam com o intuito de ampliar a formação de professores para atender a demanda das escolas. Desse modo, busco compreender o processo de expansão da formação de professores por meio do estudo e análise das reformas educacionais, refletindo sobre elementos discrepantes que envolvem o ensino público e o particular e certa desigualdade entre as regiões do estado. O objetivo deste trabalho é compreender e analisar essas políticas públicas que ampliaram as instituições de formação. Considero que houve os três momentos de expansão da formação de professores (Reforma de 1892; a Reforma de 1911 e Reforma de 1927) e que esse processo não foi homogêneo em todas as regiões do estado em virtude das características de cada uma delas.

**Palavras-chave:** Formação de Professores; Ensino Primário; São Paulo; Instrução Pública; Primeira República.

## Resumen

En este artículo problematizo la historia de la formación de maestros de primaria en São Paulo y discuto su expansión durante el período republicano. El punto de partida son las medidas que algunos reformadores han emprendido para ampliar la formación de los maestros para satisfacer la demanda de las escuelas. Por lo tanto, busco comprender el proceso de expansión de la formación docente a través del estudio y análisis de las reformas educativas, reflexionando sobre elementos discrepantes que involucran la educación pública y privada y cierta desigualdad entre las regiones del estado. El objetivo de este trabajo es comprender y analizar estas políticas públicas que han ampliado las instituciones de formación. Considero que hubo tres momentos de Expansión de la formación docente (Reforma de 1892; Reforma de 1911 y Reforma de 1927) y que este proceso no fue homogéneo en todas las regiones del estado debido a las características de cada una de ellas.

**Palabras clave:** Formación de profesores; Escuela Primaria; São Paulo; Instrucción Pública; Primera República.

## The dawning of the teaching profession

The history of teacher training in the state of São Paulo has been the concern of many researchers, such as Carvalho (1989; 2000; 2003), Nery (2009a; 2009b), Vicentini and Lugli (2009), Almeida (2016), among others. However, as there are different types of primary teacher training institutions, researching the topic has become a delicate task. These questions about the history of teacher training in São Paulo were present throughout my career as a researcher and moved me to write this article, which focuses on problematizing the history of primary teacher training and discussing its expansion in the state of São Paulo, during the First Brazilian Republic (1889-1930), contributing to other research in the area. The public instruction reforms, involved in the movement to expand education, were fundamental to legitimize the “new times” expected with the Republic. For this expansion to be effective, it was necessary to train a sufficient number of teachers, based on methods considered modern, to meet the growing demand in primary schools. Therefore, I seek to understand the development of the process of expanding teacher training through the study and analysis of educational reforms, reflecting about discrepant elements that involve public and private education, lack and excess and certain inequality among regions of state, in terms of distribution of these institutions. I have a question about how and through which institutions this process had developed.

In the analysis undertaken, I consider that during the First Republic there were three moments of expansion of teacher training, in addition to the existence of the Normal School of São Paulo and the unification of the Normal Schools in 1920: the first moment was with the Reform of Public Instruction of 1892, which created the Complementary Schools and later in 1895, transformed them into teacher training institutions; the second moment was with the Public Instruction Reform undertaken by the General Director of Public Instruction Oscar Thompson, in 1911, which transformed Complementary Schools into Normal Primary and Secondary Schools and created new schools in these two segments; and the third moment was with the Public Instruction Reform of 1927, implemented by the then General Director of Public Instruction Amadeu Mendes, who matched the Free Normal Schools with the Official Normal Schools. Therefore, the objective of this work is to study, analyze and understand these public policies that expanded primary teacher training institutions in the proposed period in São Paulo.

This text is the result of questions and reflections that developed throughout my career as a researcher, from scientific initiation, through Master's, Doctorate and Post-Doctorate researches in Education. These researches were of a historical, documentary and bibliographic nature, with the purpose of discussing teacher training and its expansion process in the state of São Paulo.

In order to construct this narrative, I seek to dialogue with privileged sources such as state educational legislation, official documents such as Reports and Teaching Yearbooks and also, with studies about the history of education and the history of teacher training in the period in question, such as works by Tanuri (1973; 1979; 2000), Antunha (1976), Carvalho (1989; 2000; 2003), Souza (1998), Monarcha (1999), Nosella and Buffa (2002), Villela (2003), Honorato (2011), Nery (2009a; 2009b), Almeida (2016), Vicentini and Lugli (2009), Inoue (2015; 2021), Inoue and Nery (2021), Corbage (2021), among others.

For the sources analysis, I take as a reference the assumptions of Cultural History, especially based on Chartier (1990), considering its documentary nature and the subjects who subscribe to it, with the aim of understanding the meanings constructed around teacher training institutions through printed materials, documents and materials that were preserved by someone, for a specific reason. From this perspective, questioning documents and sources is a necessary practice.

The discussion about the need for adequate preparation for teachers arose at the beginning of the 19th century, with the concern to raise the population's intellectual and moral level immersed in illiteracy and feeling the changes in the structure of the Brazilian education system. With the aim of expanding education to the Brazilian population, the Law of October 15, 1827 – First Brazilian Education Law, created by Dom Pedro I – determined that: “Art. 1st In all cities, towns and most populous places, there will be the necessary primary education schools”. This Law encouraged the creation of public primary schools across the country and also raised the need for teacher training.

The first experiences with institutions designed to train teachers in Brazil – the Normal Schools – were marked by the idea that only through education the country would reach “the highest stages of civilization”. Following European nations as a model, “they understood that the people's lack of education was the true cause of the distance between Brazil and civilized nations” (Villela, 2003, p. 103). These institutions had the illustrious “mission” of training teachers responsible for raising the intellectual and moral level of the population.<sup>2</sup>

The first Brazilian Normal Schools were created after the Additional Act of 1834, which transferred responsibility for the organization and administration of Primary Education and teacher training to the provinces.<sup>3</sup> With administrative decentralization, provincial governments created, organized and supervised the first Normal Schools to meet the demand for Primary Education. Each province was able to create its own Normal Schools, and thus, the São Paulo Normal School was created, founded by Provincial Law no. 34, of March 16, 1846.<sup>4</sup>

For Villela (2003, p. 100-101), the creation of Normal Schools marked a new stage in the institutionalization process of the teaching profession, “baptized by a double movement: on the one hand, state control becomes more restricted, on the other hand, teachers, in possession of specialized knowledge, improved their socio-professional status”. Gradually, the poorly educated teachers from the beginning of the 19th century were replaced by professionals trained to carry out teaching activities.

