



Biographical itineraries of women mediators and intellectuals in the editing of “Revista Educando” (Minas Gerais, 1927-1945)¹

Itinerários biográficos de mulheres intelectuais mediadoras na editoria da
Revista Educando (Minas Gerais, 1927-1945)

Itinerarios biográficos de mujeres intelectuales mediadoras en la redacción de la
“Revista Educando” (Minas Gerais, 1927-1945)

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Abstract

Based on the History of Intellectuals and the prosopographical method, we present a study about the trajectory of seven female teachers: Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna, Leonilda Scarpelli Montandon, Letícia Chaves Campos, Marieta Leite, Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha, Ondina Amaral Brandão and Zembla Soares Pinheiro Chagas - who were at the forefront of editing the journal *Revista Educando*, a publication with a technical-pedagogical focus released between 1940 and 1945 by the Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais, an entity founded in 1931 with the aim of promoting the moral, intellectual, and pedagogical culture of primary school teachers in Minas Gerais. The period from 1927 to 1945 refers to the time frame during which they moved to Belo Horizonte, building their social networks and dedicating themselves to spreading the Active Methods promoted by the educational reforms in Minas Gerais in the early decades of the 20th century. The professional and intellectual activities of these women allow us to recognize them as mediating intellectuals in the field of Brazilian Education.

Keywords: Prosopography; Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Minas Gerais; Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais.

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Resumo

À luz da História das Intelectuais e do método prosopográfico, apresentamos um estudo sobre a trajetória de sete professoras - Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna, Leonilda Scarpelli Montandon, Letícia Chaves Campos, Marieta Leite, Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha, Ondina Amaral Brandão e Zembla Soares Pinheiro Chagas - que estiveram à frente da editoria da Revista Educando, impresso de orientação técnico-pedagógica publicado entre 1940 e 1945 pela Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais, entidade fundada em 1931 com o objetivo de promover a formação moral, intelectual e a cultura pedagógica das professoras primárias mineiras. O recorte, 1927 a 1945, se refere ao íterim em que elas se mudaram para Belo Horizonte, construindo suas redes de sociabilidades e se dedicando à difusão dos Métodos Ativos propagados pelas reformas educacionais mineiras das primeiras décadas do século XX. A atuação profissional e intelectual dessas mulheres permite reconhecê-las como intelectuais mediadoras do campo da Educação brasileira.

Palavras-chave: Prosopografia; Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Minas Gerais; Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais.

Resumen

A partir de la Historia de las Intelectuales y del método prosopográfico, presentamos un estudio sobre la trayectoria de siete profesoras: Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna, Leonilda Scarpelli Montandon, Letícia Chaves Campos, Marieta Leite, Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha, Ondina Amaral Brandão y Zembla Soares Pinheiro Chagas, quienes estuvieron al frente de la editorial de la Revista Educando, una publicación de orientación técnico-pedagógica publicada entre 1940 y 1945 por la Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais, entidad fundada en 1931 con el objetivo de promover la formación moral, intelectual y la cultura pedagógica de las profesoras primarias de Minas Gerais. El recorte, 1927 a 1945, se refiere al período en que se mudaron a Belo Horizonte, construyendo sus redes de sociabilidad y dedicándose a la difusión de los Métodos Activos propagados por las reformas educacionales de Minas Gerais de las primeras décadas del siglo XX. La actuación profesional e intelectual de estas mujeres permite reconocerlas como intelectuales mediadoras en el campo de la Educación brasileña.

Palabras-clave: Prosopografía; Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Minas Gerais; Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais.

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Introduction

In this article, we present a study of the professional trajectories and activities of seven women—Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna, Leonilda Scarpelli Montandon, Letícia Chaves Campos, Marieta Leite, Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha, Ondina Amaral Brandão, and Zembla Soares Pinheiro Chagas—primary school teachers. They are considered intellectual mediators (Gomes, Hansen, 2016) due to their significant prominence in the field of education in Minas Gerais, particularly as editors of an important technical-pedagogical journal published between 1940 and 1945 by the *Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais* (APPMG)²: *Revista Educando*.

This study is part of an effort to highlight the role of women as intellectuals in the educational field. This is because, historically, education—especially at the early childhood and primary levels—has been predominantly occupied by women, especially in research focusing on the 1920s and 1930s, a period of increasing female prominence in Brazilian teaching (Orlando, 2020; 2021). Furthermore, despite the considerable body of research showcasing women and their cultural products in different eras, in subjects related to "education and pedagogy, their contribution as intellectuals in education is still little known" (Orlando, 2021, p. 57). For example, the book *"Intérpretes do Brasil"* (2014),

edited by professors Luiz Bernardo Pericás and Lincoln Ferreira Secco, from USP, features 27 interpreters from Brazil, including some considered by the organizers to be neglected by historiography, but none of them are women, although there are female authors. (Orlando, 2021, p. 46).

In this sense, it is not wrong to state that, in national historical production, men are generally considered the great interpreters of Brazil and, consequently, of education. Thus, it is no surprise that, "to a large extent, when we speak of intellectuals, our thinking tends to conjure up a male figure" (Orlando, 2021, p. 46). In the publishing field, Ribeiro (2018) also warns us about a noticeable historical erasure of female protagonism. In this regard, the author emphasizes that:

The word "editor" is a feminine noun in Portuguese. However, it most commonly refers to publishing houses and book publishing companies. More rarely, the word is understood as referring to a woman or to a position that can also be held by a female professional. We depend on the context to understand it. Therefore, [...] the expression "woman editor" [...] should be a gender redundancy, but it is not. (Ribeiro, 2018, p. 268)

Thus, the word "intellectuals" is to men what the word "editor" is to publishing houses in the immediate understandings of common sense and, at times, academia. Thus, it seems to us that the stories of intellectuals and "women editors lie, yet to be told, in some unexplored archive" (Ribeiro, 2018, p. 273). In other words, both fields—intellectuals and editors—still seem to be outside the purview of women, even in reflections about the field of Education³.

² An organization representing the teaching profession in Minas Gerais, founded in 1931 to promote the moral, intellectual, and pedagogical development of primary school teachers in Minas Gerais, while also offering them healthcare. Currently operating under the name "*Associação de Professores Públicos de Minas Gerais*".

³ An analysis of 38 articles, six of which are in the field of History of Education, available on the Capes Journals Portal, reveals that none discuss women editors, and only the article by Bruschi & Schneider (2019) discusses women as intellectuals producing knowledge. In contrast, the articles by Schueler (2005a, 2005b), Kreutz (2007), Bruschi & Schneider (2019), and Carvalho et al. (2020) all reference male editors, and the latter also mentions some men as editors and intellectuals simultaneously (Alves, 2023).

This article seeks to contribute to the expansion of scientific studies in the field of History of Education that give visibility to women's modes of participation and intervention in the sociopolitical universe, conceiving different interpretations of their actions in the most diverse spheres, as well as readings that show them as beings of action, but also of knowledge (Orlando, 2021), especially in the editorial, intellectual, and educational worlds.

To this end, in dialogue with François-Sirinelli (1986; 2015), we use concepts such as "intellectual," understood as a subject who creates, lives, and engages in the *cit  *; "itineraries," which study the life experiences of an intellectual; "generation," which references the interim in which intellectuals shared projects; and "networks of sociability," highlighting that an intellectual project is never carried out by a single individual. We also use Gomes and Hansen's (2016) category of "cultural mediation," demonstrating that intellectuals are not limited to production practices but can engage in mediational actions and policies.

The method employed is prosopography, through which a significant amount of data is mobilized to study the collective biographies of individuals who commonly engaged in political, cultural, and/or social projects in a given time and space (Stone, 2011; Haydn, 2022). The sources, which were compared, cross-referenced, and analyzed, include iconographic, journalistic, normative, oral, and manuscript material, detailed at the end of this article. Data processing, organization, and analysis were performed using MAXQDA research software.⁴

In addition to the introduction, the article contains four parts: the first addresses the context of the emergence of professional associations for teachers in Minas Gerais, and especially APPMG and the *Revista Educando*, are presented. The second section presents the journeys of the women protagonists of the study; the penultimate section discusses the engagements and trajectories of these women's associations and, finally, details their main activities as editors of the *Revista*.

