

“She cannot marry yet/only after she graduates”: body control and training of student teachers in the capital of Brazil (1920-1950)¹

“Não pode casar ainda/só depois que se formar”: controle do corpo e formação de professoras normalistas na capital do Brasil (1920-1950)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to study the historical context in which Decree 9.529, of December 28, 1948, was promulgated in the capital of Brazil. Such standardization prohibited female students who became teachers in the public school system of the Federal District from marrying and remained in force until 1953. We approach the historical period from the late 1920s to the early 1950s from a double dimension: body control and teacher training. The aim of this investigation is to collaborate to the understanding of how the society of Rio de Janeiro, in the typical process of modernization of these decades, accepted, formulated and incorporated norms that interfered in the private life of the training primary teacher in the two official units of the city. We chose to use as sources the periodicals of the time, triangulating this material with bibliographies about the concept of gender. The results demonstrated the historical and cultural influence of the Christian faith in the production of the representation of teachers, as well as the control of their body and the restrictions regarding their life perspectives. We conclude that research into the past of this issues is as important as the discussions held today, because in view of the current growth of conservatism, knowing the

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past can offer us better arguments for maintain and create social rights that will make a more just society.

Keywords: History of Education. Teacher training. Body control. Social modernization. Student teachers.

RESUMO

O presente artigo tem por objetivo estudar o contexto histórico em que foi promulgado o Decreto n.º 9.529, de 28 de dezembro de 1948 na capital do Brasil. Tal normatização proibiu as discentes que viriam a se tornar professoras da rede pública de ensino municipal do Distrito Federal de se casarem e ficou vigente até o ano de 1953. Abordamos o período histórico que vai do final dos anos 1920 até o início dos anos 1950 sob uma dupla dimensão: o controle do corpo e a formação de professores. O intuito dessa investigação é colaborar para o entendimento de como a sociedade carioca em processo de modernização característico dessas décadas aceitou, formulou e incorporou normatizações que interferiam na vida privada da professora primária em formação nas duas unidades oficiais da cidade. Optamos pelo uso de periódicos da época como fontes, triangulando esse material com bibliografias acerca do conceito de gênero. Os resultados demonstraram a influência histórica e cultural da fé cristã na produção da representação das docentes, bem como o controle do seu corpo e as restrições quanto as suas perspectivas de vida. Concluímos que as pesquisas sobre o passado desse tema são tão importantes quanto as discussões realizadas hoje, pois, diante do atual crescimento do conservadorismo, conhecer o passado pode nos oferecer melhores argumentos para a manutenção e criação de direitos sociais que tornarão a nossa sociedade mais justa.

Palavras-chave: História da Educação. Formação de professores. Controle do corpo. Modernização social. Normalistas.

Introduction

On February 16th, 1937, the minister of education and health at the time, Gustavo Capanema, began discussions with the National Council of Education to create the first National Plan of Education (PNE) in Brazil. Three months later, on May 18th, the PNE project was sent to president Getúlio Vargas who, in turn, sent a copy to the National Congress on the same day. Despite the promptness, the project had received many proposals, including the creation of the first official

Domestic Normal Schools, i.e., units that were planned, managed and financed by public funds and with a target public of women aged 12 to 18 (SCHWARTZMAN; BOMENY; COSTA, 2000; KUSCHNIR; CARNEIRO, 1999).

Due to resistance in the Federal Chamber, especially from the opposition identified with the thinking of the New School Movement², the vote on the PNE project took time to happen. In the meantime, on November 10th, 1937, the representative powers were closed and the Estado Novo was established (1937-1945), under the command of Getúlio Vargas. The vote on the PNE 1937 was put aside and forgotten. After all, in a dictatorship with a hypertrophied Executive Power, the processing of laws was of no importance in the interests of Vargas' authoritarian government.

The model of Domestic Normal Schools, originally proposed by Catholic educators, was never officially adopted by the public administration. However, it is interesting to note that the basis of the attempt to introduce this model consisted not only in laws, but in the ideological influence and practice of those educators³ supported by active institutions such as the Dom Vital Center (1922), the magazine *A Ordem* (1921) and the Catholic Electoral League - LEC (1932) (HORTA, 2012).

As a result of the actions of these institutions, one month after the Estado Novo regime had been established, minister Gustavo Capanema described the following in a conference on women's education:

Public authorities must consider that education, in order to prepare the individual for the nation's moral, political and economic life, needs to consider men and women differently. It is necessary to recognize that in the modern world, both are called to the same amount of effort by the common work, because women proved to be capable of the most difficult and painful tasks that were previously withdrawn from their participation. The education to be given to the two, however, will differ to the extent that the destinies that Providence has given them differ. Thus, if men should be prepared with a military-grade temperament for business and fighting,

² Group of thinkers linked to the educational model that challenged the autocratic and religious form of traditional teaching. The *Escola Nova* movement gained strength in Brazil in the 1920s and 1930s, with Fernando de Azevedo, Anísio Teixeira and Lourenço Filho as its main names. They defended values such as public, compulsory, secular, unitary, coeducative and quality schools (XAVIER, 2002).