Even with the creation of Normal Schools throughout the country, this author considers that, in general, the 1850s and 1860s were not conducive to consolidating teacher training in these institutions. This period was marked by instability due to closures and reopening, renovations, among others. Provincial governments “oscillated throughout the period between a discourse of valuing this training and a practice that, in reality, took away the means to carry it out well” (Villela, 2003, p. 115).

This fact is evidenced in studies about the Normal School of São Paulo, in the period in question, such as those by Monarcha (1999), Tanuri (1973; 1979), Dias (2008) and Menezes (2012). According to these authors, there is evidence that it operated in very precarious conditions, which led to some closures, reopening and renovations. Only from the 1880s onwards did the institution find fertile soil.<sup>5</sup> However, criticism for the lack of pedagogical

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<sup>2</sup> Villela (2003) clarifies that, in this period of the first Normal Schools creation, the education of the population did not mean that all social classes should reach the same stage of training. It was only necessary to raise the intellectual and moral level, unifying certain cultural and social coexistence standards.

<sup>3</sup> For Villela (2003), “this legal instrument was based on the principle of administrative decentralization, although it maintained a strong political centralization”.

<sup>4</sup> According to studies about the history of teacher training in Brazil, such as Villela (2003) and Vicentini and Lugli (2009), the period prior to the creation of the first Normal Schools is generally characterized by the lack of specific training to practice teaching. The candidate for teacher should present a certificate of morality and prove knowledge of what should be taught through appointment competitions, or new teachers, called assistant professors or lay professors, could learn to teach by accompanying a more experienced professional during their training classes. This training model is called by the authors the “artisanal model”. Even with the creation of the first Brazilian Normal Schools, this “artisanal” training model remained for a certain period.

<sup>5</sup> Law no. 130, of April 25, 1880, reopened the Normal School definitively (DIAS, 2008). It is worth mentioning that, initially, the Normal School of São Paulo was intended only for men. It was opened to women in 1874, but the buildings were separate.

training and precarious conditions did not cease. Even with the deficiencies, “it was from the 1880s onwards that the Normal School of São Paulo acquired a central role for the effective reform of primary education” (Meneses, 2012, p. 46). This may have contributed to the institution gaining prominence in education reforms. Monarcha (1999, p. 343) alludes that from the middle of the Second Reign, the Normal School of São Paulo gained relevance in the intellectual and cultural life of the Province. With the educational reforms carried out in the initial decades of the First Republic, this institution became “a standard of excellence and respectability for the school system in the State of São Paulo, the institutional basis of the primary teacher training system and a center for the production of a culture recurrently updated urban environment” (Monarcha, 1999, p. 343).

After the proclamation of the Republic, the movement against illiteracy that was plaguing the country gained even more strength and educational issues got prominence in political debates, especially in relation to the expansion of teacher training. In republican ideas, the school became the symbol of modernity and through it the nation's progress would be built. During this period, the state of São Paulo “stood out in the national educational scenario, becoming one of the privileged spaces for economic and social transformations” (Bittencourt, 1990, p. 19). In the absence of models and standards set by the federal government, the state of São Paulo, in addition to distinguishing itself in the political and economic sectors, also stood out in the educational sector due to the actions and reforms of public education undertaken. The Public Instruction Reform of 1890, known as the Caetano de Campos Reform, which reorganized the Normal School of São Paulo, is part of these actions.

Souza (1998) alludes that, in 1890, São Paulo's republicans initiated the reform of education by reforming the Normal School, signaling the importance of the institution for the project of extending schooling and the need for teacher training based on methods considered modern. Teacher training was structured with an emphasis on practical training, based on learning teaching methods and resulted in the creation of the model primary school. This institution constituted the first trial of implementing a graded public primary school (groupings of several schools in a single building; distribution and classification of students into classes and division of teaching work). Attached to the Normal School of São Paulo, it functioned as a space for pedagogical training for normalists, which would be implemented through observation of the use of the intuitive method. Considered as the embryo of the graduated school, it became the model to be followed by Normal School students and the paradigm for the organization of all primary schools in the state.

According to studies by Marta Carvalho (1989; 2000; 2003), during this period the public education system in São Paulo was structured based on the precepts of modern pedagogy, under the “primacy of visibility” and it would be in the model school that future teachers could see how children were instructed. “Seeing to reproduce the procedures seen and showing their practice as a model for others it was proposed to future masters” (Carvalho, 1989, p. 31). Visibility was not only centered on the observation of the intuitive method by normalists, but also on the majestic school buildings, civic celebrations, rites and symbols that went beyond the school scope.

Years later, the creation and dissemination of graduated schools – school groups<sup>6</sup> organized along the lines of the model school – contributed to reaffirming the importance of the teacher for the constitution of the new society. According to Souza (1998, p. 16), school groups became model schools, as complete Primary Education was provided in these institutions, with an enriched teaching program using modern methods. “Consequently, they needed the production of a new professional, that is, teachers with mastery of new teaching methods”.

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<sup>6</sup> Created by Law no. 169, of 1893 and by Decree no. 248, of 1894.

Teacher training was an important element in the consolidation of the republican regime, as reformers understood that it was not possible to modernize education without adequate teacher preparation. “It was through the teacher that the school could be reformed and lead it to achieve the great purposes of public education” (Souza, 1998, p. 61). As one of the pillars of the São Paulo school model, proposed by Carvalho (2000), teacher training was a central theme in the public education reforms of the period.

