

APRÍGIO GONZAGA AND OSCAR WANDERLEY: VIEWS ON PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION IN THE FIRST REPUBLIC IN BRAZIL

APRÍGIO GONZAGA E OSCAR WANDERLEY: VISÕES SOBRE A EDUCAÇÃO PROFISSIONAL NA PRIMEIRA REPÚBLICA NO BRASIL

APRÍGIO GONZAGA Y OSCAR WANDERLEY: VISIONES SOBRE LA EDUCACIÓN PROFESIONAL EN LA PRIMERA REPÚBLICA EN BRASIL



Laís Paula de Medeiros Campos AZEVEDO ¹
e-mail: laispaulamedeiros@gmail.com



Olívia Morais de MEDEIROS NETA ²
e-mail: olivianeta@gmail.com

How to reference this article:

AZEVEDO, L. P. M. C.; MEDEIROS-NETA, O. M. Aprígio Gonzaga and Oscar Wanderley: Views on professional education in the First Republic in Brazil. **Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação**, Araraquara, v. 19, n. 00, e024045, 2024. e-ISSN: 1982-5587. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v19i00.18157>



| **Submitted:** 14/06/2023
| **Revisions required:** 19/07/2023
| **Approved:** 17/10/2023
| **Published:** 02/04/2024

Editor: Prof. Dr. José Luís Bizelli
Deputy Executive Editor: Prof. Dr. José Anderson Santos Cruz

¹ Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN), Natal – RN – Brazil. Doctorate from the Graduate Program in Education.

² Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN), Natal – RN – Brazil. Professor at the Department of Educational Fundamentals and Policies.

ABSTRACT: This paper analyzes the ideas of Aprígio de Almeida Gonzaga (São Paulo) and Oscar Wanderley (Rio Grande do Norte) based on their writings in pedagogical journals published in the 1920s. We analyzed three texts by the authors published in *Revista da Educação de São Paulo* and *Revista Pedagogium*. The intellectuals were normalistas, teachers and representatives of professional teaching institutions. Their texts circulated in the educational press of Rio Grande do Norte in the period. We investigated their places of speech and the relation built between their professional practices and the writing about professional education (Certeau, 1982). These intellectuals are situated in a context of the creation of institutions with the aim of providing professional education for children, youth and adults (Cunha, 2000; Manfredi, 2017). From the analysis, we highlight the influences of foreign literature, the emphasis on learning by doing and the value of work in the construction of citizens for a new Brazil.

KEYWORDS: History of professional education. Intellectuals. Pedagogical journals.

RESUMO: *Este trabalho discute as ideias de Aprígio de Almeida Gonzaga (São Paulo) e Oscar Wanderley (Rio Grande do Norte) a partir da escrita em revistas pedagógicas publicadas na década de 1920. Analisamos três textos dos autores publicados na Revista da Educação de São Paulo e na Revista Pedagogium. Os intelectuais foram normalistas, professores e representantes de instituições de educação profissional. Seus textos circularam na imprensa pedagógica do Rio Grande do Norte no período. Investigamos seus lugares de fala e a relação construída entre suas práticas profissionais e a escrita sobre a educação profissional (Certeau, 1982). Estes intelectuais situam-se em um contexto de criação de instituições com o objetivo de fornecer uma educação profissional para crianças, jovens e adultos (Cunha, 2000; Manfredi, 2017). A partir da análise, destacamos as influências da literatura estrangeira, a ênfase no aprender fazendo e no valor do trabalho na construção de cidadãos para um novo Brasil.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *História da Educação Profissional. Intelectuais. Revistas pedagógicas.*

RESUMEN: *Este artículo discute las ideas de Aprígio de Almeida Gonzaga (São Paulo) y Oscar Wanderley (Rio Grande do Norte) a partir de sus escritos en revistas pedagógicas publicadas en la década de 1920. Se analizaron tres textos de los autores publicados en la Revista da Educação de São Paulo y en la Revista Pedagogium. Los intelectuales eran normalistas, maestros y representantes de instituciones de educación profesional. Sus textos circularon en la prensa pedagógica de Rio Grande do Norte durante el período. Indagamos en sus lugares de habla y en la relación que se establece entre sus prácticas profesionales y la escritura sobre la formación profesional (Certeau, 1982). Estos intelectuales se sitúan en un contexto de creación de instituciones con el objetivo de proporcionar educación profesional a niños, jóvenes y adultos (Cunha, 2000; Manfredi, 2017). A partir del análisis, se destacan las influencias de la literatura extranjera, el énfasis en el aprender haciendo y el valor del trabajo en la construcción de ciudadanos para un nuevo Brasil.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Historia de la formación profesional. Intelectuales. Revistas educativas.*

Introduction

The History of Professional Education (PE) in Brazil is configured as a multifaceted domain of the History of Education, in which researchers from different areas develop their investigations. According to Medeiros Neta (2016, p. 51, our translation), it is possible “to infer that the field of Professional Education in Brazil was constituted based on studies that referred to the variables that influence PE as a teaching modality”. In the research carried out by the author, based on the Capes Periodicals Portal, seven main themes associated with PE are listed. Among these, the History of Education appears in sixth place, present in five articles.

In order to contribute to the production of knowledge in the area, we built this research that is located at the intersection of two domains of the History of Education: Intellectual History and the History of Professional Education³. The objective of this study was to analyze the ideas of Aprígio de Almeida Gonzaga (São Paulo) and Oscar Wanderley (Rio Grande do Norte) about professional education based on writing in pedagogical magazines published in the 1920s.