³ Catholic educators, in turn, pressured management at different levels of power to restore the influence of the Christian faith in public schools by returning religious disciplines and maintaining humanistic aspects in teaching at the expense of education. technical. With the 1930 Revolution, disputes in the educational field between these groups became more evident.

female education will have another purpose, which is to prepare for the domestic life. The family constituted by indissoluble marriage is the basis of our social organization and for this reason it is placed under the special protection of the State. Now, it is the woman who founds and preserves the family, as it is also through her hands that the family is destroyed. The State, therefore, is responsible for the education that it is given to prepare her consciously for this serious mission (CAPANEMA, 1937 *apud* SCHWARTZMAN; BOMENY; COSTA, 2000).

Years later, the education project intended exclusively for women was substantiated in Decree No. 4.244, of April 9th, 1942 (BRASIL, 1942), also called the Organic Law on Secondary Education. This Decree, when dealing with the theme, presented a specific title: “Of female secondary education”. And it stated in article 25 that “It is recommended that secondary education for women be carried out in educational establishments with exclusive female attendance”, or that “The methodological orientation of the programs will take into account the nature of the female personality and the mission of women at home” (BRASIL, 1942).

When World War Two and the Estado Novo dictatorship (1945) ended, there was an even more detailed organization of secondary education, this time dealing with the formation of student teachers in Decree-Law No. 8.530/46 (BRASIL, 1946), known as the Organic Law of Normal Education (BRASIL, 1946). As for the education of women, the law left loopholes that seemed to delegate to each region of the country the competence to judge whether men and women should take the normal course or not. Following this freedom to legislate, the regulation of Normal Education in the Federal District, through Decree No. 9.529 of December 28, 1948, ensured that both the Institute of Education and the Escola Normal Carmela Dutra had their admissions limited to women (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 1948).

In addition to the standardization, Rio de Janeiro journals such as *Gazeta de Notícias*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Diário Carioca*, *A Noite*, *A Última Hora*, as well as *O Cruzeiro* magazine, dealt with the theme in a way that reflected in the teacher’s image public opinions, moral values and interests. The newspapers reflected a society that urbanized and industrialized itself, but kept the values linked to the rural past, with low schooling and too conservative regarding women (LUCA, 2005).

This process of economic modernization in a society of conservative thought is at the center of our study, because it is precisely the context in which the image of student teachers is constructed. In this sense, we defined as objective to understand how the society of Rio de Janeiro, as the capital of

Brazil, accepted, formulated and incorporated norms that interfered in the private life of the primary teacher in training in the two official units of the city, at the same time that it sought to modernize economically.

As can be observed, our theoretical and methodological procedure points to the use of periodicals such as the newspapers circulating in the capital of Brazil between the 1920s and 1950s. The choice of these sources represents an attempt to get closer to the practices, ideas and values of Rio de Janeiro society at that time, and is measured by the enthusiasm of readers for the journalistic pieces found in these newspapers. Naturally, such decision makes it essential to make some theoretical choices that go through the readings of the works of Adriana Pasquini and César Toledo (2014), in addition to the classic study of Tania Regina de Luca (2005). The analysis of journals, as a methodology, requires initially the knowledge of our sources, their interests, their ideologies and the political groups involved, points that we address when using the journals throughout this article.

In this sense, it was also necessary, as the cited authors defend, to carry out triangulations of sources, relating the news to specific bibliographies that helped us problematize our study. Thus, we believe that the best approach to the subject can be performed with the choice of the category of gender, found in the works of Johan Scott (1992) and Guacira Lopes Louro (2003; 2018). While Scott makes a conceptualization of gender present throughout our text, Louro brings aspects of the practice of Brazilian teachers in part of the chronological outline we established.

Who better to change society?

The educational reforms carried out in the late 1920s by the General Director of Public Instruction of the Federal District at that time, Fernando de Azevedo, among many other things, added a professional cycle to the humanistic training of the normal course. The change brought a more technical character to teacher education, which until then had a strong Catholic and humanistic tradition. Linked to this reform, a new process of hiring teacher started to be carried out through public exams, which represented an important milestone for the professionalization of the teaching career.

Since then, teaching positions stopped being occupied by intellectuals who were renowned in the district where they worked, and became positions for experts with proper training given by the normal courses to work

in teaching (SILVA; VIDAL; ABDALA, 2020; XAVIER; FREIRE, 2002). On the one hand, the need of a specific diploma for teaching in the official municipal schools of the 1930s was becoming a way of modernize and professionalize the teacher, on the other hand, the influence of two hundred years of Jesuit education, through moral values, customs and practice, was still present.

Words as *messiah*, *missionary*, and *mission*, connected irreversibly to the past of Colony and Empire, became expressions that were impossible to be left out even after four decades of Republic. These three words are rooted in the idea that a responsibility had been delegated to someone, from whom nothing less than the fulfillment of their task is expected. Furthermore, when we think of the proximity between *prophet* and *teacher*, both, rooted in the conception that these characters are those who are *in the verge of saying something to someone*, it becomes even more difficult to separate the gift of a preacher and the profession of an educator regarding their social activities at a time when the Brazilian Republic was still very young.