The Normal School of São Paulo became, since the end of the Imperial Period, the institution the excellence of public education in São Paulo, responsible for training qualified teachers. However, as it did not train enough teachers to meet the demand for Primary Education, there was a need to expand teacher training to the interior of the state. Without enough resources to expand other Normal Schools to the same standard as the Capital Normal School, the reformers' option was to expand the Complementary Schools, created by the 1892 Reform, and transform them into teacher training institutions. Regarding the insufficiency of the first Normal Schools and conversion of Complementary Schools Vicentini and Lugli (2009, p. 39) consider that:

It can be said that they were much more about institutions in which standards of adequate pedagogical knowledge were established than actually places where the Republic primary teachers were trained. There were insufficient numbers of these courses to train all the necessary teachers. Given these limitations, the attempt to ensure that all students had at least minimally prepared teachers to teach resulted in the transformation of the Complementary Primary Course into a teacher training course.

The most economically viable option at that time, according to the reformers, was the transformation of Complementary Schools into teacher training institutions for the expanding primary schools.

### **First moment of expansion of teacher training: the Complementary School (1892-1910) training teachers in the interior of São Paulo state**

The Complementary School was created by Law no. 88, of September 8, 1892<sup>7</sup>, as part of São Paulo's Primary Education – divided between a preliminary (or elementary) primary course and a complementary primary course. It was aimed at students qualified in the preliminary primary course, “filling the gap between preliminary and secondary education; to this end, it offered a propaedeutic teaching program” (HONORATO, 2011, p. 34), lasting four years. Its initial purpose was to “complement the schooling started in primary school, hence the name Complementary School” (ALMEIDA, 2016, p. 83). However, this function idealized by the first reformers was not realized, as this institution was transformed into an institution for training primary teachers, even before being implemented, due to the insufficiency of the Normal School of Capital.

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<sup>7</sup> This Law provided for the creation of three more Normal Schools in the state, but this measure did not materialize. According to the Commemorative Poliantéia of the Centenary of Normal Education in São Paulo (1846-1946), Gabriel Prestes was one of the main collaborators of the 1892 Reform. He graduated from the Normal School of Capital, in 1888. He was a state deputy for the São Paulo Republican Party in the first republican decades, elected as teachers' representative. He played a fundamental role in the educational debates of the period, mainly as a member of the Public Instruction Commission responsible for discussing and drafting the Reform. He was appointed director of the Normal School of Capital between 1893 and 1898. As director of that institution, he contributed to discussions about expanding teacher training at the Normal School and Complementary Schools.

The study by Corbage (2021) indicates that it was transformed into an institution for teacher training due to its low cost and because it is easier to implement compared to the Normal School. Throughout its existence, it was linked to the Normal School, often being confused with it, especially in local memory. Still for this author (2021, p. 22): “It is to be assumed that the Complementary School would be suppressing the absence of Secondary Education in the state, given the effective conditions provided by the Federal Constitution, with the prevalence of State responsibility over Primary Education ”.

In order to reduce the costs of Complementary Schools, Law no. 169, of August 7, 1893, reduced the number of teachers and other employees. Years later, Law no. 374, of September 3, 1895, reduced its structure again, establishing a teacher for each year of the course and transformed it into a teacher training institution, completely changing the purpose for which it was created. According to Tanuri (1973, p. 132-133), “the aspirations of the first republican legislators were lowered: the complementary school would be characterized, but as a much more modest structure than that idealized by them with the character of a professional school of immediate use.”

The article 1, sole paragraph, established that students who completed the Complementary Course and had one year of Teaching Practice, attended in the state's model schools, could be appointed preliminary teachers with the same advantages granted to graduates from the Normal School of Capital (São Paulo, 1885). The reformers understood that pedagogical training would develop, above all, through observation of the practice of a more experienced primary teacher.

In general, pioneering studies such as those by Tanuri (1973; 1979) and Antunha (1976) consider that the Complementary School offered inferior training to the Normal School, mainly due to the little pedagogical training, restricted to Teaching Practice carried out in primary schools. Tanuri (1973) criticizes the neglect and lack of interest attributed to the theoretical training of teachers due to the fact that there is no pedagogical subject included in the Complementary School program. The author alludes that the initial proposal for this institution can be considered a “stillborn” proposal due to the reductions it suffered, and above all, due to its conversion into a teacher training<sup>8</sup> institution in 1895. For the author (1973, p. 113), “Due to the need for teaching staff for primary education, they would start to play an important role in the teacher training mechanism”, especially in cities in the interior of the state.

Antunha (1976, p. 82-83) also criticizes the São Paulo Complementary School. He considers that the vicissitudes that the institution suffered in its brief history show the “fragility of its conception and the precariousness of its location on the ascending scale of the education system of the time”.

The first Complementary School was installed in 1895, attached to the Normal School of São Paulo, with the purpose “of serving as a paradigm for the others, as well as a school of application for the normalists, since they would, fundamentally, be responsible for the exercise of teaching activity in complementary courses” (Tanuri, 1973, p. 130-131). It is worth inferring that the installation of Complementary Schools was subordinated to the interests and financial conditions of the municipalities, as article 10 of Law no. 88, of September 8, 1892, determined that: “complementary schools will be installed, preferably, in cities whose municipalities are committed to providing appropriate buildings and land for classes and various jobs”.

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<sup>8</sup> It is important to mention that the 1892 Reform also established that students graduating from Gymnasiums could train as primary teachers as long as they carried out Teaching Practice in primary schools designated by the government.

Four more Complementary Schools were created, totaling five schools of this type. In 1897, the Complementary Schools of Piracicaba, Itapetininga and the Prudente de Moraes Complementary School were created, attached to the Prudente de Moraes Model School, in the capital of São Paulo, being transferred to Guaratinguetá, in 1903. In 1903, the Complementary School was also created from Campinas. Thus begins the duality in teacher training in São Paulo with two distinct types of institutions: the Normal School, “with higher quality education, and the Complementary Schools, with an education little more in-depth than elementary” (Souza, 1998, p. 64).