Notably, in their texts, the authors discuss Professional Education. This is the main element that attracts our attention to the writing of these intellectuals. Among other authors who may have discussed and written about the topic, we dedicate ourselves to these, as we found articles by them circulating in the pedagogical press of Rio Grande do Norte. Aprígio Gonzaga and Oscar Wanderley were normalists, representatives, and teachers of professional education institutions.

The texts listed for analysis were published in two pedagogical publications - A Revista da Educação de São Paulo and Revista Pedagogium of the Associação dos Professores do Rio Grande do Norte, and Oscar Wanderley's conference was published in a special edition of the Association. These documents are available for consultation in the Repository of History and Memory of Education (RHISME/UFRN)⁴ and in the Institutional Repository (RI) of the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC)⁵. As pointed out by Zanlorenzi and Nascimento (2020, p. 1182, our translation), “studies in the history of education that use the press as a source [...]

³We are based on the division proposed by Barros (2004): dimensions - the historian's focus in the foreground, Politics, Culture, among others; approaches - ways of doing history, oral history, microhistory and others; and the domains (the thematic fields privileged by the historian, which are countless).

⁴The History and Memory of Education Repository (RHISME) is linked to the History and Memory of Education Laboratory (LAHMED) at UFRN. Available at: <http://lahmed.ce.ufrn.br/jspui/>. Accessed on: 03 June 2023.

⁵The Institutional Repository (IR) of the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC) has the mission of: storing, preserving, disseminating and offering access to UFSC's scientific and institutional production. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufsc.br/>. Accessed on: 03 June 2023.

have been increasing significantly and greatly contributed to the understanding that historical processes are mediated and are part of a totality.”

The documentary corpus of our research also comprises hemerographic and iconographic sources, which assist in our analysis. When analyzing the texts, we based ourselves mainly on Certeau's (1982) deliberations about the place of speech, practice and writing. Thus, some questions guide our research: who talks about professional education? What do you say? And where are you talking? From this perspective, we organize this work by initially presenting who these intellectual educators are based on clues from their academic paths and their professional activities. We are also interested in situating the context of these productions and the medium in which they were published. In this sense, we briefly discuss professional education in the first decades of the Republic in Brazil, specifically in the mentioned States, and then we focus on writing about professional education. Finally, we bring some notes about the research.

Intellectual educators, their places of speaking and writing

To think about intellectual educators, we based ourselves on the concepts presented by the French historian Jean François Sirinelli. For this author, the history of intellectuals is configured as “an autonomous historical field that, far from closing in on itself, is an open field, located at the intersection of political, social and cultural histories” (2003, p. 232, our translation). Sirinelli (2003) proposes the concept of intellectual from a broad and sociocultural perspective, which should encompass cultural creators and mediators on the one hand, and narrows it when considering the engagement of social actors who are recognized by society.

We understand, from this author, that although the concept of intellectual is changeable, one of the aspects that help us understand these subjects is the relationship they build with the environment in which they are inserted, the notoriety and recognition they acquire by making their ideas reverberate in society, whether in the production of speeches, in the creation of official documents such as reports and legislation, or in writing in books, newspapers and magazines.

We learn from Certeau (1982) that there is an indelible mark on writing associated with the particularity of the subject's place of speech, limited to determinations and articulated to a socioeconomic, political, and cultural environment. From this perspective, to understand the writing of these intellectual educators, we seek to investigate their places of speech, identifying their academic and professional paths.

We emphasize that, in historical research, especially in Intellectual History, the researcher often assumes the stance of a detective, as mentioned by Ginzburg (2007), searching for traces and clues, identifying clues for the construction of his object and to answer questions proposed. This author urges that “if reality is opaque, there are privileged areas – signs, clues – that allow it to be deciphered” (Ginzburg, 2007, p. 177, our translation).

We followed this path ⁶when investigating Oscar Wanderley. By scrutinizing the sources, we find evidence of his academic and professional paths. We assume the gaps in information, since these also make up historical research. Thus, Oscar Wanderley, son of Ezequiel Lins Wanderley, was born on May 5th and died on August 11th, 1942. Member of an important family that worked on the Rio Grande do Norte scene in both the political and cultural and literary fields, we found ties genealogical records of the intellectual with other relevant names, such as Manoel Segundo Wanderley, Maria Carolina Wanderley and Palmira Wanderley⁷.

In 1909, we find mention of Oscar Wanderley as a secondary student at Ateneu Norte-Riograndense (Diario De Natal, 1909). In 1916, the educator completed his course at the Escola Normal de Natal⁸. In the message from Governor Antônio de Mello e Souza, in 1920, we identify the intellectual's performance in the Grupo Escolar Modelo Augusto Severo and the appointment of “teacher from the 'Augusto Severo' group Oscar Wanderley to temporarily teach moral and civic education” at the School Normal de Natal ⁹(Rio Grande do Norte, 1920, p. 13, our translation).

In 1924, he completed the Legal and Social Sciences course at the Faculty of Law of Recife. He worked as a lawyer and prosecutor. His interest in the world of letters, a hallmark of his family, is seen in his presence in the Grêmio Literário 7 de Setembro ¹⁰in the years 1913 and 1914. Oscar Wanderley was also a journalist, contributing to the Revista do Ensino (1917) and the newspaper “A Notícia”, from Revista Cigarra (1928-1930) and as editor, sports

⁶At this point, we highlight the relevance of digital repositories, such as the Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira, which allows researchers to “immerse themselves in the sources” in search of new information and interpretations, as pointed out by Vidal and Silva (2020).

⁷Silva (2014), in his dissertation entitled “On every corner a poet, on every street a newspaper – the intellectual life of Natal (1889-1930)”, presents some of these names and their importance in the literary field of Rio Grande do Norte.