As a strong example of these relations of continuity in the Brazilian teacher's image - and about the disputes between Catholic and New School educators, we cite the establishment of Teacher's Day. The Teacher's Day celebrations on October 15th date back to the period of the Brazilian Empire, more specifically to the year 1827. Originally, this date refers to the first law on primary education, in which it was still the teacher's job to teach under the «Christian moral principles and the doctrine of the catholic and apostolic Roman Church» (sic) (BRASIL, 1827). Nevertheless, it will be in the context of a secular state that the celebration will be truly established.

The inauguration of the Escola Normal do Distrito Federal building (1930), in which since 1932 the Education Institute functioned, under the direct influence of the educators of the new school movement, fostered the growth of the prestige of the teaching profession. But in 1933, it was the Association of Catholic Teachers of the Federal District (DF-APC) that celebrated for the first time Teacher's Day, on October 15. In the following years, this association launched a campaign for everyone in the country to express their gratitude to teachers with flowers. Thus, as society answered the call for honoring teachers, the group also drew up a commission that sought with public agencies to make the holiday official (VICENTINI, 2007).

In the Federal District, in 1951, the campaign was further developed through the initiative of the newspaper Última Hora, a staunch supporter of the Getúlio Vargas government. The newspaper, in order to carry out a contest aiming to elect the patron of the Rio de Janeiro, actually served the bases that sustained the government for the following years (PASQUINI; TOLEDO, 2014). Among many names in the contest, including republican and

non-religious personalities, the name of Father José de Anchieta, an evangelizing missionary from the 16th century, who was considered to be the one who introduced Catholicism to Brazil, stood out.

José de Anchieta was elected with 26.641 votes out of 86.561 counted. The election of the Jesuit can be considered an indication of the influence of the Catholic Church among the contestants, including students from the two official normal schools of the Federal District [Instituto de Educação and Escola Normal Carmela Dutra], of which the vote in Benjamin Constant was expected. The symbolism of his figure referred to a priestly conception of teaching in which sacrifice, selflessness and dedication were associated in the description of an exemplary teacher (VICENTINI; LUGLI, 2009, p. 169).

While Brazilian society was still based on references from the 16th to the 19th centuries, the political, economic and cultural modernizations of the 1930s interfered directly in the *social being* of the Brazilian people. The country's new proposal changed the economic axis from agricultural to industrial and the political axis from rural to urban and can be summarized in the words of Getúlio Vargas, written in the Letter of São Lourenço. Vargas pointed out that his economic policy had as basic points the creation of a basic industry, specifically, the steel industry, as well as the nationalization of energy sources, foreign banks, the diversification of exports and a general plan of integration and expansion of transport, among other points that illustrated the country's new paths. For this, it was necessary that the Brazilian social being was transformed (CORSI, 2002).

Faced with this challenge, the professors of the Federal District had been summoned to the *mission* of *converting* the Brazilian people, seen by fractions of their elites as *uncivilized*, sick and indolent (CARVALHO, 2006; OSTOS, 2012).

Although many politicians and intellectuals agreed that we did not yet have a nation and a people, many also considered that one of the safe ways to achieve this goal was through school benches, starting with primary education. It was this certainty that made the figure of the primary teacher a key to the republican school. As it was, par excellence, a place for learning not only knowledge, but civic and moral values necessary for the regeneration (slow, it is true) of the whole society, the teacher embodied this transformative objective. He needed to gain prestige and social recognition so that he could then have authority in his mission. Precisely for this reason, the teacher, in addition to having technical knowledge for

the exercise of teaching, had to be a model of virtue. [...] primary teachers were defined as true “builders of the nation”, and the model professional was the one trained in normal schools (GOMES, 2002, p. 404-405).

This process was helped by the growing idea that school was a kind of passage from home to the world of work, and there was no one better than the woman to prepare the child for this transition (SCOTT, 1992). Thus, terms such as *moral authority*, *child care*, *maternage*, *maternity extension*, *spiritual mother*, *thoroughness*, *patience*, *affection*, *donation* and *by nature* were repeatedly used in newspapers, magazines, political speeches and common sense sayings (CARVALHO, 2005; LOURO, 2018).

Imbued with qualities of virtue and civility, the teacher became the central character to support this period of social, political, economic and cultural transformation. Therefore, in the composition of the anthems of the teacher training units of the DF, there were many references to nationalism, the development of the nation, and the mission of bringing knowledge to the population.

Anthem of the Institute of Education (1947)

Guiding Institute whose history/ traditions and laurels come to remember!
Oh! unparalleled light, your glory/ We saw standing to celebrate!
Your light ignites our souls/ It makes us fiercely and promptly feel/
That the destiny of the homeland demands/ Our offer at the altar of the future! [...] We affirm in the ardor of civism/ The consecration of our lives for the sake of good/ Santa Cruz has never seen patriotism / So great to exalt its name!/ We promise to train paladins/ Lead them in light and labor/ Hearts that proclaim the hymns/ Of justice, peace and love!!/ Hail, we praise you/ With youthful pride/ Let us walk steadily/ To the forefront of Brazil! (CAMPOS; BRANDÃO, 1949 *apud* TONÁCIO, 2011, p. 12).