With the transformation of Complementary Schools into a teacher training institution there were no curricular changes<sup>9</sup>, remaining the same encyclopedic curriculum with characteristics of Primary Education. The Normal School and Complementary School programs remained distinct for years. Regarding these differences, Honorato (2011, p. 40-41) alludes that:

Without considering the content, the workload and the teachers responsible for each subject in the complementary schools, two of the differences in relation to the Normal School of Capital can be highlighted in the program above. The first concern to four multipurpose teachers, one for each year, while the Normal School needed 16 professors, one for each subject in the curriculum, and seven teachers for classes such as music, gymnastics, crafts; the second difference consists in the non-existence of the Pedagogy discipline in the program, probably for the reformers, the teaching practice carried out for a year in model schools was a sufficient alternative.

The teaching practice in model schools or school groups designated by the state, which in fact enabled complementarians to practice teaching, has undergone changes over the years. The Complementary School Regulations of 1896 established that Teaching Practice should be carried out during the last two years of the course. In 1902, Law no. 861, reduced its duration to six months and determined that it would be carried out after the end of the course, and could be carried out in school groups, in locations where there were no model schools. Years later, Law no. 1,846, of 1910, established that teaching practice, lasting six months, should be organized by the director of the Complementary School and could begin on any day of the school year.

Studies about the Complementary School, as teacher training institutions, in general, indicate that despite the prestige of these institutions and the significant number of teachers they trained, it was considered inferior to the Normal School. According to studies by Honorato (2011) and Corbage (2021), Complementary Schools were responsible for training the majority of teachers for primary schools and also represent an advance in the cultural formation of the population. For Corbage (2021, p. 52), this institution “became a malleable alternative within the legislation, competed in social status with school groups, provided the majority of the teaching workforce for the state and fulfilled an important role for the Primacy of the Visibility of the so-called São Paulo School Model”.

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<sup>9</sup> The program comprised: Moral and Civic Education, Portuguese and French; Notions of History, Universal Geography, History and Geography of Brazil; Elementary Arithmetic and Algebra Elements, up to and including 2nd degree equations; Plane Geometry and Space; Cosmography; Notions of Trigonometry and Mechanics; Notions of Experimental Physics and Chemistry and Natural History, especially in their most important applications to industry and agriculture; Hygiene notions; Commercial Bookkeeping; Notions of Political Economy, for men, and Domestic Economy, for women; Free-hand drawing; Calligraphy; Military, gymnastic and manual exercises appropriate to age and sex (DECREE no. 218, of November 27, 1893).



However, such studies also indicate that the precariousness of teaching in these institutions was a concern for educators and legislators. Honorato (2011) presented, in his studies on the Piracicaba Complementary and Normal School, a survey of the criticisms and suggestions of the directors of the Complementary Schools for Complementary Education present in the Teaching Yearbook (1909-1910). It is possible to consider that these criticisms influenced the measures to restructure teacher training proposed by Oscar Thompson from 1910 onwards.

Despite the criticism, the Complementary School stood out in São Paulo education due to the need for trained teachers and for "playing the role" of a secondary institution in locations where there were no gymnasiums<sup>10</sup>. According to Tanuri (1979, p. 120-121), the Normal School of the Capital, from 1890 to 1911, graduated 1,186 teachers, while the Complementary Schools graduated, from their opening until 1911, 2,382 teachers. In fact, the Complementary School trained more teachers than the Normal School of Capital.

Due to this prominence, many municipalities requested its creation from the state government. The work by Corbage (2021) discusses these requests by municipalities in São Paulo, such as Botucatu, Tatuí, Amparo, Mogi Mirim, among other municipalities, published in newspapers of the period. However, these requests were not immediately responded to. The state of São Paulo remained with six teacher training institutions until 1911 – the Normal School of São Paulo and the five Complementary Schools.

This situation was expanded in 1911 with the Oscar Thompson Reform – the second moment of expansion of teacher training. This reform (Decree No. 2025, of March 29, 1911) transformed Complementary Schools into Primary Normal Schools and created new Primary and Secondary Normal Schools across the state. Complementary Schools were recreated in other periods by São Paulo legislation, attached to the Normal Schools, but with the purpose of preparing candidates for the Normal Course, as a link between Primary and Normal, as considered by Corbage (2021).

With the work analysis about education in the proposed period and about Complementary Schools, I consider that these institutions played an important role in the composition of education in São Paulo, training teachers to meet the demand of the expanding primary school. They represented progress for the cities that received them and were an opportunity for young men and women from the interior to expand their studies and obtain a profession.

### **Second moment of expansion: Primary Normal Schools X Secondary Normal Schools**

Around the 1910s, under the influence of international educational innovations, movements began in favor of a renewed and modern school in combat with the school considered traditional. According to Toledo (2001, p. 45), these education movements put pressure, above all, on state governments to promote changes in education, developing chaining several reforms of the Primary and Normal School.

According to Nery (2009b), Thompson, a graduate of the Normal School of São Paulo, was an active character in the transformations of public education between the 19th and 20th centuries. In his professional career, he held several teaching positions and in the administration of education in São Paulo, highlighting his work as assistant at the Carmo Model School, in 1892, where he worked with the director Miss Márcia Browne and also replaced her, in 1893. Alongside by Miss Browne, he had the first contacts with the group of North American origin. He was also Director of the Normal

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<sup>10</sup> The expansion of public gymnasiums only occurred in the 1930s. Before that period there were the Campinas and Ribeirão Preto Gymnasium.

School of São Paulo, in 1909 and in 1910, he was General Director of Public Instruction in São Paulo and implemented important measures for the expansion and training of teachers, what I call the second moment. Still according to this author (2022, p. 144), Thompson's actions were intended to “put into action many of the elements present in the Caetano de Campos and Gabriel Prestes reforms, structure the higher administration of public education and prepare the ground for the reform that should put an end to illiteracy.” According to Nery (2009b, p. 31):

Thompson, at this moment, seems to share the precepts of Modern Pedagogy, which conceives education as the art of teaching since, in addition to his participation in the periodical, he, as deputy director of the Model School, also had the responsibility of guiding the pedagogical practice of normal students. However, alongside Miss Browne, he will have contacts with the American School (Mackenzie College), in particular, with Horace Lane.