⁸About this institution, see Nascimento (2018) “A Escola Normal de Natal – Rio Grande do Norte (1908-1971)” Available at: <https://memoria.ifrn.edu.br/handle/1044/1665>. Accessed on: 03 Jun. 2023.

⁹Considering that our sources refer to documents produced in the first decades of the 20th century, the writing used presents spelling errors and inconsistencies in relation to current spelling standards. It was decided to make the citations faithfully reproducing what appears in the documents.

¹⁰See Silva (2014).

columnist and secretary of *Diário de Natal*. In the newspaper *A República*, on August 8, 1928, he published the text entitled “Samba, cocos e cateretês” about a party held at the house of Luís da Câmara Cascudo, with the presence of the poet Mário de Andrade. Oscar Wanderley was appointed professor at the *Escola Normal* in 1921 and we note that he remained at the institution in 1938 (*A Ordem*, 1938). At the Women's School of Commerce in Natal, he worked as a Portuguese teacher.

The intellectual was one of the promoters of the creation of the Rio Grande do Norte Teachers' Association in 1920. Oscar Wanderley was the Association's secretary and speaker, in addition to being part of the editorial team of the Association's *Pedagogium Magazine*. In this pedagogical publication, we found, from 1921 to 1927, nine articles by the intellectual that dealt mainly with elements of moral and civic education, in addition to his speeches given on behalf of the Association. The intellectual participated in the First Brazilian Child Protection Congress (PCBPI), held in Rio de Janeiro from August 27th to September 5th, 1922 as part of the Centenary of Independence celebrations.

In 1925 and 1926, the State Education Department held a summer course at the *Escola Normal de Natal* aimed at teachers in Rio Grande do Norte. Azevedo (2020) points out that Oscar Wanderley held conferences in both editions, the first with the theme “Teaching reading” and the second entitled “Writing”. In the First Brazilian Education Week, held in October 1928, Oscar Wanderley held a conference entitled “Education and Eugenics” (*Jornal do Comércio*, 1928). In the second edition of the event (1929), the title of his conference was “On the influence of Professional Education”.

We understand, from these elements, that Oscar Wanderley writes from a place of speech associated with the spaces he moved through in Rio Grande do Sul society as a member of an intellectual elite. He writes, above all, based on his experiences in the educational field, as a teacher in primary, normal and professional education.

Aprígio de Almeida Gonzaga, in turn, was born on March 8, 1882, in the city of Rio de Janeiro. According to Assunção (2016, p. 57, our translation), the intellectual's family “belonged to the middle layer of society and also to urban cadres and probably had some prestige in São Paulo society”. Son of Major Carlo de Almeida Gonzaga and Marianna Joaquina de Almeida Gonzaga, he attended normal school at the *Escola Normal de São Paulo*, graduating in December 1904. He married Guilhermina Sampaio Doria, also a normalist, from the family of the future Director of Public Instruction of São Paulo, Antônio Sampaio Dória.

Assunção (2016) points out that, during Aprígio Gonzaga's training period at Escola Normal, the teachers who worked there were fervently involved in the discussion surrounding the defense of the quality of education in São Paulo and were involved in discussions about professional education. Aprígio Gonzaga was a teacher in the cities of Caconde and Pedreiras and, in 1908, he was transferred to Santos, São Paulo, where he began to direct the Grupo Escolar Cesário Bastos and teach at the Grupo Escolar Municipal Noturno de Santos. The intellectual was also a professor at the Dona Rosa Escolástica Institute, a professional education school located in the same city (Assunção, 2016). In January 1911, Aprígio Gonzaga began working as assistant at the Grupo Escolar da Consolação in the capital of São Paulo.

Assunção (2016) points out that Aprígio Gonzaga was part of the Public Teachers' Beneficent Association of the State of São Paulo, responsible for the *Revista de Ensino*. The relationships built at this institution would have led to his professional advancement, leading him to take over the direction of the Escola Profissional Masculina de São Paulo in 1909. The author emphasizes that the experience at the Dona Rosa Escolástica Institute enabled the intellectual to deepen his studies on professional education, enabling him to take on the role. His appointment is mentioned in the newspaper "O Estado de São Paulo", on November 5, 1911. As director of the Professional School, the intellectual was also responsible for monitoring and assisting in the implementation of other schools in the segment throughout the interior of São Paulo, such as the Escola Profissional from Ribeirão Preto and Campinas in 1927 (O Jornal, 1927).

In 1923, we find mention of his name as a contributor to the "Revista da Educação" directed by Raul de Paula. In an article published in the same year in the newspaper "O Brasil" in Caxias, Rio Grande do Sul, we identified the mention of the intellectual as the author of a leaflet promoting professional education.

The aforementioned leaflet, authored by Mr. Aprígio Gonzaga, distinguished director of the Escola Profissional Masculina de São Paulo and a fervent supporter of the system of education through work, is very attractive and the concepts expressed in his little book, especially in the part referring to women, capture the reader's attention and are clarified with a lot of accuracy and guidance (O Brasil, 1923, p. 02, our translation).

From this extract from the report, we understand that Aprígio Gonzaga's writings were not restricted to the capital and the state of São Paulo, but circulated throughout other Brazilian states. We also find mention of an article by the educator published in the magazine "A Escola

Primaria” in Rio de Janeiro, in 1926, entitled “Purpose of Manual Labor for Men” (A Manhã, 1926, p. 02, our translation).

