



## Textbooks during the “Organic Law” of Secondary Education: sources for studying the history of school disciplines<sup>1</sup>

Livros didáticos durante a Lei Orgânica do Ensino Secundário:  
fontes para o estudo da História das Disciplinas Escolares

Los libros de texto durante la Ley Orgánica de Educación Secundaria:  
fuentes para el estudio de la historia de las materias escolares

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### Abstract

This article aims to analyze how the history of two school subjects, Brazilian History and Portuguese Language, can be written using textbooks produced/adapted to meet the requirements of the Capanema Reform (1942-1961) as sources and how this history connects to the history of secondary education. Two textbooks for each subject were analyzed, aligned with the corresponding curricular programs, covering the period of validity of the Organic Law of Secondary Education. The link between the analyzed books was the "formation of patriotic consciousness" established in the Explanatory Memorandum that supported the reform. The conclusion was drawn that there are particularities between the subjects, and especially between the analyzed textbooks, since the way the programs were followed varied in each case, even though they belonged to the same time frame and the same level of education.

**Key words:** Capanema Reform; Portuguese Language; History of Brazil

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## Resumo

Este artigo objetiva analisar como a história de duas disciplinas escolares, História do Brasil e Língua Portuguesa, pode ser escrita tendo como fonte livros didáticos, produzidos/adaptados para atender às determinações da Reforma Capanema (1942-1961), e como essa história se vincula à história do Ensino Secundário. Foram analisados dois livros didáticos de cada disciplina, em consonância com os programas curriculares correspondentes, abrangendo o período de vigência da Lei Orgânica do Ensino Secundário. O elo de comparação entre os livros analisados foi a “formação da consciência patriótica” estabelecida na Exposição de Motivos que sustentou a reforma. Concluiu-se que há particularidades entre as disciplinas, e especialmente entre os livros didáticos analisados, uma vez que a forma de seguir os programas variou em cada caso, mesmo pertencendo ao mesmo recorte temporal e ao mesmo nível de ensino.

**Palavras-chave:** Reforma Capanema; Língua Portuguesa; História do Brasil

## Resumen

Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar cómo la historia de dos disciplinas escolares, Historia de Brasil y Lengua Portuguesa, puede ser escrita utilizando como fuente libros de texto producidos/adaptados para atender a las exigencias de la Reforma de Capanema (1942-1961), y cómo esta historia se vincula a la historia de la Enseñanza Secundaria. Se analizaron dos libros de texto de cada asignatura, de acuerdo con los programas curriculares correspondientes, cubriendo el periodo de vigencia de la Ley Orgánica de Educación Secundaria. El vínculo de comparación entre los libros analizados fue la “formación de la conciencia patriótica” establecida en la Exposición de Motivos que sustentó la reforma. Se concluyó que existen particularidades entre las disciplinas, y especialmente entre los libros de texto analizados, pues la forma de seguir los programas varió en cada caso, aunque perteneciendo al mismo marco temporal y al mismo nivel de enseñanza.

**Palabras-clave:** Reforma de Capanema; Lengua portuguesa; Historia de Brasil

## Introduction

Textbooks have become privileged documents for historical research, particularly in the field of History of School Subjects (HDS). They are a valuable source for this field of study because of the complex functions they perform and their significant role in the internal history of schools<sup>2</sup>. The objective of this article is to analyze how the history of two school subjects, Portuguese language and Brazilian history, can be written using didactic textbooks produced or adapted to meet the requirements of Decree-Law No. 4,244, also known as the Organic Law of Secondary Education and part of the Capanema Reform. At the same time, we will explore how this history is linked to the history of secondary education. We start from the assertion that much of the research on HDE focuses on this history in secondary education because of the way didactic work is organized into subjects.

The establishment of the Colégio Pedro II, which set the standard for all institutions of this level of education, was the most significant milestone in the history of secondary education. However, even before Pedro II's establishment, with the Additional Act of August 12, 1834<sup>3</sup>, some provinces began establishing provincial high schools. These schools brought together the separate subjects that existed in provincial capitals and aimed to prepare young people for the exams required<sup>4</sup> for admission to higher education courses. Since then, secondary education has undergone several national-level<sup>5</sup> reforms.

The Francisco Campos Reform (Decree No. 19,890, April 18, 1931) systematized secondary education, giving it structure and standardizing educational establishments throughout the country. Although the Congregation of Colégio Pedro II was tasked with developing programs, instructions, and teaching methods, these proposals were submitted to a commission of the Ministry of Education and Public Health (Brazil, 1931).

On April 9, 1942, Decree-Law 4,044 enacted the Organic Law of Secondary Education, which was part of a set of rules for each type of education that followed primary education. This set of rules was known as the Capanema Reform and was in force until the enactment of Law 4,024/1961, also known as the Law of Guidelines and Bases for National Education. Article 1 of this decree defined the purposes of secondary education as follows: 1. To develop the integral personality of adolescents in continuation of the educational work of primary education. 2. Emphasize and elevate patriotic and humanistic awareness in the spiritual formation of adolescents. 3. To provide a general intellectual foundation for higher studies and specialized training. (Brazil, 1942a, p. 1).

The Explanatory Memorandum of that Decree-Law confirmed that secondary education was defined as follows:

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<sup>2</sup> School subjects as an object of research in the history of school education were also organized as a field of research in the 1980s, almost simultaneously with the history of the curriculum. The history of school subjects, analyzed as an integral part of school culture, is problematized, according to Chervel (1990), based on the genesis of the subject, its objectives and its functioning, in other words, the objectives and explicit contents and the pedagogical contents, which in turn correspond to the exercises and activities necessary for school learning. The sources used include textbooks, curriculum programs and reference science works (Bittencourt, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> The Additional Act of August 12, 1834 allowed the provinces to legislate on secondary education, in addition to primary education (Brazil, 1834).