The Oscar Thompson Reform marks the end of the Complementary School as a teacher training institution. For Nery (2009b), from 1910 onwards, Thompson began a process of restructuring the system of teacher training institutions and the development of the expansion process followed, in a certain way, through new types of institutions: the Primary Normal Schools and the Secondary Normal Schools. Thus, the Complementary Schools ended their first phase with the function of training teachers. According to Nery (2009b, p. 37):

What happens with the transformation of the Complementary School into the Primary Normal School is not the elevation of one to the other, but the end of a type of teacher training. Thus, a model is eliminated to implement a single one, based on that developed by the Normal School of Capital, although different in terms of curricular structure, budget and destination of graduates.

The Oscar Thompson Reform transformed the Complementary Schools of Piracicaba, Guaratinguetá and Campinas into Primary Normal Schools and new institutions were created, such as the Primary Normal School of Pirassununga (1910), Primary Normal School of Botucatu (1911) Primary Normal School of Casa Branca (1912), Primary Normal School of Bráz <sup>11</sup>(Capital, 1912). It is worth mentioning that, when these last two schools were created, Thompson was no longer in charge of the General Directory, however, I understand that the creation of these two institutions continues the second moment of expansion of teacher training developed by him.

In addition to these institutions, the Secondary Normal School of São Carlos<sup>12</sup> (1911) and the Secondary Normal School of Itapetininga (1911) were created. According to Corbage (2021), the Complementary School of Itapetininga was abolished and the Secondary Normal School of Itapetininga was created, thus complying with Decree no. 245, of 1982. Such measures mark the second moment of expansion of teacher training and the state of São Paulo now has ten institutions.

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<sup>11</sup> Created exclusively for women (Corbage, 2021).

<sup>12</sup> According to Silva (2009), the Secondary Normal School of São Carlos was installed in the building that would be the Conde do Pinhal Complementary School. This Complementary School did not function due to the extinction of this type of school, but its building was used to house the Normal School.

Corbage (2021) alludes that the cities where the institutions were created had already been requesting this type of institution (complementary or normal) for some time with the public authorities. The justification was the need to expand schooling beyond Primary Education and trained teachers to meet the growing demand in the locality. It is worth noting that, according to studies about these institutions, political influence contributed to these cities receiving them, highlighting, in a certain way, the real need for teachers.

With the Oscar Thompson Reform, the state of São Paulo started to have two types of Normal Schools: the Primary Normal Schools – which trained teachers for primary schools, and the Secondary Normal Schools – which trained teachers for the state's gymnasiums, for Normal Schools of both types and also for primary schools. Thus, pedagogical studies were introduced, first evidenced through curricular subjects in both institutions.

Studies developed by Tanuri (1973; 1979; 2000), Antunha (1976) and Almeida (2016) indicate, in a way, that both Complementary Schools and Primary and Secondary Normal Schools had a curriculum focused on propaedeutic training to the detriment professional training (pedagogical). Nery (2009b) considers that from these analyses, we can infer that the training of teachers in these institutions was supported by the contents that would be taught in primary schools. However, Nery and other researchers such as Silva (2009), Inoue (2010), Silva (2019) and Santiago (2022) indicate in their studies new elements that make it possible to understand that pedagogical training was developed through other practices that go beyond the curriculum subjects, such as normalist associations, educational forms and school libraries. According to Nery (2009b, p. 12):

Thus, thinking about the school curriculum beyond school subjects, it is necessary to consider that in these schools there was a circulation of pedagogical knowledge, through printed materials, and, above all, through practices to be observed, learned, trained and applied, subsequently, by the master student.

The Primary Normal School lasted four years and its curriculum consisted of several general culture subjects (six chairs and five disciplines). The only discipline responsible for pedagogical training was Pedagogy, including practical teaching exercises in school groups that began from the second year of the course (ALMEIDA, 2016). In relation to this matter, Tanuri (1979, p. 130) considers that: “Given the lack of other disciplines of a professional nature that could provide a theoretical basis, Pedagogy was developed in primary normal schools in a much more practical way than in secondary schools.”

In Secondary Normal Schools, the curriculum consisted of thirteen chairs and ten disciplines. Pedagogical training took place through a greater number of disciplines in the curriculum, compared to the curriculum of Primary Normal Schools, such as Experimental Psychology; Calligraphy and Drawing, Teaching Methods and Processes, Pedagogical Criticism and Teaching Exercises and Pedagogy and Civic Education. According to Almeida (2016), teaching practice exercises were developed through the subject of Teaching Methods and Processes and Pedagogical Criticism in attached primary schools.

The importance of teaching practice, developed in school groups and model schools, is evident in the formation of Normal Schools. In addition to functioning as a field of observation and experimentation for the normalists, who put into practice the theories, methods and processes taught by the professors, they served as a standard for the organization of teaching in other school groups and isolated schools in the state.

I consider, based on studies by Antunha (1976) and Tanuri (1973; 1979) that, with the measures proposed by Thompson, the duality among the institution of teachers has not ended. It came to an end, years later, with the unification of the Normal Schools with the Sampaio Dória Reform, in 1920. According to Honorato (2011, p. 54-55), these institutions were interdependent and distinct, because:

individuals in primary normal schools depended on the innovations produced in secondary normal schools; individuals in secondary schools depended on primary schools to disseminate a teaching standard. This relation of functional interdependence does not mean that individuals in a given figuration would be unproductive and/or reproductive, but it implies, in principle, that in secondary figurations individuals would be more proactive in improving teaching methods and didactic processes.

Honorato (2011) also highlights the differences between these institutions, as a Secondary Normal School included a Normal Course, a model school and two isolated model schools; the Primary Normal School, on the other hand, included a Normal Course, a model school group and two model isolated schools. The Secondary Normal Schools had a higher status than Primary Normal Schools. However, the Normal School of Capital was consecrated in its history as an institution superior to all others, a model to be followed, even by the extinct Complementary Schools, as the institution and its attached schools were the privileged *locus* of production and circulation of knowledge and for the training of excellent professionals who would work as primary teachers in model schools and school groups, as directors and teaching inspectors and other administrative positions in public and private education.