Another Rio newspaper reports the same information, pointing out that this article by Aprígio Gonzaga would have been published in the “Revista do Ensino” in Belo Horizonte (Jornal do Brasil, 1926, p. 06). In the Jornal de Recife (1926), edition of February 18, we also found news about Rio's pedagogical print. We point out to these news, published in different newspapers, in the south, southeast and northeast of the country, as they corroborate our perspective that the ideas defended by Aprígio Gonzaga circulated throughout the country through pedagogical printed matter in the 1920s.

Aprígio Gonzaga appears as the author of three books published by Companhia Editora Nacional de São Paulo: *Minhas Graças* (reading for 2nd year); *School stories* (reading for 3rd year) and *São Paulo and its greatness* (reading for 4th year). In addition to these, the educator published the book “*O slojd*” in 1916. The intellectual also participated in the First Brazilian Congress on Child Protection (1922)¹¹, presenting the work “Purpose of professional education for men”; and the 3rd National Education Conference, held in São Paulo in September 1929, being responsible for the 2nd committee of the Professional Education section.

In a message from the President of the State, in 1918, there is mention of the visit of the then President of the Republic Venceslau Braz to the Professional School, in the previous year, and that he had invited its director, Aprígio Gonzaga, to undertake a study trip to the United States of America, which would be paid for by the Union. However, we found no evidence that such a trip was undertaken. On the other hand, the intellectual traveled to Argentina with the aim of observing the organization of the country's school system, with a focus on professional education.

According to Tizzot Filho (2013), Aprígio Gonzaga presented a trip report to the São Paulo government in which he detailed the educational institutions he visited and his impressions. According to the author, this intellectual's pedagogical journey influenced his practice in directing the Men's Professional School. According to Assunção (2016), the intellectual ended his work in 1934, when he served as professor and director of the Male Professional Institute in São Paulo, after 23 years at the helm of the institution. Aprígio Gonzaga died on April 7, 1954.

¹¹Proceedings of the First Brazilian Congress on Child Protection, on the initiative of the Mental Hygiene and Eugenics Study and Research Group (GEPHE). Available at: http://www.cch.uem.br/grupos-de-pesquisas/gephe/documentos/copy_of_Primeiro-congresso-brasileiro-de-protecao-a-infancia. Accessed on: 03 Jun. 2023.

When discussing the academic and professional paths of these intellectuals, we come across trajectories related to normal, primary and professional education in their states of activity. To better understand this place of speech and the context in which they were inserted, we will now briefly present Professional Education and the institutions in which the subjects investigated here worked.

Traits of Professional Education in São Paulo and Rio Grande do Norte

The theme of professional education is accompanied by different concepts throughout the history of Brazil. The relationship between school and work was initially shaped by a mentality that attributed manual labor to the poorest sections of the population, since historically these were associated with slaves and Indians. In this sense, Cunha (2000, p. 90) states that “I consider it more correct to say that it was the rejection of vile work (that is: lowly, ordinary, miserable, insignificant, despicable, infamous) that led to prejudice against manual work”.

This same perspective is pointed out by Silva and Medeiros Neta (2019, p. 13, our translation) who, when analyzing the work “History of industrial education in Brazil” by educator-engineer Celso Suckow da Fonseca, identify the defense for “universalization of industrial education to all layers of the population, criticizing the conception rooted in Brazilian culture that learning trades was exclusively for the poor”. This conception contributed to the construction of the dichotomy between manual work and intellectual work that would also influence the organization of educational institutions.

When referring to the beginning of the 20th century, Cunha (2000) points out that government initiatives to encourage the creation of professional education schools were related to the intention, on the one hand, of providing the least favored, the disadvantaged, with technical preparation and intellectual that kept them away from idleness, and, on the other, with the perception of industry as a way of elevating Brazil to a politically and economically independent nation, based on the notions of progress, democracy and civilization.

Notably, professional schools did not begin with the Republic, but came from the Empire. It is not our intention in this work to historicize professional education, but only to point out elements that help us understand the context. Therefore, in this sense, it is important to highlight the creation of houses for artisan students, between 1840 and 1856, and of arts and crafts schools, between 1858 and 1886 (Manfredi, 2017). High schools served as the base from which, throughout the 20th century, the Federal Professional Education Network would be built.

Saviani (2007), when discussing the concept of institution, presents it as a secondary activity that arises from a requirement for deliberate intervention in society, the institutionalization of an activity that was already carried out primarily in a spontaneous, unsystematic and informal way. Thus, famously, professional education occurred as a practice in society in a diffuse way prior to the origin of specific educational institutions.

It is important to highlight that institutions are permeated by social, cultural and intentional relations. In this sense, Saviani (2007, p. 04) points out that these refer to “a material structure that is constituted to meet a certain human need, but not just any need. This is a permanent need. That’s why the institution was created to remain”. However, in the study of educational institutions it is highlighted that, despite being created to remain, the institution is not static, otherwise, as a social construction, it changes and transforms historically.

Thus, when we look back to the first decades of the 20th century, we come across the creation of institutions aimed at professional education. The President of the Republic Nilo Peçanha, through Decree 7,566, of September 23, 1909, created 19 Schools for Apprentices and Artificers, one in each state capital¹². According to Santos (2000, p. 212) “this new system of professional education started to be maintained by the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry and its purpose was to offer free primary professional education to the population”.

Center of the country's incipient industrialization process, the state of São Paulo, with the objective of providing labor training appropriate to economic changes, created through Decree nº 2118-B, of September 28, 1911, two institutes professionals in the capital, one for men and the other for women. Men's and Women's Professional Schools¹³ would be “establishments intended for teaching arts and crafts [sic] to male students, and domestic economics and manual skills to female students” (São Paulo, 1911, our translation).