Anthem of the Carmela Dutra Normal School (1949)

For the homeland, family and school/ Let us work with faith, with value/
And a life of light and beauty/ Be our guiding light, our love/ Brazil demands our effort /We are the real strength of the country /Let us study and make the homeland/ Powerful, brilliant and happy/ The virtues of home, heavenly gift/ Enrich our penchant/ And the Escola Normal Carmela Dutra / Let us exalt it with love⁴ (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 1949).

4 Approved in 1949 by the Music Consultative Committee of the Music and Artistic Education Service.

Interested in adjusting the body and life of the teacher to the image present in the new educational project of nation, the normal schools of the DF began to demand from candidates a physical profile totally different from the view that Brazilian intellectuals had of their own people, often linked to characters such as Macunaíma, by Mário de Andrade, and Jeca Tatu, by Monteiro Lobato (LIMA, 2016; OSTOS, 2012). As a basis, the Organic Law of Normal Education was used, which recommended in its articles 20 and 21 that for admission to the normal course, the candidate, in addition to being qualified in the exams, Brazilian and demonstrating mental health, should also not present physical defects or functional disorders, good social behavior and be up to 25 years of age (BRASIL, 1946).

With a population of about 80% illiterate, malnourished, who still strongly argued in the 1930s the role of education to solve hygiene problems in the country, requests for teacher training became restricted to a small portion of the population (CARVALHO, 1998; VIDAL; FARIA FILHO, 2002). In the Federal District, the restriction was even greater, since, by decision of the municipality, it was limited to women (BRASIL, 1946). Besides what was already demanded in the Organic Law of the Normal School, the announcement below perfectly illustrates the idea of a model into which the teacher should fit, if she wanted the position of teacher in the public schools of the capital of Brazil.

The following will not be accepted for enrollment at Escola Normal Carmela Dutra: a) Those who have poor personal hygiene and body cleanliness; b) Those who show a state of nutrition that is excessively away from normality [...] the Kaup index can be taken into account [...]; c) Those who present visual acuity less than 2/3 of normal for long sightedness [...] due to non-correctable and progressive causes; or while having unhealed or progressive conditions; d) Those who present abnormal auditory acuity or evolutionary condition in either ear; e) Those who present nasopharyngeal lesions or disorders, except when derived from removable causes; f) Those who present tonsils in conditions of infections [...]; g) Those who present chronic laryngeal disorders or abnormal phonation [...]; h) Those who have nervous system disorders; i) Those who have circulatory system disorders; j) Those who suffer from communicable infectious diseases; l) Those who suffer disgusting illnesses; m) Those who suffer from serious endocrine diseases; n) Those who suffer from physical or shocking defects for the children's environment; o) Those who suffer from neuro-psychic disorders; p) Those who present dental cavities (cavities, roots [...]); q) Those who present anomalies in the position of the teeth [...]; r) Those who present a definite lack of 1/5 of the denture corresponding to their age; s) Those who present poor oral hygiene conditions; [...] provided that they are taller than 1.50m (sic) (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 1946).

"She cannot marry yet/only after she graduates": 1948 to 1953

If the 1946 announcement seems restrictive, we must consider that some twenty years earlier, it was also proposed to make celibacy a mandatory practice for teaching. Below, we have two teachers' opinions on the subject, both from 1927, found in the research of historians Diana Vidal and Marília Pinto de Carvalho (2001). In the first, the director of the Professional Women School Rivadavia Correa, Professor Beneventura Ribeiro, describes her own routine, bringing the elements of a teacher image highlighted previously.

I am frankly in favor of teachers' celibacy, as I consider it a necessity for teaching. I do not say that because I am a celibate. I say it because that is my belief. I think that when the teacher gets married, she should isolate herself from teaching. If she is widowed or is hit by pressing difficulties, she can return to work in a school. [...] Teacher is a vocation; it is a profession of renunciation. A teacher should not be one who needs to earn a living, but one who thinks she is capable of doing so and courageously supports all sacrifices (VIDAL; CARVALHO, 2001, p. 217).

Beneventura Ribeiro was the director of the women's unit from 1913 to 1961, representing the DF in events such as the Conference of Female Progress, organized in the city by the Brazilian Federation for Women's Progress (BONATO, 2008). Her speech not only highlights the elements that allude to the idea of teaching mission, but also of resignation of the life of a couple and of children, as a missionary must do. The other remark is made by Professor Luiz Palmeira, who, despite defending the woman's work as a teacher, does so based on a pseudoscience that in the 19th century had invented the hysterical paroxysmal disease⁵.

5 In the 19th century, women outnumbered men in European nursing homes. This facilitated the popular understanding that women were more prone to psychiatric disorders than men. Symptoms such as headaches, irritability, insomnia, unexplained crying, and anxiety were diagnosed as hysterical paroxysms, arising from disorders of the uterus. The indicated treatment was masturbation to be performed in offices (SAUL, 2008).

And then, what you notice in a nursery school is that the married teacher is more affectionate, more patient than the single woman. As a rule, when the latter reaches a certain age, when certain phenomena of her sexualism reach certain points, her psyche is victimized by a nervous imbalance (VIDAL; CARVALHO, 2001, p. 217).

The proposal to impose celibacy on teachers did not prosper, but neither did it become a forgotten theme in the following decades. In the second half of the 1940s, with the newly installed base industry and a new reality of urbanization of Brazilian society in progress, Brazilian conservatism resumed discussions about the role of women.