Minas Gerais and Belo Horizonte: Modernization and Pedagogical Associations

In 1897, *pari passu* within the modern-democratic Western context, the newly created Belo Horizonte was established as the new capital of Minas Gerais. During the First Republic (1889-1930), it hosted and fostered political debates and projects that supported education and its expansion as the primary means of assimilating Brazil's social configurations into countries considered, at the time, civilized and cultured (Nogueira, 2009; Gouv  a et al., 2016). In this regard, two state legislative reforms stand out: that of Jo  o Pinheiro (Law 439 of 1906) and that of Francisco Campos (Laws 7,970-A of 1927; 1,036 of 1928, especially)⁵, whose names pay homage to their main authors, who, at the time, served in Minas Gerais, respectively, as President and Secretary of the Interior (Peixoto, 2003). In contrast to the *Escolas Isoladas*,⁶ the Jo  o Pinheiro Reform created the School Groups in the State of Minas Gerais, aggregating classrooms – at least eight – in a single space and extending education to children in urban centers. At the same time, the *Escola Normal de Belo Horizonte* was created, intended both for training teachers and producing an operating model for the other Normal Schools in the State (Gouvea; Rosa, 2000).

⁴ MAXQDA is software developed for qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods data analysis, widely used in academic, scientific, and commercial research. Compatible with Windows and macOS, it allows you to import, organize, encode, and visualize various types of data (such as text, audio, video, images, and social media), offering tools that facilitate everything from qualitative analysis to descriptive statistics.

⁵ For more information about the Educational Reforms of Minas Gerais during the First Republic, see: Carvalho (2012); Carvalho (2013).

⁶ According to Louren  o Filho (1944 apud Gil; Caldeira, 2011), the Isolated School "is a school with a single teacher, to whom 40, 50 students are assigned. It almost always operates in makeshift buildings." It is the school "typical of sparsely populated areas, the rural school, the country school." Gouv  a et al. (2016, p. 317) further emphasize that these institutions presented "a precarious situation, with the majority of teachers lacking training."

In May 1927, in Belo Horizonte, the *I Congresso de Instrução Primária* (1st CIP) was held, an initiative of the Minas Gerais government to discuss educational guidelines in the state. The event was attended by politicians and primary school educators, most of whom expressed appreciation for the School Groups, the *Escola Normal Modelo*, and the application of Active Methods⁷ (Melo, 2010). It is worth noting that, at the time, Active Education was considered the most modern, mainly because it provided scientifically based teaching capable of leading children to action, observation, and association, encouraging them to reach conclusions based on knowledge and an appreciation for the world of work (Prates, 1989). As a result of the Francisco Campos Reform (1927), among other measures, the "*Escola de Aperfeiçoamento*" (EAMG) was created in Belo Horizonte. Between 1929 and 1946, it offered a two-year Post-Normal⁸ course with the aim of training methodologies multipliers and disseminating the renewal ideal, training teachers from all over the state as Technical Assistants, based on Active Methods (Prates, 1989). The initial faculty included European teachers from the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute in Switzerland, and Minas Gerais teachers trained at the Teacher College of Columbia University in the United States. In this way, the EAMG conferred symbolic power⁹ on its graduates by linking them to the elite of the pedagogical bureaucracy of the time—that is, to the middle class of "specialists capable of launching the renewal process at the school level, [thus] providing the missing link in the formation of technocracy and in intermediation with the sciences" (Peixoto, 2003, p. 92 – our commentary). To this end, after completing the Course, they would return to their hometowns¹⁰ to primarily occupy positions as principals, teacher-trainers, and technical-pedagogical advisors. Therefore, the João Pinheiro and Francisco Campos Reforms, despite their differences, centralized Belo Horizonte as the educational hub of Minas Gerais, seeking to modernize, expand, and oversee state education by expanding primary, normal, and technical training (Peixoto, 1981; 2003; Carvalho, 2013).

This panorama, coupled with the intensification of union activity in Brazil during the First Republic, fostered social interaction among people involved in teaching in Belo Horizonte and, consequently, the emergence of professional associations. In this vein, in 1906, the "*União do Magistério Mineiro*" (UMM) was created, considered the first *Associação de Professores* of any level of education in Minas Gerais (Oliveira, 2011). In 1909, the "*Congresso dos Professores Públicos*" (CPPMG) was established, also an *Associação*, but focused solely on primary school teachers. Both "had a charitable nature, providing assistance," aiming to "ensure teachers' rights, working conditions, and salaries" (Oliveira, 2011, p. 118). Men held significant leadership positions in the Associations; however, particularly in the CPPMG, women also participated significantly. Apparently, the UMM's period of activity lasted no more than a year, and the CPPMG ceased its activities in 1911 (Oliveira, 2011).

⁷ These methods centralized the student's role in the teaching-learning process, one of the main characteristics of the New School movement that took shape at the beginning of the last century, guiding the initial and continuing education programs for teachers in Minas Gerais (Peixoto, 2003).

⁸ We are referring here to the EAMG General Course. The institution also offered intensive, vacation, and religious courses (Duarte, 1989).

⁹ For Bourdieu (1997), symbolic power is invisible and constructs reality by establishing values and concepts that seem natural to social agents. It is compared to an almost magical form of power, capable of having the same impact as physical or economic force, as long as it is recognized as legitimate.

¹⁰ According to the EAMG Regulations (1929), in Article 3 and paragraph f.: all graduates should "obligate to provide services to public education for at least five years, or compensate the State an amount equivalent to the salary and daily rate received during the period of their studies at the School."

As early as 1927, during the First CIP, the creation of the *Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais* (APPMG) was planned, described as follows by a founding member:

Many people participated in this congress, including these ladies, these teachers, who led the movement. So, they went to the [school] groups and began to talk, and the teachers thought the idea was very good; it took shape. Even so, it took a while to mature, because the Congress was in 1927 and the Revolution of Thirty had already taken place. The government was trying to improve education, **but no one cared thinking about the teachers.** (Duarte, 1988, p. 206 – author's emphasis)

Thus, the APPMG stems from the leadership of primary school teachers in Minas Gerais who saw the late 1920s as a favorable time for planning a new professional organization. Founded in 1931, its objectives were: "to defend the interests of the class, encourage a spirit of solidarity and unity among members" (Peixoto, 2003, p. 71). To this end, it sought to "cooperate in the development of teachers and ensure better living conditions, with the right to medical and dental care and retirement after 25 years of service" (Peixoto, 2003, p. 88).

Until at least 1945, APPMG's administration was carried out solely by women, consisting of a Board of Directors (president and vice-president, 1st and 2nd secretaries, and treasurer) and a Council (between ten and seventeen managers) elected biennially by the members gathered in General Assemblies. Among the results of the elections, until 1933, the presence of non-graduates of EAMG was the majority; however, this situation changed progressively between 1934 and 1945.

Given the conditions at the time, APPMG supported the policies of João Pinheiro and Francisco Campos, especially through its mouthpiece, the *Revista Educando*, a publication dedicated to the propagation of Active Methods, publishing, above all, technical and pedagogical guidelines for professionals in School Groups and Normal Schools.

Leading the *Revista* were the teachers and technical assistants: Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna, Leticia Chaves Campos, Leonilda Scarpelli Montandon, Marieta Leite¹¹, Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha, Ondina Amaral Brandão, and Zembla Soares Pinheiro Chagas.

The seven female editors of *Revista Educando*

From 1930 to 1945, education in Minas Gerais underwent reforms¹² that, despite introducing new perspectives to the field, followed the proposals of João Pinheiro—mainly maintaining school groups and normal schools—and Francisco Campos—regarding Active Methods and the training of a technical staff responsible for overseeing and organizing education (Peixoto, 2003; Prates, 1989).