Nery (2009b) states that such distinctions stimulated the clash in the educational field around which is the best model and which is the best training institution. This clash culminated in the Sampaio Doria Reform, which unified all Normal Schools according to the model considered superior – that of the Secondary Normal School. Thus, the duality among teacher training institutions began with the creation of the Complementary Schools and, later, with the Primary and Secondary Normal Schools, ending with the Sampaio Dória Reform.

One of the measures proposed by Thompson when creating the General Directory of Public Instruction was to divide it into three sections. One of them was under the responsibility of Clemente Quaglio, who “was responsible, among others, for carrying out studies on pedagogical anthropology and experimental psychology and technical-pedagogical issues” (NERY, 2009b, p. 34). With this measure, Experimental Psychology Offices were installed in some Normal Schools. Regarding the teacher's work, Thompson made the analytical method official for teaching reading in primary schools and from then on, several booklets were organized based on it. Nery (2009b, p. 36) considers that, with these measures, Thompson establishes “a series of links between the changes he makes in public instruction, from primary school to normal school, with well-defined pedagogical principles as their axis”.

The period between 1911 and the end of the 1920s marks the consolidation of a teacher training model in the state of São Paulo through the Normal School. In the words of Nery (2009b, p. 57):

The period from the beginning of the 1911s to the end of the 1920s marks the consolidation of a teacher training model in the State of São Paulo. However, previous experiences, had by the Complementary School, mark this model that is being consolidated. The need to create Normal Schools throughout the state was a demand from the early days of the Republic. However, it is during the period analyzed that teacher training begins to take place at the Normal School. The ten existing Normal Schools then resisted the obstacles they faced, such as the low demand of students in certain units and the opposition of some teachers regarding the maintenance of all of them. On the other hand, the Free Normal Schools franchised from 1927 onwards reached numbers much higher than the public ones in 1928. This demonstrates that there was an unmet demand for public normal schools, demonstrating the existence of a mistaken educational policy to serve candidates for normal education by public institutions. The Free Normal Schools were equated to the public ones, proving the consolidation of the model.

Even with previous experiences, developed by the Complementary Schools, the superiority of the Normal School of Capital contributes to consolidating this model which, as Nery (2009b) points out, resisted several obstacles. In their study of the former Normal School of São Carlos, Nosella and Buffa (2002, p. 16) consider that: “The importance of studying the Normal School of those times is due to the fact that this School was hegemonic, that is, it was the pedagogical headquarters of the entire education system”. In this sense, these institutions gain an important role in the development of education, despite criticism for their propaedeutic nature, the low number of graduates and also for not training enough teachers for difficult-to-access regions that marked the 1910s and 1920s. Criticisms are discussed by intellectuals who participated in the 1926 Inquiry<sup>13</sup>, organized by Fernando de Azevedo. Some of them point out that there were too many Normal Schools in the state, like Almeida Júnior, for example. However, due to criticism of the deficiencies of public education, since previous decades, the need for a restructuring of education was highlighted to expand instruction to the different regions of the state. Other intellectuals and educators, such as Amadeu Mendes, considered that it was necessary to expand teacher training, especially to the interior, where new urban centers were being formed with the advancement of the process of settlement, urbanization and immigration (as a result of the coffee culture) and also in rural areas (INOUE, 2015, 2021; Inoue; Nery, 2021). This need is evidenced in the Regional Education Delegates’ Reports of the state of São Paulo from the later decades of the 1930s and 1940s.

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<sup>13</sup> The participants in the 1926 Inquiry were: Lourenço Filho, Sud Mennucci, José Escobar, Renato Jardim, Almeida Junior and Francisco Azzi. All former members of the São Paulo Education Society

The number of Official Normal Schools remained at ten institutions until the end of the 1930s. With the Public Instruction Reform of 1927 – the third moment of expansion of teacher training – the expansion was developed through the Free Normal Schools (municipal and private). Implemented by the then General Director of Public Instruction (1927-1930), Amadeu Mendes, this Reform equated the Free Normal Schools<sup>14</sup> with the Official Normal Schools, with the exception of the Normal School of Capital, with the purpose of training teachers to provide primary schools in regions away from large urban centers.

With this and other measures, the 1927 Reform (Law No. 2,269, of December 31, 1927) promoted a series of important transformations in the educational scenario in São Paulo, expanding and breaking the state's monopoly on teacher training. Thus, as Nery (2009b, p. 57) pointed out, the equation of Free Normal Schools with Official Schools consolidates the Normal School as a model for teacher training and brings to light “the existence of a mistaken educational policy for serving candidates for teaching normal by public institutions”.

### **Third moment of expansion: municipal and private initiative**

The 1927 Reform marks the third moment of expansion of teacher training in São Paulo. At this time, the expansion is developing through Free Normal Schools, maintained by municipalities or by private associations linked or not to a religious institution such as the Catholic Church. They charged tuition and fees from their students to maintain themselves, while Official Normal Schools only charged annual enrollment fees<sup>15</sup>. In order to obtain equality, they must submit to the inspection of Tax Inspectors, appointed by the government and follow the guidelines of the General Directory of Public Instruction.

The private education was regulated at the end of the 19th century<sup>16</sup>. However, regarding teacher training, the state of São Paulo only recognized the titles of official establishments, constituted by the Normal School of Capital and the Complementary Schools. According to Tanuri (1973, p. 252-253), the first law project that intended to equate the Free Normal Schools with the Official Normal Schools is dated 1900, in the Chamber of Deputies of the State of São Paulo, but did not obtain success. Thus, these institutions already existed before the 1927 Reform, such as the *Liceu Feminino Santista*<sup>17</sup>, but its diploma was not recognized by the state and their graduates worked in private primary schools or as lay teachers in state public primary schools. However, with the equality, graduates now have the same rights and benefits<sup>18</sup> as other normal students.