[...] It is not necessary that we do reasoning juggling to admit that, on the one hand it is ideal for women to stay at home, on the other hand we must consider the reality of the contemporary world, in which the woman is obliged to work outside her home collaborating with her consort to support the family (A SITUAÇÃO..., 1949, p. 16)⁶ – [Correio da Manhã].

In the presidential elections of 1945, between Brigadier Eduardo Gomes, whose admirers created the slogan "Vote for the Brigadier. In addition to being handsome, he is single", and General Eurico Gaspar Dutra, who carried the flag of Vargas government's continuity, the Brazilian people chose the second option for the 1946-1951 term. Dutra had been Minister of War for Getúlio Vargas during the second world war and had the fervent Catholic Mrs Carmela Dutra, his wife, as his main supporter in the campaign.

Socially called Santinha, Mrs. Carmela Dutra had been a student at the Escola Normal do Distrito Federal and an elementary school teacher in the DF public schools. She was subjected to an intense investigation in 1942, in which the American FBI pointed out that she was converting the highest Brazilian social circles to join the war on the side of the Nazis, which effectively did not happen, because that year Vargas chose to join the war on the side of the USA. As first lady, Mrs. Santinha spoke badly about nurses who decided to go to Europe to take care of soldiers in the war, comparing them to prostitutes seeking husbands. She also helped elect politicians in the Federal District and her influence over her husband was considered responsible for the ban

6 (The situation of the training teachers - marriage only after graduation, 1949, p. 16) TN.

of gambling in 1946⁷ and the closing of the Brazilian Communist Party in 1947 (LIMA, 2016). She died in 1947, being honored by the Rio de Janeiro newspaper *A Noite*: “The exercise of the teaching cycle made her creditor of the admiration of a good portion of Brazilians, whom she knew how to educate, in accordance with the principles of her education, always austere in safeguarding morals and good customs. [...] a mirror of the virtues of the Brazilian woman” (Sic) (ENLUTADA..., 1947, p. 2)⁸ [*A Noite*].

In that short period in which Mrs. Santinha became the first lady of Brazil, the military man Ângelo Mendes de Moraes was promoted to Division General in August 1946 and was appointed mayor of the Federal District a year later by President Dutra. Moraes provided in its administration for the appointment of Mrs. Carmela Dutra’s personal physician to the Department of Education and Health, which in turn created the second teacher training unit in the DF. When he create the unit, Doctor Fioravanti Di Piero named it as Carmela Dutra⁹, in honor of the one who truly gave him the job. Moraes’ management is still remembered today for the construction of the *Jornalista Mario Filho Stadium* (Maracanã - 1950), but that was not all. Another action of his administration was the promulgation of Decree No. 9.529, of December 28th, 1948 (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 1948), which prohibited the teacher in formation from getting married (LIMA, 2017).

Art. 49. The general conditions for enrollment in any grade are that the enrolled person is single, of moral suitability and does not suffer from a communicable disease or from a defect that makes her contact with other students inadvisable or incapacitating for the exercise of teaching. Single paragraph. Normal school students from the Municipality of the Federal District who get married during the course will have their enrollment automatically canceled (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 1948, p. 9.262-9.264).

DF newspapers explored the differences of opinion in the society of the time. The sides of the arguments varied between support for the municipality’s measure and the suspicion about the need for regulation of the body of future

7 Decree No. 9.215 of April 28, 1946 (BRASIL, 1946).

8 (Brazilian society mourns, 1947, p. 2) TN.

9 *Escola Normal Carmela Dutra* remained administratively submitted to the Institute of Education between the years 1946 to 1953. For this reason, in several documents and news in journals, only the reference to IE appears, as if the ENCD were just a post advanced in Rio’s countryside.

teachers (LUCA, 2005; PASQUINI; TOLEDO, 2014). It is interesting to note that these young women started training in the normal course from the age of 14, and could enroll until the age of 25. Considering that when the course ended, the teachers automatically became servants of the municipal school system, the prohibition of marriage as students now had the argument of protecting public investment.

This prohibition is reasonable, considering that the student of the Institute of Education can only really devote herself to studying, if she is in fact single, without the burden of the married status, which is plenty and which can totally affect the achievement of the young woman who will teach. Psychologically it is a reasonable measure, of didactic hygiene, if you can say that. Everyone will agree that it is natural for the Municipality to demand that the students at the Institute remain unmarried for all years of the course, and only get married after they graduate. [...] there will be no difficulty for anyone because the teaching candidates themselves, while studying only believe in "flirt" and dating. And they do very well. That way they are helping the public administration (NAMORO, 1949, p. 3)¹⁰ – [Gazeta de Notícias].

Between a diploma and a husband - the heart does not falter, the choice is made, let the diploma go to the nettles. It is fair, therefore, that those who could not get their husbands get the diplomas. The danger in this case will not be educational or social: it will be aesthetic. It may be that a natural selection will make up the majority of the Institute of Education from less beautiful and graceful students... (DIPLOMA..., 1949, p. 4)¹¹ – [Correio da Manhã].