<sup>4</sup> The exams taken by secondary education institutions to gain access to higher education were called Preparatory Exams and were held only in the municipality of Corte, instituted by Decree no. 1.331-A, of February 17, 1854 in "Art. 112. Disciples of private secondary education classes and establishments will be admitted every year, in the month of November, to public examinations in writing of the subjects that are required as preparatory examinations for admission to higher education courses" (BRASIL, 1854). Later decrees regulated this provision, which was extinguished with the Francisco Campos Reform of 1931 (Barros; Carvalho, 2017).

<sup>5</sup> Until the 1940s, there were reforms: Benjamin Constant (1890), Epitácio Pessoa (1901), Rivadávia Correa (1911), Carlos Maximiliano (1915) and João Luiz Alves (1925); Francisco Campos (1931), Gustavo Capanema (1942) (Pessanha; Brito, 2014).

Its function is to provide adolescents with a solid general education marked by the study of ancient and modern humanities and to raise their patriotic and humanistic awareness. This defining feature of secondary education is of decisive national and human importance. Primary education should provide the essential elements of patriotic education.

[...]

Secondary education, on the other hand, has the more specific purpose of fostering patriotic consciousness (Brazil, 1942b, p. 1). (Brazil, 1942b, p. 1).

In the same Explanatory Memorandum, the legislator explains the differences between patriotic education in primary school and the development of a patriotic consciousness in secondary school. Patriotism, informed by a basic knowledge of the country's past and present, should be fostered as a powerful sentiment: a fervent love and devotion to the homeland, as well as an indissoluble attachment and unwavering loyalty. In secondary education, where "leading individuals" are formed, the purpose is to develop patriotic consciousness. The goal is to guide adolescents in understanding "the historical continuity of the homeland, its problems and needs, its mission and ideals, and the dangers that accompany, surround, or threaten it" (Brazil, 1942b, p. 1). As will be shown below, this explanation is reflected in the content of the programs and didactic textbooks of the two subjects discussed in this article.

Ordinances and decrees supplemented the Capanema Reform's provisions, determining subjects, sequencing, and program content. Occasionally these were accompanied by methodological instructions requiring didactic book authors and publishers to adapt their work to current legislation. The supervision of didactic textbooks, a government concern since the 19th century, was implemented through the creation of the National Book Institute and the National Didactic Textbook Commission (Comissão Nacional do Livro Didático - CNLD) in the 1930s. Meanwhile, inspection services visited schools, analyzing spaces, furniture, equipment, and reports to evaluate whether institutions could receive or maintain authorization to operate (Brazil, 1952).

As we have stated, we aim to analyze the histories of the History of Brazil and the Portuguese Language in the context of the Organic Law of Secondary Education and its connection to the history of secondary education. We used two didactic textbooks from each subject as sources, as well as the corresponding curricula from the periods in which they were published: 1943, 1949, and 1951. Our choice of these subjects is justified in part by the authors' work in both fields and in part, because existing histories of these subjects show that their objectives went beyond content transmission and were related to patriotism and nationalism.

We present a brief history of each subject from its introduction until the 1940s. This is followed by a description and analysis of the selected textbooks and their relationship to secondary education at the time.

## **The Subject of Brazilian History in Secondary Education**

Historical studies have been part of the Colégio Pedro II's syllabus since its foundation in 1837. On April 3, 1849, the chair of Brazilian History was established "by order of the Emperor." Five decades later, the history of Brazil was integrated into the chair of universal history. In 1901, the chair inaugurated by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo and then occupied by Capistrano de Abreu and Mattoso Maia disappeared (Lacombe, 1973, p. 181). The trajectory of Brazilian history in the curriculum was characterized by integration or autonomy from universal history.

In the 1912 syllabus, Brazilian history was not included as an independent subject in the six grades of secondary school; its content was incorporated into the universal history subject taught in sixth grade. The 1915 syllabus introduced a stand-alone History of Brazil subject in the fifth and final year. In the 1926 and 1929 syllabuses, the latter of which was formulated by professors from Colégio Pedro II, the subject was taught in the fifth grade.

The 1931 reform of secondary education reestablished the history of civilization as part of general history and the history of Brazil and America. In *Como se ensina História* (How to Teach History), published in 1935, Jonathas Serrano concluded that teaching the History of Civilization was unfeasible, given that the number of topics had increased while the number of classes had decreased. He also wrote that "the titles of some topics are not very appropriate" and that "if the authors of reforms and programs were forced to teach, they would better understand the unfeasibility of certain theoretical demands with no basis in experience" (Serrano, 1935, pp. 28–29). This reform sparked debates about the teaching of history, in which ideas about rebuilding society emerged.

School education was given a decisive role in shaping pacifist and Universalist mentalities. It was then that the teaching of history and its textbooks began to receive interference from international commissions established for this purpose. A favorable climate arose for reevaluating and reconsidering nationalist stereotypes that disparaged certain nations<sup>6</sup>. The *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (IHGB) participated in the debates, issuing and receiving notifications, and reacting to the Universalist perspective. In 1934, Max Fleiuss, the IHGB's secretary-general, wrote a memorandum explaining why Brazilian history should be included in secondary education. He claimed that exclusion could "give rise to a people orphaned of character."

This time, the discussion focused on what should be taught and which programs would best meet the objectives of secondary education. There were disagreements between the Brazilian Education Association, which favored modern and scientific studies, and the Dom Vital Center, a Catholic institution that favored classical humanities.

The curriculum approved by the National Education Council (Plano Nacional de Educação - PNE) expressed a conservative or pro-classical tendency, as evidenced by the 1940 History of Brazil curriculum.

The vote on the National Education Plan (PNE) was interrupted by the establishment of the Estado Novo in 1937. The conservative nature of the PNE, which was approved by the PNE, gained strength during the Estado Novo and proved fundamental in the campaigns for teaching Brazilian history. Ribeiro Junior and Pinto Junior (2020, p. 214) noted the reform's commitment to increasing the emphasis on the study of Brazilian history compared to general history. "The main focus of the curricular organization resulting from the Capanema Reform was the study of Brazilian history. Over the course of the four-year gymnasium education, 50% of the time was dedicated to its content."