This scenario fueled a great intellectual and pedagogical effervescence in Belo Horizonte, particularly led by women in social settings such as EAMG, APPMG, the *Escola Normal Modelo*, and in technical and pedagogical assistance services. This debate highlights the seven editors who led *Revista Educando*, six of whom are presented in Figure 1.

¹¹ Registered civilly as "Maria da Anunciação Marieta Leite," the intellectual requested during her lifetime to be called simply "Marieta Leite," as suggested by her family. Something we will respect here.

¹² See: Peixoto (1987).

Figure 1 – Editors of *Revista Educando* (1920-1950)

Sources: Leite Family private collection; Calmon Barreto Museum (Araxá, Minas Gerais); Letícia Chaves School (Monte Carmelo, Minas Gerais); UFMG School of Music (Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais); Minas Gerais Institute of Education (Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais); Ondina Amaral Brandão State School (Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais); Kanitz-Vianna Family private archive. [In this order]

In Figure 1, from left to right, are: Marieta Leite, Leonilda Scarpelli Montandon, Letícia Chaves Campos, Zembla Soares Pinheiro Chagas, Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha, Ondina Amaral Brandão, and Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna. Produced between the 1920s and 1950s, the images highlight the sober fashions¹³ adopted at the time by women from Brazil's financial and political elite: short hair, or so it is represented, and clothing without many details. More than that, it can be inferred that the photographs suggest a definition, within this female group, of what constitutes formal civil attire for primary school teachers in Minas Gerais, considering that "in the movements of the body and face, in posture, and in dress, we find the elements of a psychological characterization and a social taxonomy" (Revel, 2009, p. 169).

But who was each of these expressive women? In summary, Chart 1, below, presents important biographical characteristics of this group.

Chart 1 – Prosopography data of the mentors and editors of *Revista Educando* (1895-1945)

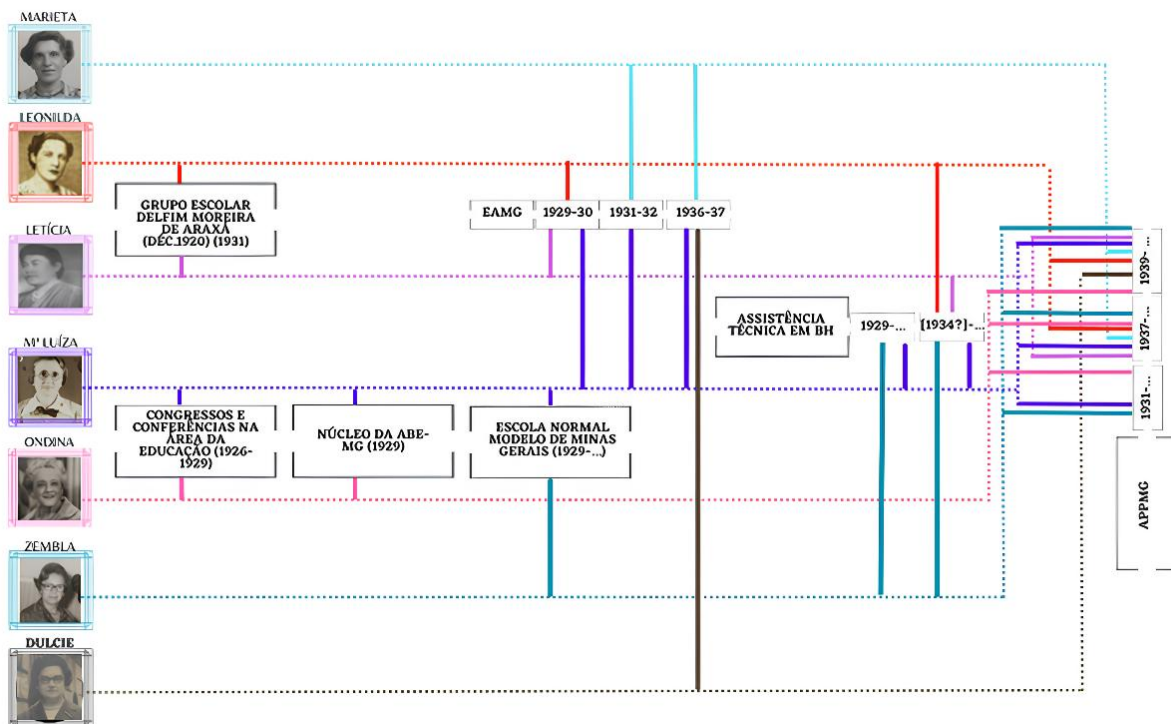
Subject	City Year of birth	Responsible for raising child and, if located, their main professions	Courses Post-primary	Travel to BH
Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna	Rio de Janeiro (RJ) 1900	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father: Maurício Kanitz (Doctor) • Mother: Alice de Gusmão Kanitz 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normal (1910 decade) • <i>Aperfeiçoamento</i> (1936-1937) 	[1936?]
Leonilda Scarpelli Montandon	Araxá (MG) 1904	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father Alexandre Scarpelli (Merchant) • Mother: Maria Augusta Montandon • Maternal grandfather: Eduardo Montandon (Doctor and Teacher) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normal (1918-1921) • <i>Aperfeiçoamento</i> (1929-1930) 	[1934?]
Letícia Chaves Campos	Araxá (MG) [1904?]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father Maximiano Lopes Chaves (Lawyer) • Mother: Irineia Ferreira Chaves 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Aperfeiçoamento</i> (1929-1930) 	[1934?]
Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha	Barra Mansa (RJ) 1895	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father: Domingos Lourenço Lacombe • Mother: Isabel Jacobina Lacombe (Teacher) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humanities ([19--?]-[191-?]) 	Década de 1910
Marieta Leite	Guaranésia (MG) 1910	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father: João Monteiro de Meirelles Leite Junior (Lawyer, Military and Editor) • Mother: Herminia de Almeida Leite (Housewife) • Uncle-father: Aureliano Leite (Politician) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normal (1910 decade) • <i>Aperfeiçoamento</i> (1931-1932) 	1931
Ondina Amaral Brandão	Juiz de Fora (MG) 1889	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father: Alfredo Amaral (Teacher and Military) • Mother: Maria Kascher Amaral 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normal (1902-1905) 	[1925?]
Zembla S. Pinheiro Chagas	Teófilo Otoni (MG) 1906	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father: Francisco Soares de Sá (Banker) • Mother: Odília Soares de Sá 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General Commerce (1926-1929) 	1929

Source: Alves (2023)

¹³ In this regard, see: 1930: The decade of sober and elegant fashion. VLK Magazine. Highlight and Fashion. June 5, 2021. Available at: <https://revistavlk.com.br/1930-a-decada-da-moda-sobria-elegante/>. Accessed on February 12, 2024.

As can be seen, two are from the Brazilian states of Rio de Janeiro and five from Minas Gerais, born between 1889 and 1910 and raised by parents and/or grandparents with professional backgrounds in the fields of Law, Medicine, Education, Banking, Publishing, Art, and/or Military¹⁴. This factor likely influenced their early intellectual development through encouraging access to books, newspapers, plays, and other political and cultural assets valued in the domestic environments in which they were raised. This condition certainly favored these women's access to post-primary education: Dulcie, Leonilda, Letícia, Marieta, and Ondina attended the Normal School—which, at the time, qualified them for primary school teaching and, after the João Pinheiro Reform, became predominant among the daughters of wealthy families in Minas Gerais (Prates, 1989). Maria Luíza attended the Humanities Course—a scientific-humanist training focused on work in both teaching and social-philanthropic fields—and Zembla attended the General Commerce Course—a multi-curriculum program that prepared them for positions in a wide variety of political, social, and/or commercial fields. Thus, it is clear that this group of women enjoyed family, economic, and social conditions conducive to the process of socialization and the incorporation of values and references, sharing a common *habitus*, lifestyles, and social relations that certainly influenced their academic and professional paths. This is because we consider that *habitus* underpins the conditions in which subjects exist and provides references for the future. They relied on similar formations of "principles that generate distinct and distinctive practices" that "are also classificatory schemes, principles of classification, principles of vision and division" (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 21-22). These shared formations and tastes would contribute to their engagement in networks of common sociability¹⁵ as adults, as outlined in Graph 1:

Graph 1 – Sociability among the editors of *Revista Educando* (1920-1945)



Source: Alves (2023)

¹⁴ Details about the editors' fathers, mothers, and grandparents can be found in Alves (2023).