While defending the new rule as "fair and reasonable", the *Gazeta de Notícias* article pointed to the unconstitutionality of the 1946 *Magna Carta*. *Correio da Manhã* also added that one class would be harmed, the class of the "Husbands of Teachers". *Diário Carioca*, on the other hand, went further and published an article in a playful tone:

10 (Dating only, 1949, p. 3) TN.

11 (Diploma or Husband, 1949, p. 4) TN.

Against the “Teacher’s Husband”...

It may be that the organizer of the internal law of the Institute of Education has had the purpose of ending such thing as a “teacher’s husband”, which is one of our oldest traditions, or rather institutions.

Whoever aspires to the title, that is a kind of “prince consort”, should wait for the conclusion of the course. But as brides are hurried, for fear that the fish will eat the bait and spit on the hook, it almost happens that they all take the married ring and send the diploma to the broad beans. And thus, the high function of a “teacher’s husband” comes indeed to an end (sic) (CONTRA..., 1949, p. 4)¹² – [Diário Carioca].

On the other hand, on the same date, the writers and journalists Rubem Braga and Raimundo Magalhaes Junior (who later became a member of the Brazilian Academy of Languages - 1956), described in his column in the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* the affliction of the future teachers of the public school system in the Federal District. Although they positioned themselves contrary to the measure of the mayor, in the words of the two authors the traces of morality in which the rule was created are evident, respectively:

It was a saint who said this: “better to get married, than to burn”. The students of the Institute of Education are prohibited from marrying under the new regulation approved by General Mendes de Moraes. Those who are afflicted, during the course, by the disease of love (which is not a rare disease in the hearts of training teachers) and are asked to marry, will be in drama.

The Course is long, love is an urgency of soul, waiting is agony, the future is uncertain. The boys in Rio de Janeiro are, in general, very chivalrous; but let us face it, there are some rascals who will give preference to training teacher girlfriends, due to the ban. They will know, in case the girl is willing to leave the course, to plead fine scruples: despite the passion that burns him, he, the rascal, does not think he has the right to interrupt the girl’s career.

The prohibition will perhaps increase the afflictions of love, which is already, naturally, an affliction that affects the person. I do not understand pedagogy, and I do not know the high reasons that inspired this article 49 of the Regulation. I do not understand either - alas! - the heart of training teachers, and I do not know if for them Article 49 will be a sign of peace or a cause for concern. I only know that I myself would not dare to sign

12 (Against the “Teacher’s Husband”, 1949, p. 4) TN.

such a regulation; for it is always too delicate to make regulations for the hearts of others. There is already so much forbidden, and so many girls without getting married! (sic) (BRAGA, 1949, p. 3) – [Diário de Notícias].

First, the Municipality has nothing to do with the civil status of training teachers. The Institute of Education is not a school of spinsters, a sterilization chamber, neither the marriage of a girl of marriageable age can be contrary to the interests of the municipality or of teaching. [...] A tropical country, in which puberty comes early and the average life span is short, it is quite easy to understand the flogging of some girls in ensuring having a husband. And it is much easier to understand this than the ferocity of the education authorities, pitting against training teachers who get married... As if getting married was a crime! [...] (sic) (MAGALHÃES JÚNIOR, 1949, p. 1) – [Diário de Notícias].

The magazine *O Cruzeiro*, in an article entitled *The Teachers of the Future - Dressed in Blue and White*, interviewed IE students, revolted by the marriage ban. Among many poses in photos that even showed the young women in the swimming pool, the almost ten-pages article by José Leal and José Medeiros pointed out that: "the result of all the stir caused by the case was the appearance of a samba that is trending now in Rio. It has beautiful lyrics, easy music and is called "Normalista". The song 'Normalista' (1949a) was recorded in the voice of Nelson Gonçalves that same year, taking advantage of the discussions in Rio de Janeiro society about the prohibition of marriage for training teachers. The magazine also published another article:

"NORMALISTA" - A BIG SUCCESS

Placed two months ago in the first absolute place of the hit-parade, by David Nasser and Benedito Lacerda, it is ahead in several sectors. Here's the ranking of the year's success:

Record sales - 1st place - "Normalista"

Orchestrations - 1st Place - "Normalista"

Sale of sheet music - 1st place - "Normalista"

Execution in "nightclubs" - 2nd place - "Normalista"

Radio execution - 1st place - "Normalista"

Execution in balls - 1st place - "Normalista"

"Wurl Litzer" (record players at cafés) - 1st place - "Normalista"

The samba "Normalista" reached sales records this year in RCA, Victor in the Vitale brothers' editors. As a curiosity we reproduce the verses that are being sung throughout Brazil:

Dressed in blue and white/ Bringing a frank smile/ On the charming face/ My beautiful normalista/ Quickly conquering/ My heart without love/ I who kept closed / Inside my chest kept / My suffering heart/ I am very inclined/ To hand it over to the care /Of that little bud in bloom/ But, the beautiful normalist/ Can't marry yet/ Only after she graduates/ I'm in love/ The girl's father is angry/ And the solution is to wait (sic) (NORMALISTA..., 1949b, p. 40) – [O Cruzeiro].