With the enactment of the Organic Law on Secondary Education in 1943, the History of Brazil curriculum programs for gymnasium and high school courses were established in compliance with Decree-Law No. 4,244, appealing to the "homeland" and "patriotism." However, as we will see in the next subsection, the curriculum emphasized "the formation of patriotic consciousness" (Brasil, 1942, p. 1) through "national sentiment," approaching patriotism and nationalism as synonyms due to their proximity regarding the personification of territory and claims to the past, as Liguori (2020) explains.

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<sup>6</sup> In 1933, Brazil signed an agreement with Argentina to revise history and geography texts, because of which revision commissions were set up in both countries. The agreement was promulgated by Decree 24.395 of the following year (Brazil, 1934).

According to Carvalho (2002), the Inconfidência Mineira and the Pernambuco Revolution exemplify patriotism rather than nationalism. In the textbooks in question, this content was covered as part of the unit called "national feeling." Corção (1963, as cited in Liguori, 2020, p. 80) explains that "patriotism is a moral virtue attached to justice and universalism," meaning that "the patriot understands the patriotism of others and is proud of it, too." On the other hand, the nationalist "desires moral isolation and finds no humor in the heroism of others, except that of his country." This conceptual distinction is apparently ignored in the analyzed textbooks.

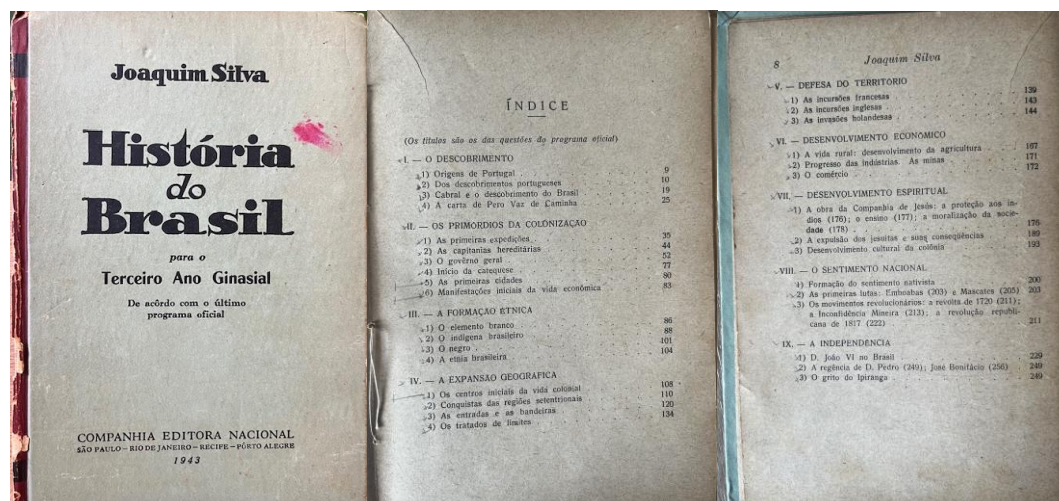
It's interesting to see how such school knowledge stems from the social and political function of schools, as seen through the lens of the history of school subjects rather than as a "didactic transposition," as proposed by Yves Chevalard.

### Brazilian history textbooks adopted during the Organic Law on Secondary Education and the "formation of national sentiment"

We considered the recurrence of titles among the available sources, the longevity of the titles, the authors with the most titles, and the titles most investigated in academic<sup>7</sup> studies as criteria for selecting Brazilian history textbooks. In short, we sought the most widespread titles during the reform and selected the following works: *História do Brasil para o Terceiro Ano Ginásial* by Joaquim Silva (1943) and *História do Brasil* by Basílio de Magalhães (1958, 3rd edition<sup>8</sup>). During this period, in addition to the 1943 curriculum program, the 1945, 1949, and 1951 programs were published (Vechia & Lorenz, 1998).

Moreira (2019) notes that the 1943 curriculum was the first to include a unit on "national sentiment," which covered the development of nativist sentiment, the initial conflicts between the Emboabas and Mascates, and the revolutionary movements of the 1720 Revolt, the Inconfidência Mineira, and the Republican Revolution of 1817. Until then, there had been no emphasis on the "formation of national sentiment," and historical events in Brazilian history were presented individually and in a linear, chronological fashion.

**Figure 1** - Cover and table of contents of *História do Brasil para o terceiro ano ginásial*, by Joaquim Silva, 8th edition, 1943.



Source: Personal archive.

<sup>7</sup> The selection criteria can be found at: Moreira (2019).

<sup>8</sup> The indexes of these textbooks are available as an appendix in Moreira (2019).

Joaquim Silva (1880-1966) taught at several schools in São Paulo: Liceu Nacional Rio Branco, Colégio Madre Cabrini, Colégio São Luiz, and Ginásio das Cônegas de Santo Agostinho. According to Pinto Junior (2010, p. 119), Joaquim Silva's work as a teacher intensified in the 1930s, when he began writing textbooks during the period of secondary education transformation under the Vargas government. Silva was the author who sold the most history textbooks in the 1930s and 1940s, which were published by Companhia Editora Nacional. His didactic titles can be found in the National Library's file (Resnik, 1992). Of the 55 titles by the author listed in LIVRES<sup>9</sup>, there are works related to general history, civilization, America, and Brazilian history.

The analyzed textbook, *"História do Brasil para o Terceiro Ano Ginásial,"* (History of Brazil for the third year of secondary school), 8th edition (1943), states on the cover that it is "in accordance with the latest official program." It contains synchronic tables, illustrations, "notable dates," a "summary," and "notes for written exercises" in each chapter. The table of contents shows that the author strictly follows the 1943 syllabus.