¹⁵ We understand that "social networks" are governed by the feelings and rationalities of certain individuals who, in a historical time-space, united in continuous coexistence "around a common ideological or cultural sensibility and more diffuse but equally decisive affinities, which founded a desire and a taste for coexistence" (Sirinelli, 2015, p. 248).

Through their itineraries¹⁶, represented here in Graph 1, we can observe some of the most important spaces of sociability that promoted unity and collective engagement among teachers Marieta Leite, Leonilda Montandon, Leticia Chaves, Maria Luíza, Ondina Brandão, Zembla Chagas, and Dulcie Kanitz in the 1920s and 1940s in Minas Gerais. The prosopography data collected allow us, in this sense, to establish the “common characteristics of a group of actors in history” through “internal correlations and with other forms of behavior or action” (Stone, 2011, p. 115). Thus, it is clear that Maria Luíza and Ondina Brandão had social relations before 1930.

In the 1910s, Maria Luíza accompanied her brother, who was suffering from tuberculosis, to Belo Horizonte, a city known at the time for its high altitudes and abundant trees, both helpful in curing lung diseases (Valente, 2016). In the capital, Maria Luíza married the renowned physician Roberto de Almeida Cunha, and from this union, she had thirteen children. In addition to motherhood, she worked as a teacher at the *Escola Normal Modelo*, as a Technical Teaching Assistant (under contract), and as an Assistant in the Psychology Laboratory at EAMG. Influenced by the upbringing of her adoptive mother, Isabel Lacombe—a prominent figure in Brazilian education and Catholicism (Caruso, 2006; Haydn, 2022)—and the primary and humanities education she received at Colégio Jacobina—with active, Catholic-Jesuit pedagogical practices (Caruso, 2006)—Maria Luíza became a leading figure in the “New Christian School”¹⁷ movement in Belo Horizonte (Valente, 2016).

In 1905, Ondina Amaral Brandão graduated as a teacher at *Colégio Nossa Sra. do Carmo* in Juiz de Fora, Minas Gerais. Shortly thereafter, she married engineer Mário Gomes Brandão, and they moved to Rio de Janeiro, Spain, Belgium, and France. During World War I (1914-1918), they returned to Rio de Janeiro. In Europe, she learned about feminism¹⁸, as she went to the polls in 1916 and, despite her lack of success, challenged the social and cultural prohibition of women from voting in Brazil. That same year, she challenged political paradigms by becoming the first female leader of *Associação dos Empregados do Comércio do Rio de Janeiro*¹⁹.

In 1919, she worked as a primary school teacher at the *Externato Regina Pacis* in Rio de Janeiro, where she applied the pedagogical methods of “scientific culture, religious and artistic sentiment, and the precepts of modern physical education” (*Os Novos...*, 1919, p. 3). At that time, after her husband's death, she was forced to return to Juiz de Fora with her son and daughter, seeking the comfort of her family.

Professor Ondina Brandão's expertise in Active Education, Industry, and feminism did not go unnoticed by the Minas Gerais government. In 1925, she was appointed to head the newly created Nursery School in Belo Horizonte. This institution would allow working-class mothers to “leave their children aged three to six while they worked” (Prates, 1989, p. 105), but

¹⁶ According to Sirinelli (1986; 2015), the historical search for itineraries aims to draw maps, as accurately as possible, of the axes of engagement and trajectories of specific intellectuals, providing intelligible readings of individual and group journeys within a given historical time.

¹⁷ According to Rosa (2017, p. 5), “Catholic New School is a kind of third way between the old, represented by the so-called traditional school, and the new, represented by the modernity brought by the New School.” Peixoto (2003) highlights that such practices were common in Minas Gerais education between the 1910s and 1940s.

¹⁸ Regarding the global and Brazilian feminist context prior to the 1930s, we recommend Karawejczyk (2013)

¹⁹ Created in 1881, the AEC was the first interclass commercial association in Rio de Janeiro, representing everyone from clerks to businesspeople. For more information see: Popinigis (1999).

it never came to fruition. In fact, its building housed the first years of the EAMG. Because of these circumstances, Ondina was appointed, between 1926 and 1945, as director of the *Escola Infantil Delfim Moreira* in Belo Horizonte.

Between 1926 and 1927, Ondina Brandão and Maria Luíza served on the organizing committee for the *I Congresso de Instrução Primária de Minas Gerais*, where they advocated for the expansion of Active Education to poor youth, in keeping with the modernization landscape, to guarantee them training for work and civil and social dignity. In 1929, alongside prominent figures²⁰ in Minas Gerais education, both women joined the newly created *Núcleo Mineiro da Associação Brasileira de Educação* (ABE) in Belo Horizonte, demonstrating the shared spaces and networks of common sociability.

Professor Zembla Soares joined these networks in 1929, when she moved to Belo Horizonte and distinguished herself as the only woman to pass the entrance exam for Technical Assistants in Minas Gerais. This situation fostered close relations with Maria Luíza, both at the Technical Assistant School itself and at the *Escola Normal Modelo*, where Zembla was hired as a Physical Education teacher. A few years later, Professor Zembla Chagas married the doctor and Federal Representative, Paulo Pinheiro Chagas, with whom she had a daughter and a son.

Until 1945, Zembla Chagas was a prominent figure in debates on the application of Active Methods in Physical Education in Minas Gerais, even leading the Department of Physical Education²¹ alongside Renato Eloy Andrada, Zulmira Paiva, and Guiomar Meirelles Becker (Silva, 2009). Years before 1929, Zembla had already demonstrated a passion for Physical Education. Between 1926 and 1929, her parents sent her to Rio de Janeiro to enroll in the *Curso Geral do Comércio do Instituto La-Fayette*.²² There, she joined the official volleyball team and excelled in dance performances.

It is noted, also in Graph 1, it is possible that Leonilda Montandon and Letícia Chaves were the only teachers who had previously worked together before moving to Belo Horizonte. This scenario was driven both by the fact that both were born and raised in Araxá, as well as by the religious sociability within their families and educational projects. Furthermore, both graduated as normal teachers²³, pursued careers in education, and, in the 1920s, worked as teachers at the *Grupo Escolar Delfim Moreira* in Araxá. Like Professor Ondina Brandão, they also caught the attention of the State Government, receiving, in this case, an invitation to join the first EAMG class, which led them to reside temporarily in the capital of Minas Gerais between 1929 and 1930.

This training enabled Letícia Chaves to take on the role of Assistant Director at the *Grupo Escolar Delfim Moreira* in Araxá between 1930 and 1931, as a teacher at the *Curso Normal* of *Colégio São Domingos*, and, in 1932, as a teacher at the Normal School in Pitangui, Minas Gerais. In the case of Leonilda Montandon, between 1930 and 1931, she taught at the *Escola Normal* in Uberlândia, Minas Gerais, and, between 1931 and 1934, as Regional Education Inspector in the Triângulo Mineiro and Alto Paranaíba regions of

²⁰ Examples include professors Lúcio José dos Santos, Noraldino Lima, Gabriel Passos, Abgar Renault, Magalhães Viotti, Marques Lisboa, Eurico Villela, Annibal Mattos, Aurellio Pires [...] and professors Zélia C. Rabello, Vitália Campos, and Elvira Brandão [...] (*O Departamento...*, 1929).

²¹ Regarding the history of the Physical Education Inspectorate of Minas Gerais: Silva (2009); Moraes (2015).

²² The Institute was created in 1916, operating as a boarding school, part-day school, and day school, from kindergarten to secondary school. In 1939, the *Faculdade de Filosofia do Instituto La-Fayette* was created; in 1941, the operation of a Teaching Unit was authorized, including courses in Pedagogy and Didactics. In 1950, the unit was converted into a member of the University of the Federal District (UDF), which gave rise to the University of Rio de Janeiro (UDF) in 1959; then, in 1961, to the State University of Guanabara (UEG); and in 1971, to the current State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ).