According to Assunção (2016), the way professional education was thought about and offered in São Paulo changed with the election as President of the State of Manoel Joaquim de Albuquerque Lins, a defender of this type of education. Oliveira (1994, p. 59, our translation), in turn, points out that the intention in creating these institutions was to train “future workers who would take care, mainly, of maintaining order and discipline within the factories”. The author also draws attention to the choice of location for these schools, in the São Paulo neighborhood of Brás, a factory and stronghold of the proletariat, often responsible for labor

¹²According to Cunha (2000), all schools were located in capitals, with the exception of Rio Grande do Sul and Rio de Janeiro, which was created in the city of Santos, where President Nilo Peçanha was born.

¹³About this institution, see Oliveira (1994).

unrest. Following the creation of these institutions in the capital, others were created in municipalities in São Paulo as a response to the demands created by the state's growing industrialization.

The Male Professional School interests us in this study, above all, due to its relationship with the professional trajectory of Aprígio Gonzaga, who was appointed the school's first director and remained in the position until 1934. The School was inaugurated on November 17, 1911, offering day and night courses. According to the Decree of its creation, which also regulated education, it would be offered in workshops and would comprise the following sections: mathematics, drawing, mechanics (blacksmiths, casters, and adjusters), painters, bricklayers, weavers, tinsmiths and chauffeurs (São Paulo, 1911).

Regarding the courses offered by the institution, the President of the State Rodrigues Alves mentions in his message to the Assembly in 1913, the existence of a mechanics workshop in which blacksmiths and locksmiths were divided, a painting workshop which was divided into three groups, a carpentry and also points out the existence of plastics, spinning and weaving workshops (São Paulo, 1913). Already in 1924, in the message from State President Washington Luís, we find reference to theoretical and practical education offered at the School, with “theoretical instruction in regulatory subjects: - Portuguese, arithmetic, physics and chemistry and technical drawing; and practice in mechanics (adjustment, turning, blacksmithing and casting); carpentry (turning, carving and polishing); painting (signs, decoration and letters)” (São Paulo, 1924, p. 76, our translation).

As pointed out in the Messages, the school's income, from the sale of products, was used to pay the institution's expenses, collected from the state treasury and allocated to paying a percentage to the students. The name of the school was changed several times throughout its history and, in 1943, it was renamed Escola Técnica Getúlio Vargas and, currently, Escola Técnica Estadual Getúlio Vargas. In *Revista Careta*, Rio de Janeiro, we found a photograph with the following caption “General group of students from the Escola Profissional Masculina do Braz, with the respective director Mr. Aprígio Gonzaga in the front row” (FIGURE 01).

Figure 1 – Aprígio Gonzaga (first row) and group of students from the Men’s Professional School.



Source: Revista Careta (RJ), May 10, 1913, p. 38.

We highlight that the choice of Aprígio Gonzaga to direct the School was probably the result of the experience that the intellectual acquired at the Dona Rosa Escolástica Institute. Assunção (2016) also presents the thesis that the intellectual not only took over the management, but participated in the process of designing the organization of the School and the Lyceums of Arts and Crafts that would be created in the cities of Amparo and Jacaréí.

Also, according to Assunção (2016), the experience that Aprígio Gonzaga had on his trip to Argentina regarding manual work in primary education influenced the professional education proposal that he would defend and apply in the following years. Contact with the Argentine education system aroused the intellectual's interest in the *slojd*¹⁴ which, in his perception, would have teaching starting in primary education and extending to male professional education.

To construct the proposal for teaching in São Paulo, Aprígio Gonzaga was based on the Swedish and American *Slojd*, creating, in 1916, the book “*O Slojd*” (Assunção, 2016). We also observed the importance that the intellectual attributed to the presence of technical drawing in

¹⁴*Slojd* proposal was organized by the Swede Otto Salomon in his book “*The teacher's handbook of slojd*” from 1892.

the Professional School. According to Gonzaga (1921) *apud* Assunção (2016, p. 113, our translation) drawing, as a mandatory theoretical subject, was “the nervous system of school life and the first step towards all industries”. As pointed out by the author, students would have at least one hour of class dedicated to this subject for three years. Still regarding the organization of teaching at the Professional School, we highlight that it was composed of two courses: theoretical, mandatory for everyone – drawing, mathematics, Portuguese and moral and civic education; and the practical, optional, and which should be based on theoretical teaching, associated with professional courses.

We will focus on the intellectual's perspectives on professional education, expressed in his writing, in the next section of this work. We will then present the context of Rio Grande do Norte with regard to professional education in the first republican decades.

Santos (2018) points out that at the beginning of the 20th century, the republicans' discourse was permeated by the need to turn the capital of Rio Grande do Norte, Natal, into a *de facto* city with centrality over the territory of Rio Grande do Norte. During this period, we saw several transformations in urban space marked by modernist and hygienist ideas. In this sense, Arrais (2017, p. 10, our translation) urges that “the capital city should radiate examples of civility and, the supreme value of the time, progress for the entire state”. Thus, Natal is undergoing an urban reformulation, like other Brazilian capitals, with the widening of streets, construction of new buildings and squares, and the installation of modern resources such as tram tracks and electricity.

During this period, we verified the State's actions with the aim of organizing public instruction. In 1908, through the Decree of April 29 (Rio Grande do Norte, 1909a), the government envisaged the Comprehensive Reform of Primary and Secondary Instruction, the creation of the Escola Normal de Natal, in addition to reestablishing the General Directorate of Instruction Public. In the same year, the Augusto Severo School Group was also created by Decree nº 174 of March 5th. These are considered important milestones in the History of Rio Grande do Norte Education, as they denote the efforts that would become increasingly systematic in organizing teaching, creating schools and teaching professionalization.