Another song that was a success was ‘Professora’, also by Benedito Lacerda, but now in partnership with Jorge Faraj and Silvio Caldas. Originally from 1938, it was re-recorded in 1949 by Alcides Gerard, in the wake of Nelson Gonçalves’s fame.

And on the teachers’ train/ In which others are going on, seductive/ I don’t see anyone else/ This divine worker/ Who teaches in the suburbs/ Little children to read/ Naturally condemns/ In her serene life/ My way of living/ Condemns for not knowing/ That all the blame falls on her/ That I go with the flow/ Wanting to be a boy/ To learn from her/ My ABCs again (PROFESSORA, 1949).

The creation of the uniform that became famous through books, movies and television series contributed to this fetishization of training teachers. Although the famous blue and white uniform was established in 1946, its origin dates back to 1914, when the Escola Normal do Distrito Federal (ENDF, future IE - 1932) was installed in a region full of brothels, in Estácio, downtown of Rio de Janeiro. In that year, Colonel Leite Ribeiro, who had been a federal interventionist in the city in 1902, proposed the creation of the uniform under three motives: indistinction between rich and poor students; creation of a class spirit; differentiation of “not a few creatures of dubious morality” (LIMA, 2018, p. 171).

Within this framework, there was an internal movement to overcome the law that legislated over the bodies of these young women. The words of DF Councilor Ligia Lessa Bastos (National Democratic Union - UDN), a former student of IE, showed the reality of the students at the time and also brought to light the extent to which success in women’s lives was thought of as a function of marriage and child rearing.

The tragedy begins when they are going to have a child", declares Ligia Lessa Bastos - Greater Incidence of Spinsters - "I was victim of That Absurd Prohibition".

The students at the Institute of Education - Councilor Lygia Bastos declared to our reporters - had been secretly getting married to escape the legal prohibition. When it was time to have their children, they were discovered and then the rigor of inhuman devices was felt, and they were expelled. This has happened several times [...] Ligia also said that the ban has been increasing the number of spinsters. The girls, in order not to break the law, delay marriage, almost always losing the best opportunities, including the greatest of all, the most appropriate age. When they can get married, they find difficulties sometimes invincible, and stay single. [...] What happened to me happens to others. So that, by law, forbidding a girl to marry at the time when she most dreams of marriage, is a crime (AS ALUNAS..., 1952, capa)¹³ – [Diário Carioca].

The part of the spinster situation, described by the Udenist counselor, corresponded to calling the woman: "ungracious, the one who was unable to marry, the spinster withdrawn and suspicious. After all, marriage and motherhood were the natural and desired destination for all women" (LOURO, 2003, p. 80). Ligia Bastos presented her project to end the ban in 1952, but only received a favorable opinion only in 1953, the same year it was voted on. Before that, however, the Decree was widely discussed in the newspapers, captivating the population to participate in the debate about the body and private life of women who could have entered the normal course by the age of 25 and were nearing 30s during graduation.

"For five years I have been waiting for a good opportunity to fulfill my greatest ideal: to get married and continue my studies" - declared Miss Tereza Martins, to DC, regarding the project of councilwoman Ligia Maria Lessa Bastos, which grants future teachers the right to marry. "My fiancé and I are confident in the victory of this project - added the "sprout" (A NORMALISTA..., 1952, p. 12)¹⁴ – [Diário Carioca].

SECRETLY MARRIED - As we could check, among the students of our Institute of Education, the vast majority wants the project to be

13 (The students at the institute get married in secrecy, 1952, Frontpage) TN.

14 (The training teacher is going to get married quickly: When a Project is the Great Hope of Marrying Students – Ring on the finger and Books Under the Arm, 1952, p. 12) TN.

accepted by the Chamber [...]. We were also told that there are several students among them who are married and who always need to remove the ring when they enter the Institute for the students. It is mainly for these that the DIÁRIO DA NOITE created the campaign “The right to marry” (sic) (DEFENDEM..., 1953, p. 4)¹⁵ – [Diário da Noite].

Raimundo Magalhães Júnior, in an article with a questionable title on the back cover of the Diário de Notícias, perhaps had the intention to encourage female freedom (“Women do not marry when they want, but when they are wanted”):

The issue of training teacher marriage is being discussed once again. The former mayor of the city, General Ângelo Mendes de Moraes, decided to prohibit, in an ordinance, that training teachers marry. Once married, they were excluded from the Instituto de Educação and the Carmela Dutra [Normal] School. Automatically excluded, as a sole result of marriage, without considering class attendance, achievement in studies, performance of school duties. They could be the best students in the world, the most committed, the most hardworking and diligent, but in no way could they continue to be with their colleagues. It was as if they were morally incompatible, as if they had contracted an infectious and contagious disease, as if their presence in classes threatened the teaching itself with disintegration. [...] Long and difficult courses cannot be an obstacle to marriage, at an age when marriage must be seen as a natural solution and not removed as an undesirable, harmful thing. [...] The Institute of Education and the Carmela Dutra [Normal] School are not intended to prepare spinsters, nor can the City Hall impose celibacy on public teachers. Even if it tried to do so, such a measure would be absurd. And it would run into the Constitution of the Republic (sic) (MAGALHÃES JÚNIOR, 1953, p. 3)¹⁶ – [Diário de Notícias].