²³ In 1921, Leonilda graduated as a teacher-trainer from *Colégio N. Sra. das Dores* (Uberaba, Minas Gerais); as for Letícia, we cannot locate the institution she attended in our sources; however, we know she was a teacher-trainer, as this was one of the statutory requirements for admission to EAMG.

Minas Gerais. Around 1934, they both settled in Belo Horizonte and began working primarily as Teaching Assistants, establishing close ties with Maria Luíza and Zembla Chagas, and later as directors of school groups, which placed them in close contact with Ondina Brandão.

In addition to Letícia Chaves and Leonilda Montandon, Marieta Leite and Dulcie Kanitz were also among the student teachers of the EAMG General Course. A native of Guaranésia, Minas Gerais, Marieta Leite moved to Muzambinho, Minas Gerais, as a young woman, to enroll in the *Escola Normal*, attached to the city's Lyceum. Shortly thereafter, she took on the role of Native Language teacher at the same, where she began to contribute to the debates on "child psychology in primary education" and the "results of an active school, in which the child feels at ease in an environment of trust and affection" (*Vida...*, 1929, p. 4).

Between 1931 and 1932, Marieta Leite entered EAMG, where she became admired by the teachers, especially Helena Antipoff, who selected her as a student assistant in administering psychological tests. At the time, Marieta spent time with Maria Luíza, then an assistant in the EAMG Psychology Laboratory, coordinated by Helena Antipoff. Furthermore, in the Native Language classes taught by Lúcia Casasanta, Marieta had the first version of the classic children's book "*Pituchinha*" written and selected for publication.²⁴ After completing the Advanced Training Course, Marieta did not return to Muzambinho, as she was hired by EAMG, initially as an assistant to the Director, and later as a Socialization teacher.

It is possible that Marieta Leite taught Dulcie Kanitz, as she was a student teacher between 1936 and 1937. It is worth noting that Dulcie had graduated as a teacher at the *Escola Normal Oficial do Rio de Janeiro* around the 1910s.

In the 1920s, she married the jurist Mário Bulcão Vicente Vianna, with whom, in 1930, she moved to Cataguases, Minas Gerais, and had a son. There, Dulcie became the first principal of the *Grupo Escolar Guido Marlière*, where she remained until close to her entry into the EAMG. After completing her course at EAMG, Dulcie became a principal at the *Escolas Reunidas Augusto de Lima*, in Belo Horizonte. In 1941, she passed the Federal Technical Assistant exam, which led to her return to Rio. She was thus the only one of the group who did not reside in Belo Horizonte until 1945.

The prosopography data show that, like the *habitus* perspective, educational paradigms contributed to the networking among the seven teachers in Belo Horizonte in the 1930s and 1940s. It is enough to note that the main social environments among them demarcate the promotion of Active Education and were founded in Minas Gerais by the João Pinheiro (1906) or Francisco Campos (1927) Reforms: school groups, the *Escola Normal*, and Technical Assistance. Regarding the entities created by civil society, Graph 1 shows that it was at APPMG where all seven of these teachers met for joint action.

Associative and training engagements in dialogue with Active Methods

The founding ceremony of APPMG took place in the city of Belo Horizonte on August 27, 1931, in the former hall of the Chamber of Deputies of Minas Gerais. On that occasion, Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha, as the solemn speaker, gave a historical retrospective about the work of primary school teachers in Minas Gerais and "the conditions of moral and financial abandonment in which they have found themselves until

²⁴ This work, along with "*O livro de Lili*" by Anita Fonseca and "*Bonequinho Doce*" by Alaíde Lisboa de Oliveira, became editorial successes in promoting the global storytelling method for teaching children to read and write (Frade; Maciel, 2006).

recently." She also "praised the magnificent work of the illustrious Minas Gerais natives Drs. Antônio Carlos and Francisco Campos, regarding the *Reforma do Ensino Primário de Minas*" (*Atas*, 1931, p. 4). Next, Helena Penna²⁵ – active in the movement Belo Horizonte's socio-pedagogical movements, at least since 1909, expressed happiness with the establishment of a class-based environment extended to primary school teachers throughout Minas Gerais, as it was a "long-demanded action" (*Atas*, 1931, p. 4). Both statements represented optimism regarding the political-pedagogical landscape of the period, permeating the configurations of the APPMG between 1931 and 1945. During this period, the organization's leadership was composed exclusively of women who worked to defend and promote educational reform ideas.

In this context, in the national pedagogical imagination, the ideals of the "old" and "new" teachers were synonymous, respectively, with the "unwilling" and "willing" teachers to apply Active Methods. Thus, these expressions alluded to (micro)disputes in the field of education, but were not strictly based on the taxonomy of chronological ages. According to Prates (1989), such disputes, to a certain extent, arose from the significant number of primary school teachers in Minas Gerais who lacked access to the Normal Course — not mandatory for teaching — and to the EAMG, given the limited number of vacancies at the institution. Therefore, these professionals were not formally qualified in Active Methods, perhaps lacking extensive training that would sensitize them to the pedagogically "new" approach.

Consequently, the Association's Statutes, drafted during the founding ceremony of the APPMG, define that the governing body would promote "meetings for the reading and discussion of pedagogical works and the exchange of ideas and experiences related to primary education," activities that resonate in courses organized by the Association and taught by prominent figures²⁶ in the promotion of Active Education in Minas Gerais. Therefore, it would not be inaccurate to state that, at the time, the APPMG represented all primary school teachers in Minas Gerais as a class. Initially, its management was more focused on developing practical activities, and its leaders focused their efforts on consolidating and disseminating this educational model, believing they could thus combat the "lamentable and difficult self-teaching to which most of our teachers found themselves and still find themselves condemned" (Abgar Renault, 1941 *apud* Silva, 2016, p. 291). This orientation becomes evident in the associationist trajectories of Dulcie Kanitz, Leonilda Montandon, Leticia Chaves, Marieta Leite, Maria Luíza, Ondina Brandão, and Zembla Chagas, whose actions, expressed in Chart 2, demonstrate their place in this debate.

²⁵ During the First Republic, in Minas Gerais, it is possible that a generation of intellectual women emerged who engaged in various projects focused on primary education. Among these was Helena Penna, director of the *Grupo Escolar Barão do Rio Branco*, the capital first school group, whose role and contribution to society still require further study in the field of educational history.

²⁶ Let us look at some examples: in 1935, at the *Grupo Escolar Afonso Pena*, in Belo Horizonte, APPMG offered a pedagogical refresher course taught by Waldemar Pais, Oswaldo de Araújo, Arduino Bolívar, Floriano de Paula, João B. de Assis Martins, Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha (*Curso...*, 1935); in 1938, at the *Escola Normal Modelo*, there was an Orthography course taught by Aires da Mata Machado (*Associação...*, 1938).

Chart 2 – Teachers' positions during the APPMG administration (1931-1945)

Nº	APPMG Administration	Dulcie Kanitz	Leonilda Montandon	Leticia Chaves	Marieta Leite	Mª Luíza Cunha	Ondina Brandão	Zembla Chagas
1.	1931-1933	-	-	-	-	Vice-President	Counselor	-
2.	1933-1934	-	-	-	-	Vice-President	-	Counselor
3.	1934-1937	-	-	-	-	Counselor	Vice-President	-
4.	1937-1939	-	President	-	-	-	Counselor	Counselor
5.	1939-1941	Counselor	President	Counselor	1st Secretary	Counselor	Vice-President	Counselor
6.	1941-1943	Counselor	-	Counselor	Vice-President	-	President	-
7.	1943-1945	-	Vice-president	-	-	Counselor	-	-

Source: Minutes of meetings of the *Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais* (1931-1945)

Between 1931 and 1945, as can be seen in Chart 2, seven elections for the management of APPMG were held, in which at least two of the protagonists of this study participated. Consistent with the engagements in the *cit  *, developed from the 1920s onwards, Maria Lu  za, Ondina Brand  o, and Zembla Chagas held their positions between 1931 and 1934. Between 1937 and 1945, *pari passu* to the increase in the number of former student teachers at APPMG, Dulcie Kanitz, Leonilda Montandon, L  t  cia Campos, and Marieta Leite joined the organization's management team.