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<sup>14</sup> The term free refers to schools that were not official maintained by the states. It was applied to municipal and private schools. At that time, municipalities were not federated entities nor responsible for official education and, therefore, needed recognition from the State. During the research, institutions called Free Normal School and Free Complementary School were found.

<sup>15</sup> According to Decree no. 4,600, of May 30, 1929, which regulates the 1927 Reform.

<sup>16</sup> Law no. 88, of September 8, 1892 and Decree no. 144-B, of December 30, 1892, had already regulated the exercise of private initiative in the education sector in São Paulo.

<sup>17</sup> The *Liceu Feminino Santista* was created in 1902, in the city of Santos (CAMPOS, 2018). Messenberg (2012) indicates, without much information, the existence of a Male Normal School in Sorocaba, where Renato Sêneca de Sá Fleury taught in 1913. The Teaching Yearbook of the state of São Paulo from 1918, also indicates, without much information, the existence of the *Externato Normal* in São Paulo, located at Rua Amaral Gurgel, n. 22; from the *Externato Normal* in Itapetininga and the *Collegio Normal* in the city of Santa Rita.

<sup>18</sup> Graduates from the Escola Normal de São Paulo had more benefits than everyone else, as they could assume positions as school directors and other administrative positions in the Directorate of Public Instruction, among other positions.

Amadeu Mendes graduated from the Itapetininga Complementary School in 1899. According to Nery (2009a, p. 104-105), he was emerging from public teaching in São Paulo and was, for many years, director of the Campinas Gymnasium. During his administration, he was concerned with expanding primary schools to all regions and providing them with duly qualified teachers in order to reduce the illiteracy that had plagued the state for decades. The expansion of Primary Education was linked to the expansion of teacher training to provide schools. This was the Director's justification for equating Free Normal Schools with Official Normal Schools, given the number of lay teachers and isolated and rural schools not provided by the state. Mendes, in his Report, justifies that (1929, p. 46):

The 10 official normal schools, graduating an average of 345 students per year, were insufficient to meet the educational needs, as to fulfill the constitutional charge of providing free education to the 150,000 children of school age and without enrollment in rural areas of the State, they must have for each class, on average, 30 students, 5,000 teachers would be needed, a number that official schools could only provide in a minimum period of 6 years. The approach adopted to overcome this deficiency was the institution of the regime of free normal schools, which, operating under the immediate supervision of this Board, comes to solve one of our most serious problems, that of the dissemination of literacy teaching, facilitating the provision of schools, maximum in rural area, where, as early as 1926, there were 2,156 schools created, which are vacant due to a lack of qualified teachers. Surrounded by all the guarantees of severe supervision and subject to rigorous regulatory provisions, these establishments operated, in the past year, equipped to achieve their objectives – to train qualified teachers to provide, in the near future, the largest possible number of rural and urban schools [sic].

For Mendes, the ten Official Normal Schools would take many years to train the teachers that the state needed. Then, the Free Normal Schools were invited (or forced) to contribute to the patriotic mission of training teachers. Such institutions would train professionals in an economical way, since the state would not incur costs for their creation and maintenance.

In order to speed up training, the 1927 Reform – considered an emergency measure – also reduced the Normal Course from five to three years<sup>19</sup>, in addition to establishing a series

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<sup>19</sup> With the exception of the Normal School of Capital, which remained with its organized structure for five years, implemented in 1925 by the Pedro Voss Reform.

of conditions that the Free Normal Schools had to meet to be equivalent. This Reform benefited municipalities that had long requested secondary schools from the state authorities. Thus, the possibility of being equated with the Official Normal Schools encouraged the creation of Free Normal Schools, which outnumbered the official institutions, which remained with the same number until the end of the 1930s<sup>20</sup>.

As determined by the 1927 Reform, in order to obtain equality, Free Normal Schools had to submit to inspection by the state government through Tax Inspectors and fulfill certain conditions: be founded and maintained by Brazilians; have a teaching staff made up of Brazilian professors; have courses and programs in accordance with those of Official Normal Schools; be located in cities where there were no Official Normal Schools; have the Pedagogy and Didactics lens appointed by the state; and have a minimum equity of 200 *Contos de Réis*. In addition to these conditions, the equivalence of two Free Normal Schools in boarding or day schooling in the same municipality was prohibited, and the equivalent schools were also required to deposit, every six months, at the State Collector's Office, the amount corresponding to the annual salaries of the Tax Inspector and Pedagogy and Didactics teacher (SÃO PAULO, 1927).

These conditions demonstrate concern and control over the functioning and pedagogical training of these institutions by public authorities. By establishing that the equivalent Free Normal Schools were located in cities where there were no Official Normal Schools, there was an attempt to direct the expansion of teacher training to cities not provided by this type of institution. Another important condition is the fact that the Pedagogy and Didactics professor was appointed by the government. As indicated by Inoue and Nery (2021, p. 7), this teacher, trained in an Official Normal School, would be a way of guaranteeing, as well as monitoring, “that pedagogical training was as close as possible to that offered by the Official Normals”.

In order to achieve the reformer's purpose, the Reform also determined that teachers graduated from Free Normal Schools could teach in an urban school only after spending two hundred school days in rural schools and could be teachers of school groups after two hundred school days in urban schools or four hundred days in rural schools. It is worth noting that at that time this requirement did not extend to those certified by the Official Standards. Thus, Inoue and Nery (2021, p. 7) consider that: “More than prioritizing diplomas, this determination was an attempt to fulfill Amadeu Mendes' purposes of providing difficult-to-access primary schools with trained teachers”.

With the implementation of the 1927 Reform, it is possible to observe dizzying transformations in the educational scenario in São Paulo, especially in teacher training. The chart below shows the list of these schools compared according to the Mendes Report (1929).

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<sup>20</sup> According to the data collected, after the actions of Oscar Thompson, an Official Normal School was created only in 1938, with the Normal School of Mococa.