Joaquim Silva presents the unit on "National Sentiment" exactly according to the program. In Unit III, however, which is called "Ethnic Formation" and includes elements on national sentiment, the author explains that not all the convicts sent from Portugal to the colony were criminals, thieves, or murderers. "At that time, convicts were sentenced to banishment and other severe penalties for offenses that are not considered crimes today. Thus, there were honest and hardworking people among the convicts." This is justified by the valorization of the white race as the building block of nationality: "As Martius writes the great river whose tributaries were the Indian and the African" (Silva, 1943, p. 86). Silva foresaw the whitening of the population because of the stationary situation of the Black race and the reduction of the indigenous population.

In Unit V, "Defense of the Territory," Joaquim Silva refers to the expulsion of foreigners as a "heroic reaction by Brazilians" (Silva, 1943, p. 165). [1] LIVRES Library (School Books) of the Faculty of Education of the Universidade de São Paulo.

Due to the needs of the campaign, it was better to bring together the three races that contributed to the formation of the Brazilian people: the white king and his descendants, such as Vieira and André Vidal; the Indians, such as D. Antonio Camarão; and the blacks, such as Henrique Dias. The victorious fighters felt like a people—a people of heroes. They, the settlers, were the victors, and they had proven themselves equal to, if not superior to, the Portuguese in Europe. From this point on, Brazil began to consider the politics of Portugal more and more. In America, **a national identity emerged and began to develop**, recognizing its worth (Silva, 1943, p. 165, emphasis added). The quotation marks correspond to the quote from Calógeras (p. 19).

In addition to Calógeras, Joaquim Silva cites Capistrano de Abreu in a footnote, stating that "under external pressure, a superficial and imperfect welding took place between the various ethnic elements" (Capistrano apud Silva, 1943, p. 165, footnote 12). In his conclusion on the Republican Revolution of 1817, Silva states that nearly all the glorious republicans from Pernambuco passed into immortality as martyrs for their country's freedom.

Joaquim Silva's account of "national sentiment" begins with an explanation of the formation of nativist sentiment. He states that: "from a very early age, nativist sentiment began to manifest itself among Brazilians. In defending the land against foreign aggression or invasion, white descendants of Europeans, mestizos, blacks, and catechized Indians were

<sup>9</sup> LIVRES Library (School Books) of the Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo.



united" (Silva, 1943, p. 200). Silva then describes Amador Bueno's position as king of São Paulo and the initial conflicts between the Emboabas and the Mascates.

Regarding "the Inconfidência Mineira," Silva (1943, p. 215) highlights the religiosity of the Inconfidente Tiradentes: "a man of noble character, sincerely religious, and an exalted friend of freedom."

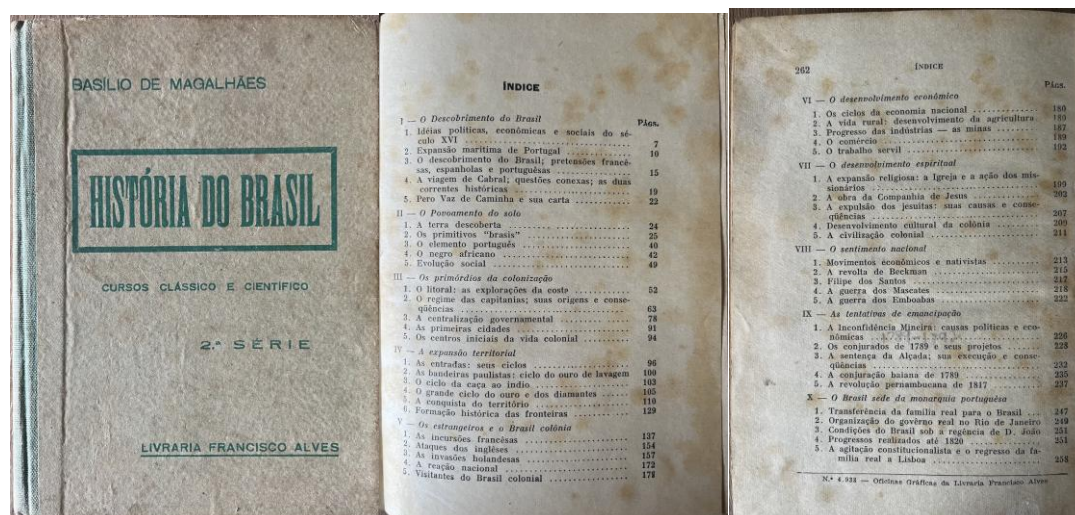
Tiradentes enthusiastically embraced the idea of independence for his country after Maciel communicated his plans for the liberation of Brazil and talked about the United States and the liberal constitution of that republic. Returning to Vila Rica, he spread the word about the revolt against Portuguese rule along the way, though not always being cautious (Silva, 1943, p. 215).

To emphasize Tiradentes' Catholicism, Joaquim Silva (1943, p. 216) states that Tiradentes desired the triangular shape of the Inconfidentes' flag "in honor of the SSma. Trindade." Among the Inconfidentes, Tiradentes "stood out noble, impassive, and admirable in his generous detachment. He sacrificed himself for his discouraged companions and sought to take the greatest blame for the failed conspiracy upon himself" (Silva, 1943, p. 218). Tiradentes is once again considered a martyr of the Inconfidência who sacrificed himself for others. The author concludes by recounting Tiradentes's condemnation and execution, summarizing that:

The lesson was harsh and monstrous. It was intended to show Brazilians in the Viceroyalty the dangers of rebellion. It didn't succeed. Like all injustices and violence, it had the infallible counterproductive fate of ensuring that the tree of liberty would grow more quickly in the homeland, watered with martyrs' blood (Silva, 1943, p. 220).

Like Basílio de Magalhães, who will be discussed below, Joaquim Silva praises Tiradentes's heroism in the Minas Conjuración as the beginning of the tree of liberty, which would reach its national peak with the proclamation of the Republic.