Working on the organizational systematization of the APPMG, Maria Lu  za, Ondina Brand  o, and Leonilda Montandon led political negotiations with Minas Gerais authorities, aiming to improve salary conditions for primary school teachers. Furthermore, all seven organized and offered pedagogical courses to the teaching staff. Drawing on the technical knowledge acquired during her training, Zembla Chagas was involved in drafting the APPMG's normative documents, such as the 1931, 1938, and 1940 Statutes, the latter drafted under the presidency of Leonilda Montandon, who worked tirelessly to promote the APPMG as a place for social interaction among primary school teachers.

Among her actions, one of the most notable was the resumption of membership for teachers not residing in Belo Horizonte, who had been excluded from the organization since March 1935 due to logistical issues related to the collection of monthly dues. Along with this, trips began to be promoted among members from all over the state of Minas Gerais to cities²⁷ that would allow "contact with the most cultural centers of the country, where they could acquire new experiences" and encourage "the spirit of solidarity" (APPMG, 1938, n.p.). It is also worth noting that, in 1937, Leonilda Montandon's administration reached the first APPMG headquarters, thus establishing its own space for the Entity's archive and meetings, which, until that moment, had occupied rooms at the *Escola Delfim Moreira* and *Grupo Escolar Afonso Pena*, provided by their respective directors, Ondina Brand  o and Helena Penna.

Thus, Professor Leonilda Scarpelli Montandon's presidencies promoted what, in the History of Intellectuals, is understood as "reformulation," that is, the "establishment of a new service routine and internal organization of an institution," as well as the "construction of the institution as a reference point for the intellectuals of the period" (Caldeira, 2016, p. 181), an aspect evidenced in the mentoring, maintenance, and circulation of the pedagogical journal "*Revista Educando*," as will be seen.

²⁷ Details about training trips promoted at APPMG, from 1937 onwards, are in: Alves; Nogueira (2024).

Revista Educando: "A keen awareness of necessity and duty led us on this adventure"

In March 1937, at the first general meeting of the APPMG, President Leonilda Montandon asked the teachers present for suggestions for "measures that would improve the Association" (APPMG Minutes, 1937, p. 19). At the time, Councilor Maria de Lourdes Pereira recommended that there be "greater publicity for everything we have accomplished, the benefits we have achieved for our members," and Rosária Laranjeira, Director of the School Group, recommended that "a memo be sent to each member outlining these benefits with a list of doctors, dentists, businesses, etc." Given these proposals, Leonilda expressed that "this was already the board's thinking." These observations immediately influenced the production and circulation of new APPMG documents, such as the aforementioned Bylaws.

Otherwise, we believe it is possible that such observations sparked, in Leonilda and the other leaders of the Association, the preludes to what would later become a pedagogical journal. This is because, in September 1937, at the General Assembly, Leonilda Montandon announced that she hoped to establish a monthly bulletin "that will inform about the movement and activity of the Association and will also bring members up to date with the most practical and efficient teaching processes" (*Associação...* 1937, p. 11). Thus, a proposal emerged for informative material, but also of an educational nature, therefore coherent with the reformulations under debate. Several other proposals were received by the Association after this public speech, so much so that, in June of the following year, Hélio Vaz de Melo offered to advise the APPMG, reinforcing the idea of creating the desired newsletter. However, the Council rejected the offers, as the amount requested by Hélio for implementation was "very high" (APPMG *Atas*, 1938, p. 36), which would result in higher monthly fees for members who, as teachers, had "significantly reduced wages" (APPMG *Atas*, 1938, p. 34).

In September 1938, Waldemar Tavares Pais and Vicente Guimarães proposed to the APPMG a pedagogical magazine, for which the Entity would contribute 300\$000 per month and promote subscriptions from members. In response, the Council countered:

- a) that the journal would be published at no cost to the Association; b) all publications would be submitted to a committee of Council members; c) the Association would have the right to publish the monthly Bulletin independently of the magazine; f) the Association would advertise and collaborate on the magazine. (APPMG *Atas*, 1938, p. 36)

Therefore, the Council expressed interest in the printed edition, but disagreed with the financing conditions imposed on the Association. They advocated for the leadership of the council members in writing and editing the material, for the guarantee of publicity about the APPMG, and even for the circulation of a bulletin for the Association, independent of the printed edition. Given these conditions, Waldemar and Vicente decided not to proceed. However, by 1938, the APPMG already had a page in the "*Revista Cultura*"²⁸, the payment for which would be equivalent to an annual subscription to the printed edition: 40\$000²⁹. Thus, we can say that the 1937 project was beginning to materialize.

²⁸ We did not find, in our sources, data that referred to which entity this *Revista* belonged to or in which regions it would have circulated.

²⁹ "*Revista Cultura* – Madam President informs the House that this *Revista* dedicates a page to the Association and presents the request for a subscription – for the amount of 40\$000 (forty thousand *reis*) per year. The request was approved." (APPMG *Atas*, 1938, p.36)

Between 1939 and 1941, the period during which the seven professors worked together at APPMG, as seen in Table 2, conditions became favorable for the development of a project to create a dedicated publication to serve as the Association's spokesperson. In this regard, the Association's first secretary, Marieta Leite, proposed an editorial project at the very first meeting in 1939, which was approved by all participants. On the same date, the "Planning Committee" was established, comprising Letícia Chaves, Marieta Leite, Ondina Brandão, and Dulcie Kanitz. They would later present a plan for "name, format, and section division, so that the Journal would be published the following July" (APPMG *Atas*, 1939, p. 43).

In June 1939, the Board unanimously elected Marieta Leite as director, responsible for implementing the proposal, with her colleagues Ondina, Dulcie, Maria Luíza, and Letícia at her side. Thematic sections were promptly defined, and would be led by "new" professionals, such as Leonilda Montandon and Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha. It is worth noting that, despite being present at these discussions, Zembla would only assume editorial duties starting with the second issue of the printed edition.

After several postponements and contrary to the planned launch date of July 1937, it was not until February 1939 that the journal was published. In 1940, the first issue of *Revista Educando* began to circulate. During this period of preparation and execution of the project, the main official and "renewed" pedagogical journal of the state of Minas Gerais, *Revista do Ensino*, reduced its annual publications and, four months after the founding of *Revista Educando*, in June 1940, ceased circulation. This was justified, according to studies by Biccás (2008), by the paper crisis caused by World War II.

In this regard, it is hypothesized that this situation further incited the teacher-editors to mentor and, therefore, to take on the creation of a training publication for Minas Gerais's teachers (Beschizza, 2022; Alves, 2023), acting for *raziones* similar to those of so many other editorial projects that emerged in Latin America in the face of the wars, reforms, and crises that swept the world in the 1930s and 1940, that is, was a project driven by " *necesidad y vacío* " (Sarlo, 1992, p. 15).

In total, 39 issues were published until 1945, serving as a spokesperson for the APPMG, aiming to inform, train, and update primary school teachers, especially in the application of Active Methods. These publications featured articles written by student teachers, teacher educators, and other invited professionals, thus committed to the publishers and the principles of Active Education. The printing houses responsible for the publication were *Folha de Minas* and *Queiroz Breiner LTDA*, which contributed to the considerable circulation of the magazine, which was distributed throughout much of Minas Gerais and some cities in other Brazilian states, such as Bahia and Mato Grosso.

The longest hiatus in publication of *Revista Educando* was four months, beginning in September 1944, when teacher Letícia Campos passed away. This, and the Brazilian political climate fueled a period of criticism of officialdom in the press, which would only end with the Journal itself in August 1945. The end of the editorial project was also linked to the need for its editors to focus on other projects, as we have seen.