Amidst different opinions from educators and parliamentarians, the position of the religious who previously related teaching to the celibate priesthood, aligned with the argument in the Federal District House of Councilors that women should follow what would be “the advice of God”, that is, “grow and multiply” (ANTI-CRISTÃ..., 1953, p. 3)¹⁷ – [Diário da

15 (The training teachers defend the “Right to Marry”, 1953, p. 4) TN.

16 (The marriage of the training teachers) TN.

17 (Anti-christian the prohibition of marriage for training teachers, 1953, p. 3) TN.

Noite]. Following a real loophole in conservative thought at the time, The Federal District Councilor Rubem Cardoso (Progressive Social Party - PSP) also pointed out at the end of his speech, just before the vote on the article:

- If we consider the issue from the family aspect, I think it is even advantageous for the teaching profession for the teacher to be married, because with the formation of the family, the love for the child that is so necessary for the members of the primary teaching of the municipality will develop in parallel. Now, if the training teacher has a family, she will be developing "a priori" a feeling that will later be necessary for her to perform her function (ANTI-CRISTÃ..., 1953, p. 3) – [Diário da Noite].

Despite the social and economic changes present in those years, it was still possible to feel in the city's newspapers the bundle of a moral arising from centuries of colonization. Thus, with an argument only varnished by modernization, the marriage ban decree of 1948 was reinterpreted as an anti-Christian law. The understanding now was that the norm prevented one of the most powerful sacraments in the church, marriage. The newspapers of the 1950s reverberated this position, showing that political and economic modernization had started to affect Brazilian society culturally (LUCA, 2005).

The project by Ligia Bastos was approved in the Chamber by 23 votes to 17, but the mayor Dulcídio Cardoso (Brazilian Worker Party - PTB) moved ahead and invalidated the rule that prevented the marriage from training teachers. Decree No. 9.529, of December 28th, 1948, was thus revoked on July 17th, 1953 by Decree No. 12.158 (CONTRAIR..., 1959, p. 6)¹⁸ – [Diário da Noite].

The clear signs of cultural modernization of Rio de Janeiro society became even stronger in the next decade, with the women's movement, the creation of the miniskirt, the contraceptive pill, and the pro-abortion campaigns. However, these advances go beyond our historical profile. So, for now, as anticipated by the newspaper *Diário Carioca* in July 1953:

Congratulations, then, to the students at the Institute of Education and the Carmela Dutra [Normal] School. They can start preparing the trousseau and schedule the wedding day. May they be happy! (NORMALISTAS, 1953, p. 12)¹⁹.

18 (Getting married: a right of training teachers, 1959, p. 6) TN.

19 (Training teachers, 1953, p. 12) TN.

Final considerations

Benedito Lacerda's song about waiting for the graduation of the *Normalista* (1949) is no longer up to date with the law, because the marriage ban was revoked in 1953. However, the representations produced about teachers between 1920 and 1950, remain to this day for majority of the population.

The notion that the teacher is a missionary still reverberates through the structure of Brazilian society. A representation that has served as the main element of discourse of some public managers and many private managers, who insist on not paying decent salaries to teachers. After all, why would they pay a good salary to a teacher, if a missionary is based on selflessness and a simple life? By asking this question, given what we have already written in this work, we open up the possibility of new questions that are dedicated to pointing out the relationships between the following facts in our daily lives: Why do teachers have the lowest salaries paid among professionals with a high level of education? Why is the proportion of women teachers in the classroom so much higher than that of men today? Why does the teaching profession continue to lose prestige year after year?

As noted, in the first half of the twentieth century, although the prestige of the profession was maintained, something necessary to get women out of the home who were supposed to rule, the same levels of salary offered to men were not preserved, since it was believed that a woman should not be a breadwinner. In this way, the power relationship within the conservative houses of Rio de Janeiro's families was repeated in the schools, since, besides lower salaries, women hardly ever held management positions in school units.

Thus, even though the income of these teachers was not appropriate to their level of study, even if they hardly ascended to the leadership positions, in the first half of the previous century, teaching represented one of the few paths for women to enter the Brazilian labor market. As we have shown, the requirements for women to hold such positions were not the same. They were questioned about the true details of their personal life, besides the aesthetic aspects aimed at creating an image of perfection, able to serve as an example of body and spirit to the new generations.

Such a renown of teacher/ training teacher was, therefore, built by official interests in changing the Brazilian social being, in order to meet the modernization proposals of the country. Someone capable of operating through the "classroom floor" a transformation that adapted the population to change the economic axis that left the agricultural for the industrialized. A process, as noted, that was mediated by

our past religious and conservative state, usually done by people not concerned with the lives of the students, resulting in the control of the mind, regarding ideas and moral values, and the standardization of the body, setting aesthetic, physical and social standards for teachers of the official education system in the capital of Brazil.

Over time, and going back to the present day, it is worth mentioning the growing conservatism in Brazil. With an equally religious nature, some movements try to interfere directly in women's freedoms and in the teachers' practice, bringing to the head of state and to the ministry of education people with an ideological profile connected to evangelical churches. It is up to us, present educators and connoisseurs of our history, to continue working so that a period with the characteristics described in this article remains in the past.

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