On the other hand, Lucas, Silva, and Medeiros Neta (2019, p. 05, our translation) state that “the Brazilian Republic defined two projects for children: the first aimed at the children of the elite, through school groups and the second for the unfortunate, such as the Escola de Aprendizes Artífices (EAA)”. This perspective highlights professional education associated

with the value of work as a way of solving social problems, educating the less privileged to adapt to the desired modern society.

As we mentioned, through Decree 7,566, 19 EAA were created, including the one in Natal, ¹⁵which was installed in the old building of Hospital da Caridade Jovino Barreto, in the Cidade Alta neighborhood (Rio Grande do Norte, 1909b). Medeiros Neta, Nascimento and Rodrigues (2012, p. 97, our translation) indicate that the School was inaugurated on January 3, 1910, and characterized the teaching provided by this institution as “socio-educational training to assist 'disadvantaged' or 'stray' minors, by learning a trade and preparing for work”. The authors also point out that two mandatory courses were offered, primary, for those who did not know how to read, write and count, and drawing. Students also participated in shoemaking, carpentry, tailoring, locksmithing and bodywork workshops.

Gois (1961) refers to another professional education institution: the Women's School of Commerce ¹⁶, created in 1922, subsidized by the State Government. In the Album of the Escola Normal de Natal, produced in 1927, we find a photograph that corresponds to the institution (FIGURE 02).

Figure 2 – Photograph of students at the Women’s School of Commerce in Natal (1927).



Source: Album of the Escola Normal de Natal (Rio Grande do Norte, 1927).

¹⁵The School of Apprentices and Artifices, since its foundation in 1909, has gone through different names such as Liceu Industrial de Natal, Escola Técnica Federal and, currently, Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology of Rio Grande do Norte (IFRN).

¹⁶We do not find much information about this institution in Rio Grande do Norte Historiography, thus lacking research.

According to Gois (1961), the School was founded by the Bishop of Natal Dom Antônio dos Santos Cabral with the help of Catholic ladies who “operated until the creation of the School of Commerce of the Colégio Imaculada Conceição, in 1932. Its directors were: Professors Elita Souto Monte, Julia Serive, Beatriz Cortês and Dulce Wanderlei. Among the graduates today we see teachers in our higher schools” (Gois, 1961, p. 79-80, our translation).

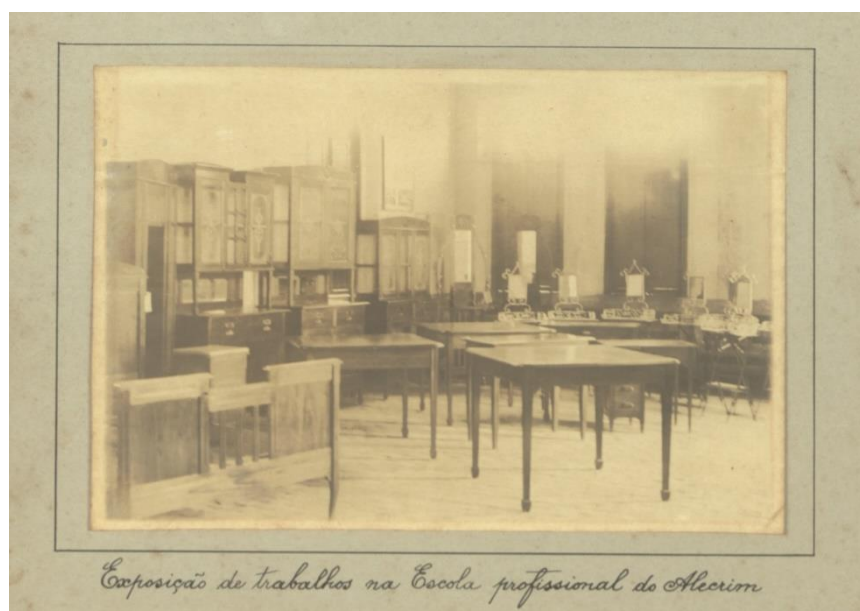
We come across mentions of this School in the 1920s, referring to parties celebrating the awarding of diplomas to the students, with State Presidents such as Juvenal Lamartine as paranymphs of the classes. The news published in the *Jornal O Imparcial* (RJ) on November 27, 1928, states that “president Lamartine paralyzed the class, talking about the significance of the results obtained by the students in the current moment of vindication of women's rights. This speech produced an excellent impression among the feminists”. This same news refers to the commercial course offered by the institution.

Another institution associated with Professional Education existing in the period concerns the *Escola Profissional do Alecrim*, created on April 24, 1922, with workshops for metalwork, carpentry, shoemaking and bodywork (Rio Grande do Norte, 1922). In a message from the president of the State, the following year, we found information that the School operated attached to the *Frei Miguelinho School Group* building and was administered by the *Alecrim Scout Association* (Rio Grande do Norte, 1923).

The *Alecrim* neighborhood, where the School was located, was considered a poor neighborhood in the capital, inhabited by workers, bricklayers and farmers (Pinto, 2015). The direction of the institution was assigned to Professor Luís Soares Correia de Araújo, also director of the *School Group*. In 1926, we find mention of an exhibition of the work of the School's students and the visit there by authorities from Rio Grande do Norte (Rio Grande do Norte, 1926).