Throughout the *Revista*'s existence, the seven teacher-editors led its entire management process, performing various functions, as shown in the systematization in Chart 3.

Chart 3 – Editorial functions and who took over them at *Revista Educando* (1940-1945)

	Period	Direction	Editorial Staff	Management
Editorial 1	Nº 1 February 1940	Marieta Leite	Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha	-
		-	Letícia Chaves Campos	-
		-	Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna	-
		-	Ondina Amaral Brandão	-
Editorial 2	Nºs 2 – 8 March 1940 - November 1940	Marieta Leite	Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha	Zembla S. de Pinheiro Chagas
		-	Letícia Chaves Campos	-
		-	Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna	-
		-	Ondina Amaral Brandão	-
Editorial 3	Nº 9 February 1941	Marieta Leite	Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha	Zembla S. de Pinheiro Chagas
		-	Letícia Chaves Campos	-
		-	Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna	-
Editorial 4	Nºs 10 – 39 March 1941 – August 1945	Marieta Leite	Marieta Leite	Zembla S. de Pinheiro Chagas
		-	-	Leonilda Montandon

Source: Alves (2023)

Marieta Leite served as editor until 1945, taking over the editorial staff in February 1941, when three of the editors, who had been with *Revista* Nº1, left: Dulcie Kanitz returned to Rio de Janeiro to take a permanent position in the Administrative Department of Public Services; Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha engaged in other projects (Valente, 2016); similarly, Letícia Campos had significant activities at *Rádio Inconfidência de Minas Gerais*³⁰ and as director of the *Grupo Escolar Flávio dos Santos*, which had a large student body. Furthermore, Ondina Brandão left the editorial staff in November 1940, possibly because she was assuming the presidency of APPMG at the time. On the same date, Leonilda Montandon stepped down as president of APPMG and took over as editor of the *Revista* between issues 10 and 39, alongside Zembla Chagas, who also served as editor between issues 2 and 39.

Even though she was no longer on the editorial board, three of the teachers continued to contribute to *Revista Educando*: Letícia Chaves submitted an original article for issue 17; Maria Luíza submitted nine original articles between issues 12 and 33; and, in issues 9 and 38, there are texts about the daily life of the *Escola Infantil Delfim Moreira*, where Ondina Brandão was director. This highlights that any potential micro-power-based clashes among the seven editors would not, in and of themselves, justify the separation or convergence of one or the other during the four editorial periods. Perhaps such reconfigurations were a consequence of the publishers' "itineraries," which are complex and can alter the course of projects and the sociability built among intellectuals. (Sirinelli, 1986; 2015).

This complex dimension is intelligible in the reasons that led to the *Revista*'s demise. First, let us remember that the longest gap between issues occurred after the death of Letícia Chaves in September 1944. Therefore, there is a representation of mourning on the part of the other editors of *Revista Educando*, who undeniably held Letícia in high esteem, even being with her even at the moment of her burial, when Marieta Leite offered "heartfelt prayers" (Luto, 1944, p.11-12).

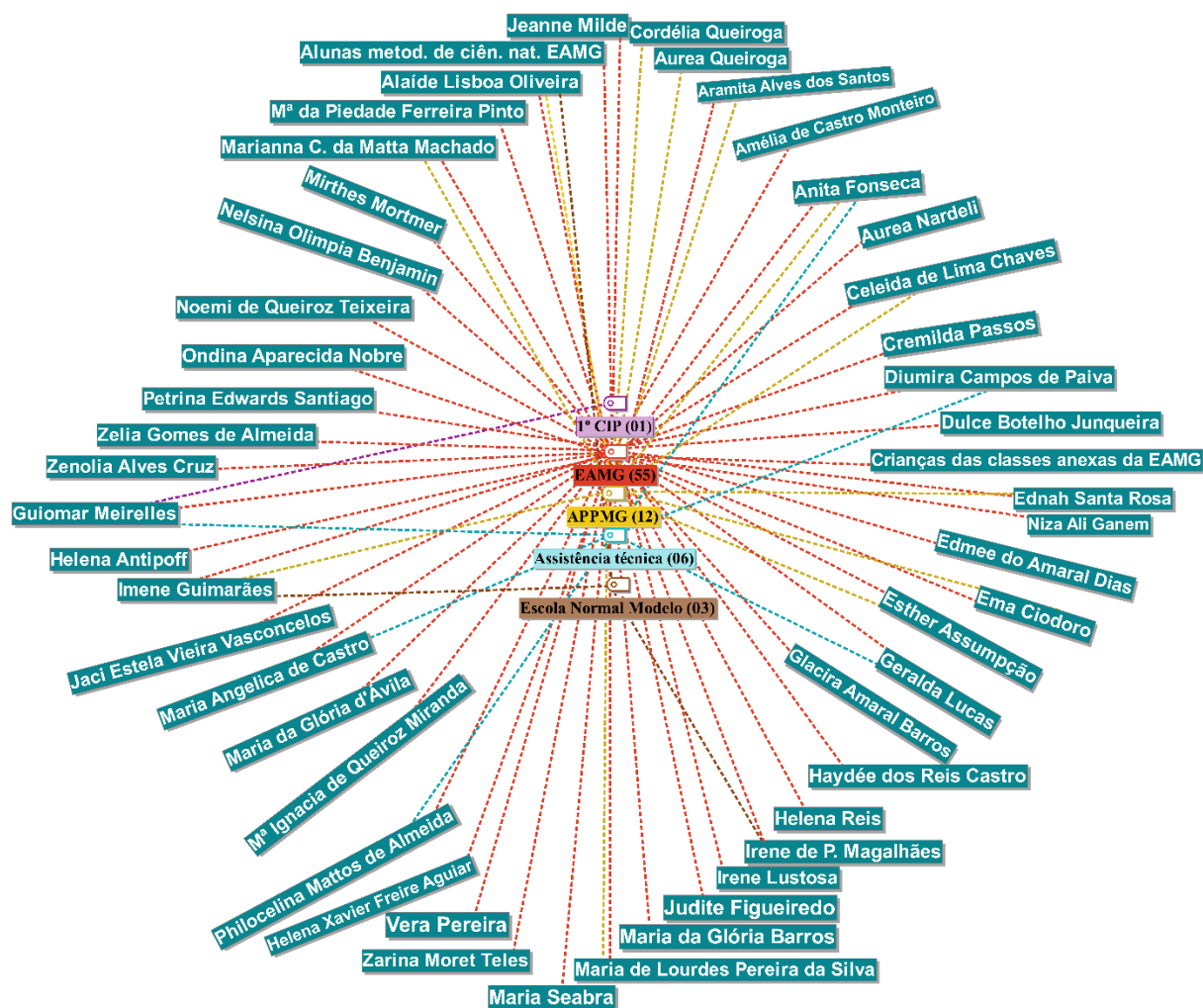
This unease and the political climate of 1945, which heralded the end of the Brazilian *Estado Novo* (1937-1945), established a phase of criticism of the Vargas dictatorship in *Revista Educando*, something previously uncommon in print. Furthermore, the number of pages and

³⁰ Official State Radio Station, created by Decree 921 of June 26, 1936, and inaugurated in September of the same year. A study about this topic can be found in Cota (2016).

texts decreased in 1945, likely a consequence of other projects in which the publishers were engaged: on the one hand, Marieta Leite ran for Deputy in the 1946 national elections; on the other, that same year, Zembla Chagas moved to Rio de Janeiro to take up a position in the Secondary Education Inspectorate of the National Department of Education. Also in this context, we believe that the cessation of publication of *Revista Educando* in August 1945 was not a goal set by the publishers, since there is no text in issue 39 of the printed edition that foretells a farewell or similar.