**Figure 2** - Cover and index of *História do Brasil*, by Basílio de Magalhães, 3rd edition, 1958.



Source: Personal archive.



Basílio de Magalhães (1874-1957) was a historian, journalist, politician, folklorist, and teacher who graduated from engineering school. He taught the history of civilization at various institutions. As a didactic author, he published *Lições de História do Brasil* (1895); *Quadros de História Pátria* (1918), which he co-authored with Max Fleiuss and which was recommended by the 1929 curriculum; and the following titles: *História da Civilização* (1939); *Estudos de História do Brasil* (1940); a re-edition of *História do Brasil*, which he co-authored with Jaime Coelho (1958); and *Historia Administrativa e Econômica do Brasil* (1951) and *Historia da América* (1952). These titles were widely accepted between 1930 and 1950.

The copy of *History of Brazil* selected for analysis belongs to the third edition, published by Editora Francisco Alves in 1958. It was co-authored with Jaime Coelho and intended for the second series of classical and scientific courses. It has 262 pages, nine maps, and ten chapters. The first edition appears to be from 1945, and the second from 1955. The analyzed work corresponds to the period in which the 1951 curriculum program was in force. This program established "8 - National Sentiment" as one of the contents for the second series of high school courses.

In the 1951 program, the "national sentiment" unit brings together nativist movements and separates the Inconfidência and the 1817 Revolution into a separate unit called "Emancipation Attempts." Before the "national sentiment" unit, Magalhães presented the "Peopling of the Land" unit in accordance with the 1951 syllabus. Regarding the ethnic formation of the Brazilian people, he defined the "Portuguese element" in a complimentary way, stating that they had no racial prejudices. He concluded that this quality prevented "ethnic enclavement, similar to that which constitutes the most serious problem of the great Yankee republic" (Magalhães, 1958, p. 42). (Magalhães, 1958, p. 42). Like Silva, Magalhães believed that the Brazilian people would become whiter over the course of the national evolutionary process. According to Basílio de Magalhães, Brazilian civilization is an extension of Iberian civilization, as pointed out by Correia Filho (1958). This extension was influenced by the new environment, new races, and migratory currents, which formed an emancipated cultural organism. Thus, we were first Brazilians, then Americans through continental solidarity.

The sequence of thematic units proposed by teaching programs includes "geographical expansion" followed by "defense of the territory." The author reverses the chronology used in textbooks and programs. In other words, the territory should be explained to the student-reader before it is defended, thus instilling a sense of belonging.

He continues with Unit V, "Foreigners and Colonial Brazil." Here, Basílio de Magalhães details the invasions and their consequences. When discussing the reaction against the Dutch, he doesn't only describe the union against the invaders; it's clear in his narrative that they are against the Dutch. When discussing "the invasion of Pernambuco and the work of Nassau," he states that "despite being aware of this second invasion, the metropolis did not take any military action to defend Brazil," yet "the governor of Pernambuco, Matias de Albuquerque, gathered an army of patriots and stood ready when the enemy arrived" (Magalhães, 1958, p. 164). In his account of "The National Reaction," Magalhães discusses the uprising in Maranhão and the insurrection in Pernambuco. He concludes that "the tremendous struggle lasted no less than nine years. In this time, our ancestors made heroic sacrifices in defense of our nationality. They cemented the greatness and unity of the Brazilian homeland with their indomitable blood" (Magalhães, 1958, p. 177).

In the unit on "national sentiment," Magalhães begins by stating that "there is no small amount of confusion regarding the sentiment of certain popular uprisings and even the bloody wars of our colonial period." However, he does not explain this confusion. Instead, he focuses on exposing "in addition to the economic and nativist movements included in the official program, other smaller ones that took place in São Paulo, Pernambuco, and Bahia" (Magalhães, 1958, p. 213). (Magalhães, 1958, p. 213). In this unit, the author covers the following topics: 1.

Economic and nativist movements (p. 213): the acclamation of Amador Bueno as king of São Paulo, the first separatist attempt in our homeland, and the conjuration of "Nosso Pai" in Pernambuco and the difficulty of containing popular fury. 2. Beckman's revolt (p. 215); Filipe dos Santos (p. 217); the Mascates' war (p. 218); and 5. The Emboabas War (p. 222). The author explains that, despite Brazilians and royalists uniting to expel the Dutch definitively in 1654, there was still rivalry between natives and sons of the metropolis in the captaincy of Pernambuco (Magalhães, 1958, p. 218). (Magalhães, 1958, p. 218).

In section IX, "The Attempts at Political Emancipation," the author states that Tiradentes was "the soul of the movement" (Magalhães, 1958, p. 228).

Tiradentes obtained a copy of the 1787 American Constitution, learned how to translate it from an illustrious cleric from Mariana (Count Luis Vieira), and carried out republican propaganda for the liberation of Brazil in Minas and the viceroyalty's capital barracks, where he had easy access as a cabal officer (Magalhães, 1958, p. 226).

When Magalhães discusses "the Mining Inconfidência: Political and Economic Causes," he emphasizes the intellectual nature of the Inconfidentes and concludes that: "Given what we've discussed, it's not surprising that ideas of political emancipation emerged simultaneously among enlightened patriots in the country and young Brazilians studying in Europe" (Magalhães, 1958, p. 227). Unlike Joaquim Silva, who sought a relationship between Tiradentes and Catholicism, Magalhães distances himself from this idea.

When discussing the "sentence of the court, its execution, and consequences," Magalhães does not describe the hanging or dismemberment as Silva does. Instead, he is succinct, concluding that "the seed sown in Brazilian soil, watered by the generous blood of the April 21, 1792, martyr, soon became the flourishing tree of liberty, whose flowers and fruits blossomed and ripened in the sun of September 7, 1822, and November 15, 1889" (Magalhães, 1958, p. 234). (Magalhães, 1958, p. 234). In this passage, Magalhães praises the movements that began with the Minas Gerais conspiracy, the seed of the Tree of Liberty, which contributed to the culmination of national history: the proclamation of the republic.