In the *Escola Normal Album*, we identified photographs relating to these exhibitions. According to Azevedo (2020), the creation of this Album occurred as part of the State's actions in commemorating the Centenary of the Law of 1827. The author points out that, although the document is dated 1927, there is evidence that it was composed of photographs which were not produced this year, since the choice of photographs that would make up the album was guided by the intention of producing a favorable image of Rio Grande do Sul education. Therefore, we cannot say that the photograph reproduced here is from 1927 or previous years (FIGURE 03).

Figure 3 – Exhibition of works at the Alecrim Professional School (1927).



Source: Album of the Escola Normal de Natal (Rio Grande do Norte, 1927).

The three Rio Grande do Norte schools presented here¹⁷, although with different profiles, represent how professional education was thought of in the first republican decades. Created by federal, state and private initiatives, they were aimed at specific portions of the population, meeting the demands of Rio Grande do Sul society, be it the inclusion of poor and disadvantaged students in the job market, or women who were increasingly seeking more space.

Visions of Professional Education

At this point, we will focus on the analysis of the writing of intellectuals about Professional Education. The first text refers to the article published by Aprígio Gonzaga in the first issue of the *Revista da Educação de São Paulo*, under the editorship of Raul de Paula. This publication had the objective of “working for national education” and its publication in São Paulo is justified because it is the “largest educational center in Brazil”, which would explain “why it became its intellectual capital, with the largest number of pedagogues who will be able to exert a broad influence in our country, spreading their ideas and principles through the pages of a magazine with a large circulation” (*Revista da Educação*, 1923, p. 06, our translation).

We identified that the *Revista da Educação* did not only circulate in the State of São Paulo. In the newspaper *O Brasil*, dated July 21, 1923, we found the news about the receipt in

¹⁷In his Master's thesis, Silva (2017) presents other data relating to professional education in the State from 1908 to 1957.

that city of another issue of the Magazine, including mention of the summary in which Aprígio Gonzaga's text appears. This article, entitled “Purpose of Professional Education for men – observation, inference and action” comprised a section entitled Professional Education, directed by the intellectual. We evidence that this space for the intellectual's speech and writing in the first issue of the pedagogical form denotes the recognition that Aprígio Gonzaga had in the field. Above all, his work at the Escola Profissional Masculina de São Paulo since 1911 gave him the authority to occupy this space.

In the first text by Aprígio Gonzaga (1923), entitled “Purpose of Professional Education for Men”, we come across light writing, permeated by stories, by examples that the author presents to corroborate the vision he defends about education and, especially, on professional education. At the beginning of the text, Gonzaga (1923, p. 28, our translation) points out his objective stating “I will try to clarify and show how it is practiced and what is aimed for with this teaching method where the activity, intelligence, freedom and association of teachers and students are always at stake, and to such a high level they elevate and cultivate the dignity of man.”

Thus, the author constructs a scenario in which he presents the importance of education through work in training men for society, showing the negative results of poor education arising from the family and society. For Gonzaga,

In the new education, we must educate first and instruct later; employ our hands in building, so that we feel the truth, so that, through our hands, which are the 'eyes of the spirit', we form the habit of observation, reasoning and precise judgment [...] literary education does not it excludes the great principles of education through work, through the senses. No, it even requires them (Gonzaga, 1923, p. 27-28, our translation).

From the analysis of the author's writing, we found some premises that guide Aprígio Gonzaga's text. The first refers to the habit of doing things, which, for the intellectual, it is society's job to encourage. For Gonzaga (1923, p. 33, our translation) “he who has education through work – professional education in arts and crafts, although the results are not so brilliant, they are remunerative, provide well-being, health, wealth, and, commonly, greater influence societies.”

The author also considers that “all this happiness, all this, came from work habits, initiative, all this came from self-confidence, which only education through manual work could develop and create” (1923, p. 34, our translation). When defending the importance of education through work for the construction of the desired, organized and moralized society and

homeland, Aprígio Gonzaga points out that this thought is part of the North American educational system and, in this way, so that Brazil could achieve the same levels of progress, it should also imitate the organization of that country.

The second premise we identified concerns the intellectual's defense of non-specialization in professional education. Aprígio Gonzaga mentions the adoption of a comprehensive technical education system that would allow students to improve in any field and adapt to needs. By stating that he is against specialization, the intellectual considers that professional education should provide “work habits” and points out that this

[...] is the means that we must use for the complete education of the young person, an education that will not make automatons, but that, instead, prepares beings who are fit, dignified, strong, moral, and capable of modifying the conditions of life into which they were born and found or opened new eras of prosperity for themselves and for society (Gonzaga, 1923, p. 45, our translation).

The third premise refers to the work that shapes character. Evidenced through examples throughout the text, this perspective guides the entire writing and relates to the other elements. For the author, morality would be acquired through education, the new education based on work. Through manual work, culture of body and spirit could be obtained. Gonzaga (1923, p. 40, our translation) states that “the young man who does not have a good occupation, seeks and finds a bad one”. Work, the habit of doing it, would then be the solution to this problem, because “where work is higher and more widespread, morality is higher and standards of life are more dignified” (1923, p. 40, our translation).

Finally, we identify the intellectual's understanding of professional education as the basis of education. In several parts of his writing, this perspective is defended and the author builds a relationship with his performance and practices adopted at the Men's Professional School. For Gonzaga (1923, p. 36, our translation), “professional work, taught as we do, is not an isolated matter, which we adjust to other related disciplines, but the very basis of all physical and intellectual development, harmoniously”. As pointed out by the intellectual, work would be the guiding axis of all subjects, becoming the center of students' school lives. When referring, once again, to the Men's Professional School, Aprígio Gonzaga states that

Here, at our school, we are still experimenting with modifying the student's social life through school life, which gives our problem a vast philosophical importance. In the education of the spirit and body, through manual and intellectual exercise, combined, the latter supported by the former, we seek to bring about the evolution of one's own being at school, the new education,

which is the center of the future democracy (Gonzaga, 1923, p. 37, our translation).