**Chart 1:** São Paulo Normal Free Schools Equipped in 1928

Educational Institution	Location	Equalization date	System
1- Colégio Puríssimo Coração de Maria	Rio Claro	16/02/1928	Boarding School Day School
2- Colégio Sagrado Coração de Jesus	Campinas	16/02/1928	Boarding School
3- Escola Normal Livre de	Tietê		Day School
4- Ginásio Municipal Mackenzie	Araraquara	16/02/1928	Day School
5- Ginásio de São Luiz	Jaboticabal	16/02/1928	Day School
6- Colégio Santa Inês	São Paulo	16/02/1928	Boarding School
7- Escola de Farmácia e Odontologia	Ribeirão Preto	16/02/1928	Day School
8- Colégio Nossa S. Auxiliadora	Batatais	20/02/1928	Boarding School Day School
9- Escola Normal Livre de	Franca	20/02/1928	Boarding School Day School
10- Escola Normal Livre de	São Simão	20/02/1928	Day School
11- Colégio Progresso Campineiro	Campinas	23/02/1928	Boarding School
12- Colégio N. S. do Amparo	Amparo	23/02/1928	Boarding School Day School
13- Escola Normal da Assoc. Instrutiva José Bonifácio	Santos	29/02/1928	Day School
14- Colégio Santo André	Jaboticabal	29/02/1928	Boarding School
15- Colégio N. S. do Carmo	Guaratinguetá	01/03/1928	Boarding School
16- Escola Normal Livre Guedes de Azevedo	Bauru	01/03/1928	Day School
17- Colégio N. Sra. d' Assunção	Piracicaba	01/03/1928	Boarding School
18- Colégio Progresso	Araraquara	08/03/1928	Boarding School
19- Escola Professoral Patrocínio São José	Lorena	15/03/1928	Boarding School Day School
20- Ginásio Municipal de	Jaú	29/03/1928	Boarding School Day School
21- Colégio Patrocínio	Itú	29/03/1928	Boarding School Day School
22- Colégio Imaculada	Mogi Mirim	12/04/1928	Boarding School Day School
23- Colégio São José	Limeira	12/04/1928	Boarding School Day School
24- Colégio Florence	Jundiaí	12/04/1928	Boarding School Day School
25- Colégio Batista Brasileiro	São Paulo	12/04/1928	Boarding School
26- Colégio São José	Pindamonhangaba	19/04/1928	Boarding School Day School

**Source:** Prepared based on information presented in the Report by Amadeu Mendes (1929, p. 59).

As can be seen in Chart 1, there were significant transformations at this unique moment that would change the course of the history of teacher training in the state. In the year following the 1927 Reform, in 1928, at least twenty-six Free Normal Schools – two in the Capital and twenty-four in the interior – were installed and equated. Most of them are located in more populous and developed regions, whose cities were not provided with Normal Schools and Official Gymnasiums, with some exceptions. This demonstrates that these institutions were important for expanding instruction in these locations. It is also possible to point out that these proportions may have led Tanuri (1973; 1979) to consider that the expansion of Normal Education occurred in an accelerated and disorganized manner.

The Free Normal Schools were criticized by some educators for fear of loss of quality due to the training offered not being under the supervision of the state. According to Peres (1966, p. 14), Lourenço Filho, upon assuming the Directorate of Public Instruction after the departure of Amadeu Mendes, sought to “repeal the equality of Free Normal Schools in order to subject them to more rigorous and efficient legal provisions, giving them an organization more consistent with the interests of teaching”. However, despite these criticisms, the survey carried out during my research (INOUE, 2015; 2021) indicates that these institutions were responsible for expanding teacher training until approximately the end of the 1950s. At the end of the First Republic, the state of São Paulo had at least forty-eight institutions, ten of which were Official Normal Schools and thirty-eight Free Normal Schools.

Based on studies about the Free Normal Schools in the western region of São Paulo, it is possible to emphasize that initially these institutions functioned precariously in some aspects and that officialdom did not appear as indicated in the legislation. These studies highlight that the process of expanding teacher training occurred unevenly in the different regions of the state of São Paulo (INOUE, 2015; 2021). In the west and north, it is possible to observe that there are still a small number of these institutions.

Inoue and Nery (2021) also highlight that municipal actions led to the creation of Free Normal Schools to expand teacher training and the schooling offered in the locality beyond primary school. The main purpose of expanding Normal Education was to expand primary schools, as many classes closed because there were no teachers to work in areas that were difficult to access. Thus, when it was impossible to create new Official Normal Schools to meet the demand for Primary Education, the government equated Free Normal Schools to expand teacher training. However, the regions still in the process of settlement, such as the western region of São Paulo, received few institutions during this period.

## **Final considerations**

In the analysis undertaken, it is important to highlight that the process of expanding teacher training began, initially, with the Complementary Schools, a primary institution converted to the function of training teachers; in a second moment, with the creation of Primary and Secondary Normal Schools, continuing, in a certain way, the duality between training institutions and, in a third moment, with the Free Normal Schools – private and municipal – which broke with the state monopoly and surpassed the number of Official Normal Schools.

When analyzing the reforms in public education that sought to expand teacher training in São Paulo during the First Republic, I consider that they contributed to consolidating the Normal School as an “ideal model” of teacher training, even though the Complementary School assumed this function for certain period. These reforms certainly radiated the importance of the Normal School to other Brazilian states and promoted important transformations.

The expansion process developed unevenly, was related to the political, economic and cultural aspects of each region and needs to be considered by historiography to understand the expansion of teacher training in each location. The western region of São Paulo, for example, was occupied later than other regions of the state and the expansion of Normal and Primary Education was related to the movement of occupation and development of the region. This process was not homogeneous (uniform) in all regions of São Paulo, as the creation of the first institutions seems to be more linked to political interests and relations among local leaders with state powers than to the real needs of the school population. Thus, Honorato's (2011) considerations about the possibility of a regional imbalance, in terms of distribution educational, as there are no Complementary

Schools in the north and west of São Paulo, are pertinent to understanding the directions taken in the process of expanding teacher training during the First Republic, as this imbalance seems to remain for decades.

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