Both textbooks, intended for different levels of secondary education (third year of high school and second year of classical and scientific courses), present a narrative with a religious emphasis in Silva's work that is absent in Magalhães'. However, in line with the proposal for secondary education aimed at forming the "patriotic conscience" of young people, both authors focus on understanding the "historical continuity of the homeland" and the "ideals of the nation" (Brasil, 1942a, p. 1), in accordance with current programs.

## Portuguese Language in Secondary Education

Until the 18th century, the so-called general language and Latin surpassed the Portuguese language in social interaction between the inhabitants of Brazil (Soares, 2002 and Cunha, 1985). The general language comprised the various indigenous languages spoken in Brazil, most of which came from the same trunk, the Tupi, which made it possible for them to be condensed into a common language, systematized by the Jesuits, especially Father José de Anchieta, in the Art of the Grammar of the language most used on the coast of Brazil. In educational establishments, Portuguese only appeared in smaller schools as a tool for literacy (Cunha, 1985).

According to Soares, for these reasons, the Portuguese language had not yet become a school subject<sup>10</sup>. With the reforms introduced by the Marquis of Pombal, the general language was banned, and the use of the Portuguese language was made compulsory. As a result, the teaching of the Portuguese language was strengthened in schools, and Portuguese grammar was included in the

<sup>10</sup> Although there was already the first Grammar, by Fernão de Oliveira - published in 1536, as well as others (Soares, 2002, p. 159).

curriculum along with Latin grammar and rhetoric. Initially, Portuguese was not part of the preparatory exams, and the subject was only offered in the first year of Colégio Pedro II<sup>11</sup>.

Later, when Portuguese was included in the Preparatory Examinations, the workload for the subject increased, and it was offered from the first to the fifth year at Colégio Pedro II, as stated in the 1882 Teaching Program (Vechia Lorenz, 1998, p. 1882). This was followed by the removal of Rhetoric and Poetics from the curriculum at Colégio Pedro II and the Preparatory Examinations. These subjects were eliminated with the Francisco Campos Reform in 1931 (Razzini, 2000).

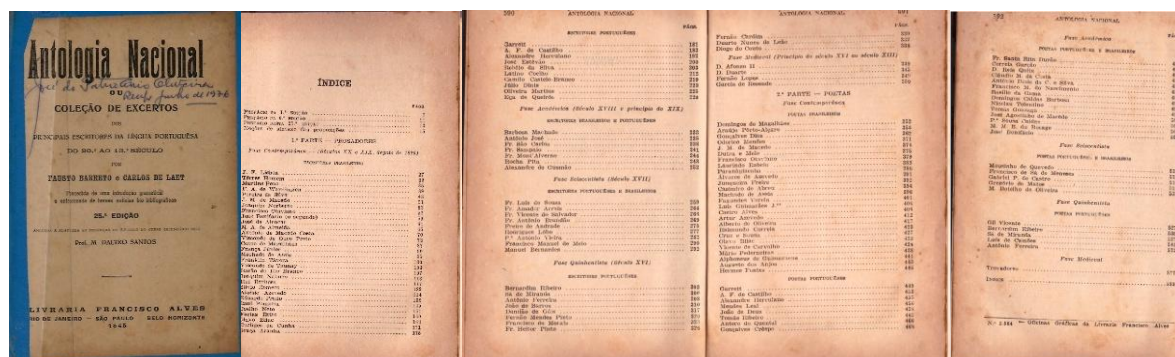
The reform extended Portuguese language teaching to all five years of primary school. For Dallabrida (2009), this indicated the intention to transmit emerging nationalism in Brazilian society, which was reinforced by the 1930 Revolution. This nationalism was also present in the subjects of history, geography, and Orphic singing (Dallabrida, 2009, p. 189). From 1890 to 1930, Razzini (2000, p. 53) states that the "excessive attention given to grammar" was the hallmark of Portuguese teaching at Colégio Pedro II. This came at the expense of other content, such as literature. There was also an increase in the number of grammars adopted and a reduction in the "selections," which had been very numerous until then.

The Organic Law of Secondary Education in the Capanema Reform of 1942 maintained Portuguese teaching in all grades of the first cycle (gymnasium) and the second cycle (classical and scientific). The first three grades of gymnasium included "patriotic reading," and "literary reading" was moved to the last grades.

### Portuguese language textbooks adopted during the Organic Law on Secondary Education

To analyze the relationship between Portuguese language teaching and the history of secondary education during that period, two widely adopted textbooks were selected as sources due to their longevity and influence on Portuguese teaching in Brazil (Razzini, 2000; Daniel, 2001; Molina, 2004). The first is the National Anthology by Fausto Barreto and Carlos de Laet. First published in 1895, it was reissued 43 times until 1969. The second is Expository Grammar by Eduardo Carlos Pereira. First published in 1907, it reached its 114th edition in 1958.

**Figure 3** - Cover and Index of the National Anthology by Fausto Barreto and Carlos de Laet, 25th edition, 1945.



Source: Personal archive.

<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that some of the contents later included as part of the Portuguese subject appear in the Examination Program for the year 1850 in the subject Rhetorica (Vechia; Lorenz, 1998, p. 9) as well as under the name of the subject Gramática Nacional (Vechia; Lorenz, 1998, p. 26)

The authors of the National Anthology, Carlos Maximiano Pimenta de Laet (1847-1927) from Rio de Janeiro and Fausto Carlos Barreto (1852-1915) from Ceará, were united by some circumstances. Both were Portuguese teachers at Colégio Pedro II, worked in journalism, had political ties to the monarchy, and were monarchists with a profound understanding of the language (Razzini, 1992, 2000).

From 1895 to 1969<sup>12</sup>, the National Anthology, a selection of excerpts by Brazilian and Portuguese authors, was adopted by secondary schools in Brazil. "The compulsory adoption until 1930 and successive reissues indicate that the National Anthology was a book read 'intensively' by several generations of Brazilian secondary school students" (Razzini, 2000, p. 13).