The role of these seven teachers in the Minas Gerais educational landscape, particularly as mentors and editors of the *Revista Educando*, allows us to define them as intellectual mediators. That is, as intellectuals engaged in political actions and cultural practices aimed at the promotion and circulation of cultural assets, including appropriations and reinterpretations of scientific knowledge (Gomes; Hansen, 2016). Consequently, they were part of the Brazilian "generation" of intellectuals who, during the early 20th century, directed their activities toward "the emerging educational field with the aim of reorienting it toward modern and scientific practices, notably New School practices" through their "inclusions and forms of action in the educational and publishing fields, and in the state bureaucracy" (Silva, 2016, p. 290). To this end, it must be understood that a generation goes beyond the chronological ages of the subjects in a group, going "beyond the merely descriptive or taxonomic procedure; it is endowed, in certain cases, with explanatory virtues, as these effects and phenomena are not inert: they are sometimes determining gears in the functioning of this environment" (Sirinelli, 2015, p. 255).

Regarding the networks of sociability and engagement of teacher-editors, considering that cultural mediation practices "are exercised by a diverse set of actors" (Gomes, Hansen, 2016, p. 8) and that periodicals "*son [...] un mapa de las relaciones intelectuales, con sus clivajes de edad e ideologías, una red de comunicación entre la dimensión cultural y la política*" (Sarlo, 1992, p. 15), we note that the editorial success of *Revista Educando* is qualified, above all, by the sociability engendered among its seven editors and other intellectuals who also shared the ideals of Active Education in pedagogical environments arising from the João Pinheiro Reforms of 1906 and Francisco Campos Reforms of 1927. Regarding these networks and spaces of sociability, let us analyze Graph 2:

Graph 2 – Sociability with female authors (1927-1945).

Source: MaxQDA software based on our categorizations.

The Graph 2 highlights the sociability of the editors of *Revista Educando* with some of the authors of texts published in print. The data is divided into three visual sections: in the center, with representative colors, are the spaces of sociability; at the ends, there are the authors' names; and finally, dotted lines connect them to their respective spaces.

In this sense, the spaces of sociability are: the *1º Congresso de Instrução Primária* (1º CIP), the *Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais* (APPMG), the *Escola de Aperfeiçoamento* (EAMG), the *Assistência Técnica Pedagógica e a Escola Normal Modelo* of Belo Horizonte. Therefore, they highlight not only the impact of Active Teaching on education in Minas Gerais, but also the relations and engagements among the seven editors of *Revista Educando* between 1927 and 1945.

Let us begin with the question: in general, who were the authors of texts in *Revista Educando*? Regarding this, in 1939, Marieta Leite stated to the mainstream media that: invitations were extended to "**our friends** who work efficiently for the successful solution of educational problems" (*Associação...*, 1939, p. 6 – our emphasis), among these being "**prominent names** in the educational framework of Minas Gerais" (*Pela...*, 1939, p. 9 – our emphasis). This configuration of authorship prevails until the end of the publication, as seen in Graph 2, which includes names that had both sociability with publishers and legitimacy in the field of education at the time: Helena Antipoff, Jeanne Milde, Guiomar Meireles (professors at EAMG), Anita Fonseca and Alaíde Lisboa (children's book

writers), EAMG students, among others. The presence of this intelligentsia, therefore, beyond friendships, can be understood as an editorial strategy to legitimize *Revista Educando* in the social spheres pedagogical and intellectual.

Considering the proportions, Graph 2 shows the presence of 49 female authors who submitted texts to *Revista Educando*, a number three times higher than the number of authors invited to publish in this journal³¹. This difference can be explained primarily by two factors: first, the majority of women in primary education positions in Minas Gerais, at least since the 1906 Reform (Prates, 1989; Peixoto, 1981; 2003); second, the fact that the main spaces of sociability between publishers and authors were concentrated in the EAMG (with 55 prosopography intertwinings), the APPMG (with twelve), and the *Escola Normal Modelo* (with three).

In contrast, in another study (Alves, 2023), we found that male authors outnumber female authors in the sociability networks formed within the 1st CIP (with three prosopography intertwinings) and the Pedagogical Technical Assistance (with eight), which corroborates Peixoto's (2003) analysis, according to which women's insertion into the bureaucratic world of Minas Gerais, although legitimized by the Republic's normative provisions, was still uneven.

Thus, *Revista Educando* was configured both as a space for expressing the networks of sociability among professionals engaged in the dissemination of Active Pedagogies in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, and as an artifact promoting the participation and legitimization of female intellectuals in the public sphere. This latter characteristic highlights the nuances of micropowers and gender disputes that permeated the relations between men and women during the period.³²

Despite the existing conflicts, it is possible to understand *Revista Educando* as a product of cultural mediation of its time, constituted by intellectuals sensitized to the policies that guided the intellectual generation delimited here. This interpretation is supported by the discourses conveyed in the publication itself, in which its mentors and editors state that the *Revista* "EDUCANDO proposed to carry the banner of school renewal that, for two decades, or for 35 years, if we go back to João Pinheiro, has been raised in Minas Gerais [...], **a keen awareness of necessity and duty led us to this adventure**" (*Um Lustro...*, 1944, p. 767 – capital letters; emphasis added).

Final Considerations

In this article, we present some results of the study of the collective biographies of primary school teachers Dulcie Kanitz Vicente Vianna, Leonilda Scarpelli Montandon, Letícia Chaves Campos, Marieta Leite, Maria Luíza de Almeida Cunha, Ondina Amaral Brandão, and Zembla Soares Pinheiro Chagas, who had significant professional involvement in the field of renewed education in Minas Gerais. We saw that neither the fact that they were from different cities in Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro, nor their different chronological ages, were obstacles to their joint engagement in common intellectual projects. This group of women, on the one hand, received similar *habitus* formations, on the other, during the period considered here, in Belo Horizonte, they integrated an intellectual generation that took on the public debate and the defense of educational modernization, based on the reverberation of the

³¹ In total, 26 male and 71 female authors were identified as having submitted texts to *Revista Educando*. The numbers presented in Graph 2 are lower, as they only include cases in which it was possible to confirm, through the sources, some type of sociability relations with the publishers.

³² Regarding the presence of men and women in periodicals in the first decades of the 20th century, the article by Carraro and Hayashi (2024) stands out, analyzing the *Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental* (ABHM) since 1925. The authors show how the LBHM attributed to women a fundamental educational role in the hygienist project, despite their limited participation in authorship and on the League's board. Some broke these barriers, working as doctors, teachers, and authors, even under the strong control of a patriarchal discourse.

Method Active in primary education, they were discussed and disseminated in various pedagogical spaces, such as the *Escola Normal Modelo*, *I Congresso de Instrução Primária*, the *Assistência Técnica Pedagógica*, the *Escola de Aperfeiçoamento* and the *Associação de Professores Primários de Minas Gerais*.

Their appreciation for the interaction they fostered in these spaces enabled them, between 1937 and 1939, through the APPMG, to engage in a mentoring project for a technical-pedagogical guidance publication that represented the Association and simultaneously promoted the moral and intellectual development of primary teachers. The project envisioned the theoretical and practical dissemination of knowledge and understanding aimed at renewing teaching, especially in light of the imminent discontinuation of the *Revista do Ensino*, the main publication of the period, which would cease circulation beginning in the first half of 1940. As a result of this commitment, the *Revista Educando* was created, which circulated throughout much of Minas Gerais between 1940 and 1945 and also reached cities in Mato Grosso and Bahia. This editorial success was directly related to the tenure of the seven teachers and the networks of intellectual sociability they built.

By using the "renewed" propositions as the guiding principle of their cultural practices and political actions, the seven women engaged in the diffusion and qualified dissemination of the principles of Active Education. The *Revista Educando* project, therefore, did not aim to produce new pedagogical methods, but rather sought, above all, to translate and qualify already established scientific knowledge into language accessible to Primary School teachers. By reflecting on the meaning of their actions and productions, in their interaction with the contexts in which they were inscribed and reinterpreted, we understand that the seven women — professors and editors — acted as intellectual mediators.

Thus, this article sought to give visibility to the "unspeakable editors," that is, the women who, despite having been at the forefront of an important cultural artifact linked to Education and History, remained marginalized in scientific production, either because they did not appear as protagonists in existing narratives or because they were not recognized as intellectuals in theoretical and analytical terms.

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