The copy we consulted, the 25th edition from 1945, states on its cover that it was adopted and adapted for the secondary school program by Prof. M. Daltro Santos.

An earlier edition, the 15th from 1930, states that it was adopted by the main educational establishments in Rio de Janeiro and the state capitals. In the preface to the 25th edition, Santos explains that he was asked to revise the book for students in the second cycle (classical and scientific) due to changes in the Portuguese programs in 1942 and 1945 resulting from the Capanema reform.

The title is the same as previous editions: "*Anthologia Nacional ou Coleção de excertos dos principais escritores da língua portuguesa do 20º ao 13º século*." Our copy is bound in hardcover and contains 592 numbered pages and three prefaces: the first, from the 1895 first edition and signed by Fausto Barreto and Carlos de Laet; the second, entitled "Duas Palavras Como Antheloquio da 6a Edição," published in 1913; and the third, the preface to the 25th edition and signed by Daltro Santos.

According to the table of contents, the last pages contain the prefaces, a grammatical introduction entitled "Notions of the Syntax of Prepositions," and the 129 excerpts by Brazilian and Portuguese writers, which are organized into two parts: Part 1: Prose Writers and Part 2: Poets. The excerpts are presented according to the classification established by the authors.

Compared to the 1930 edition, which preceded the Secondary Education Reforms of 1931 and 1942, the most significant changes are the addition of ten authors and a section dedicated to troubadours. In the preface to the 25th edition, Daltro Santos states that he "meticulously revised the spelling, placing it under the simplification rules approved by the government and set out in the *Pequeno Vocabulário Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa* by the Brazilian Academy of Letters" (Santos, 1945, p. 13).

To conclude our presentation of the National Anthology, we will turn to the words of Razzini (1992, p. 41).

From this perspective, the National Anthology can be considered in line with the project of establishing a national identity, which had been promoted since independence and favored by the aesthetics of Romanticism. This ideology expanded its reach and remained influential on the eve of the 20th century, when the modernized Brazilian cultural system utilized its new, efficient infrastructure to advance this ideology.

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<sup>12</sup> Until the 5th edition, it was published by G. de Azevedo/ Livraria, da Viúva Azevedo e Cia Editores and, from the 6th edition, by Livraria Francisco Alves (Razzini, 1992).

To analyze whether and how the selection of texts that constituted the National Anthology indicated compliance with legislation and the explicitness suggested by Razzini of its interaction with a civilizing project for constructing nationality, in which excerpts from authors served as models and standards for belletrist, we selected examples from the work.

According to Ministerial Order No. 87 of January 23, 1943, the Portuguese Program for Classical and Scientific Courses stipulated in Item III that reading material for the first and second grades include:

It will focus on Portuguese-language authors from the medieval troubadours to the 20th-century writers. It will be accompanied by philological and grammatical commentary, paying great attention to vocabulary and syntax. The generalities of expository and historical grammar, as taught in junior high school, will be recalled (Brasil, 1943, p. 1208).

And for the third grade:

It will be based on pages by Brazilian authors from both eras and will be accompanied by a philological-grammatical commentary. Great attention will be paid to the study of vocabulary and syntax, and the generalities of expository and historical grammar taught in junior high school will be reviewed (Brazil, 1943, p. 1208).

Considering the preface to the first edition of 1895, reproduced in the 25th edition of 1945 by Daltro Santos, one could argue that the National Anthology was aligned with the legislation in force and its purpose of fostering national identity. In the first edition, the authors explain the omission of living writers, stating, "[...] it was intentional to avoid adding the fear of hurting vain feelings to the difficulties of the selection process. Irritable genus [...]" and that when selecting Portuguese authors, they chose "[...] those who understood our land, and we were pleased that they spoke of Brazil because hearing about the homeland from an impartial foreigner is always a delight to a patriotic heart" (Santos, 1945, p. 3). Specifically, on the 25th, Dalto Santos explains, "Maintaining the orientation given to the National Anthology by those two highly acclaimed philologists, I have, however, included in the set some of our greatest writers, already defeated by death," in addition to "subjecting this work to the obligation of adapting it to the program of the Second Cycle of secondary studies." I began by meticulously reviewing the spelling, putting it under the simplification standards approved by the government" (Santos, 1945, p. 3). (Santos, 1945, p. 13).

Examining the index of extracts from the selected authors, we highlight the following titles as examples of themes valuing nationality and patriotism: "A Palmeira da Serra" by Alberto de Oliveira (p. 417); "Como se Fazia um Deputado" by França Júnior (p. 90); "A Procissão" by Manuel Antônio de Almeida (p. 65); "Santos Dumont" (p. 163); "Aos Jovens Brasileiros" (p. 167); "O Caçador de Esmeraldas" by Olavo Bilac (p. 430); and "Oração do Filho" by Rui Barbosa (p. 117).



**Figure 4 - Cover and Index of Expository Grammar: Higher Course, by Eduardo Carlos Pereira, 72nd edition, 1946.**

[illegible]

**Source:** Personal archive of one of the authors.

Born in Caldas, Minas Gerais, in 1855, Eduardo Carlos Pereira graduated from law school and began his teaching career at the Colégio Culto à Ciência in Campinas. He later taught at the Ginásio Oficial da Cidade de São Paulo and the Colégio Presbiteriano Mackenzie, both in São Paulo, entering the latter by public examination. Pereira died in São Paulo in 1923.

In 1907, he published the first edition of *Grammatica Expositiva*. In the prologue to the first edition, he wrote, "It was the good regency of our Portuguese chair at the Official Gymnasium of the city of São Paulo that led us to the present work" (Pereira, 1927, p. III). The title of the second edition, published in 1909, is *Course Superior*, but, as the prologue to this edition specifies, to avoid misunderstandings, it should be clarified that the author was trying to "fully satisfy the official program of the gymnasium course as well as meet the [...] Portuguese program of the Normal School of this capital" (Pereira, 1927, p. IV).

This grammar book, with 114 editions published the last dated 1958, was adopted and used for many decades, constituting a roadmap for Portuguese language teaching during this period. The copy we analyzed is from the 72nd edition, dated 1948.

The author's approach to teaching grammar aims to combine two methods: the modern approach, which emphasizes the history of language, and the traditional approach, which focuses on the "logical element in the expression of thought" (Pereira, 1948, p. III). Additionally, the author claims to avoid tiresome terminology and seeks theoretical support from "masters of recognized competence" (Pereira, 1948, p. III).

The prologue to the eighth edition, published in 1918, elaborates on his conception of language, explaining the motivation behind writing this work.



The love for the study of the vernacular language, the rich heritage of our grandparents, the encouraging support of a respectable part of the national teaching profession, and the ardent desire for the native language to be not only the sacred and strong bond of our nationality but also the noble expression of our character (Pereira, 1948, p. IV).

As explained in the text, this is an expository grammar. The title page of the 72nd edition contains the following information: "Book authorized for use by the Ministry of Education and Health. Registration No. 726-16." Published in 1948, it can be deduced that it followed Ministerial Ordinance No. 170 of July 11, 1942, which issued the programs of the subjects of languages and science of the gymnasium course of secondary education," as transcribed by Vechia and Lorenz (1998, p. 350), and Ministerial Ordinance No. 87 of January 23, 1943 (Brazil, 1943), which issued the program for Portuguese in the classical and scientific courses of secondary education (Pessanha & Assis, 2015).

In the Prologue to the 2nd edition of 1909, transcribed in the 72nd edition, the author, in line with the proposals to develop love for the Homeland, highlights:

Speeches, in general, of our public men and the polemics of our literati reveal how neglected the study of our language is among us. However, not only for the ruling classes, but for all social classes, a more perfect knowledge of the mother tongue is patriotic and highly desirable. (Pereira, 1948, p. 13).

The first part, from page 17 to page 395, is an explicit expository grammar in which the author describes grammatical facts with examples, according to the recommendations of the two ordinances. The second part is an appendix with analysis models and analytical exercises, synoptic tables, syntax, stylistics, and literary composition.

In the final section of the book, "Literary Composition," the author provides suggestions, summaries, and models of the main forms of literary composition.

Topics suggested for writing a story include: "The Good Samaritan," "The Prodigal Son," "A Heroic Act," "November 15th," "September 7th," "The Battle of Riachuelo"; for description: "A Moonlit Night," "A Fire," "Sunset," "The Wreck of the Titanic," "A River Journey," "The Life and Miserable Death of a Miser," "A Countryside Landscape," and "The Sea." For dissertations: Work, Homeland, Truth and Lies, Physical, Moral, Intellectual, and Religious Freedom, Foundations of Moral Responsibility, and The Ideal in Life and the Arts. Perfection; Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Education (Pereira, 1948, pp. 405–410).

Both the National Anthology and the Expository Grammar indicate alignment with the proposals to emphasize notions of patriotism and nationalism. The National Anthology does so through its selection of authors, and the Expository Grammar does so through its suggested literary composition themes. Of the 21 themes suggested, 14 have an educational and patriotic nature.

## Final considerations

The analysis of the presented textbooks shows elements of the histories of Brazilian history and the Portuguese language linked to the history of secondary education, with an emphasis on the Capanema Reform, which was in effect from 1942 to 1961.

As previously mentioned, Brazilian History has been part of the Colégio Pedro II syllabus since its inception. Brazilian History was established as a subject in 1849. However, Portuguese language was not included in the first Preparatory Examinations or Programs of Colégio Pedro II, although some related content appeared in other subjects that were later abolished.

Regarding the Capanema Reform period, we observed that the Brazilian history textbooks analyzed here demonstrated the authors' announced and confirmed commitment to following the curriculum. Given that the purpose of secondary education, according to the 1942 Organic Law's Explanatory Memorandum, was to "form a patriotic conscience," we can conclude that the books in question emphasized "national feeling" when presenting each topic. On the other hand, the Portuguese language books seem to have been almost unaffected by the Reform, as there were no significant changes after 1942, even though the copies were authorized by the MEC. A hypothesis that merits further investigation is that the objectives of the two books coincided with the teaching reform proposals circulating among the intellectual groups to which the authors belonged from their first editions. One of these groups specified that the principles were "to sharpen the intellect and form character" and "a more perfect knowledge of the mother tongue is patriotic and highly desirable," among other proposals.

In any case, it's worth noting that both subjects were part of the Estado Novo and the Nationalization Law (Decree-Law 406 of May 4, 1938), which required teaching in the national language and banned foreign schools in Brazil. During the Vargas era, Portuguese Language and History of Brazil, alongside other subjects such as Geography of Brazil, Moral and Civic Education, and Physical Education, served as the mainstay of nationalist and patriotic messages, which instigated our proposal of this joint analysis.

The authors of the books analyzed here are similar in that they have been writing textbooks for a long time. However, Joaquim Silva (1880-1966) and Basílio de Magalhães (1874-1957), the authors of the Brazilian History books, were contemporaries of the analyzed works, even though Magalhães's 1958 edition was co-authored by Jayme Coelho. This contemporaneity allows for monitoring and proposing adjustments to new editions in line with current curricula. The authors of *Antologia Nacional*, Carlos Maximiano Pimenta de Laet (1847-1927) and Fausto Carlos Barreto (1852-1915), as well as the author of *Gramática Expositiva*, Eduardo Carlos Pereira (1855-1923), died nearly twenty years prior. However, their works' success meant they remained in successive editions, surpassing the Capanema Reform.

This article highlights the importance of textbooks as sources for the history of school subjects and curricula. It explains the particularities of each subject and of the analyzed textbooks, even though they belong to the same period and level of education. This is because the programs were followed differently in each case.

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