The new education, mentioned several times by the intellectual, is understood by the author as a teaching-experience, in which students are active and actors, in which intellectual and manual perspectives meet and dialogue. Professional education, from the author's perspective, would have the mission of not just training mere breeders of trades. The intellectual's place of speech marks his writing. The ideas presented in his text are based on his experience as director of a Professional Education Institution for more than ten years.

Notably, we emphasize that these elements listed here are consistent with the conception of professional education defended by the intellectual, as explained by him when he states that “only those who have habits of work, inventiveness, adaptation, tenacity, patience and confidence their own, which they only acquire with the harmoniously created manual and intellectual education system, will be the winners” (Gonzaga, 1923, p. 49, our translation).

As explained by the author, we found different mentions of foreign books and authors, demonstrating that Aprígio Gonzaga had access to ideas that circulated in other countries. The intellectual cites countries such as England, Germany, Belgium, the United States, and Japan, and demonstrates an approximation of readings in English and French, including presenting a long excerpt in the latter language.

The second text by the intellectual that we analyzed in this work is entitled “O Slojd and the moral formation of young people” published in the *Revista Pedagogium*¹⁸ in 1925. This form began to be published in the capital of Rio Grande do Norte in July 1921. As pointed out by Azevedo (2020), the objective of the periodical was to contribute to teacher training, inform and enable the union and strengthening of teaching in the State. For the author, “*Pedagogium* thus reveals itself as a space for the circulation of ideas and discussion of themes deemed relevant for education professionals in the period” (Azevedo, 2020, p. 78, our translation).

When presenting a new phase of print, at the beginning of 1925, the magazine's editorial committee, of which the intellectual Oscar Wanderley was a member, pointed out that the “*Pedagogium*” would be “a carrier of these new ideas” and added “will this be, at least, our greatest desire, as we want to promote, among those who read us, efficient action in the sense of orienting them to the modern principles of pedagogy” (*Pedagogium*, 1925, p. 03, our translation).

¹⁸About this pedagogical form, see Ribeiro (2020) “REVISTA PEDAGOGIUM: The Association of Teachers in action for the educational project of Escola Nova in RN (1920 – 1932)”

Thus, we find in magazine nº 21 from September to October of the same year, the publication of the article by Aprígio Gonzaga that had been published in the magazine “A Educação”¹⁹ from Rio de Janeiro. In this same issue of *Pedagogium*, we also find other articles and speeches related to Professional Education, such as the speech given by Raymundo Hostilio Dantas at the inauguration of the Escola Elementar de Bellas Artes, on October 4, 1925.

In his text, Aprígio Gonzaga presents his conception of the purpose of *slojd*:

Slojd is not a separate discipline: it is the very basis of all the student's inferences and the means of moral education par excellence. Slojd is manual labor; Slojd is the child in action, it is the habit of doing, it is the touchstone of skills, it is the revelation of the soul tendencies that sleep deep within our being (Gonzaga, 1925, p. 36, our translation).

According to the author, *Slojd* would have the capacity to awaken students' vocations. Aprígio Gonzaga considers that everyone has a propensity for some skill and work. Education, in general, and professional education, specifically, would then have the function of extracting the potential of students, so that they would stand out professionally, but above all in their relationship as constituent subjects of a new society, the Brazilian nation. In this sense, the intellectual highlights the role of the educator.

Gonzaga points to the example of the United States to defend the idea of the importance of professional guidance from primary education onwards and emphasizes that “the primary school, in its role of comprehensive training, is responsible for developing and directing the child's skills and advising them to achieve the best results in life” (Gonzaga, 1925, p. 40-41, our translation). From this perspective, Ribeiro (2018, p. 06, our translation) highlights that “the changes carried out on American soil, in the *slojd* model, pointed to a polytechnic, which proposed going beyond learning a trade, but a broader practice, of intellectual training and morals.” We then perceive the strong influence of the American model on Gonzaga's thinking.

Aprígio argues that student training should be based on their skills and abilities. Only in this way would he succeed. Likewise, the author highlights the importance of education through work to avoid discouragement, sadness and poverty resulting from the lack of preparation made possible by education. For the intellectual, it would then be necessary to spread *Slojd* and, with this, the life possibilities of young people would be expanded.

¹⁹According to Araújo (1995), *Revista A Educação* was founded by José Augusto Bezerra de Medeiros from Rio Grande do Norte in 1922 in Rio de Janeiro. It was a monthly magazine dedicated to the defense of education in Brazil with the participation of intellectuals such as, for example, Afrânio Peixoto, Carneiro Leão and Heitor Lyra.
RIAEE – Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação, Araraquara, v. 19, n. 00, e024045, 2024. e-ISSN: 1982-5587
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v19i00.18157>

We also highlight the Christian background of Aprígio Gonzaga, which becomes a hallmark of his writing. In his two texts, his writing is permeated by elements that refer to religious aspects. Even his perception of work involves the understanding that it would be given by God to men as a means for improvement, for physical, intellectual and moral evolution. In the second text analyzed here, for example, Aprígio presents a biblical excerpt from the story of David to corroborate his idea that God gave everyone abilities and, just like the biblical character, the young man needs to have confidence to overcome difficulties and the struggles of life. A final element pointed out by the author concerns his opinion that correct educational guidance would form the pride of young people's character and, as a consequence, electoral reforms would not be necessary to curb the sale of votes.

The third text that we propose to analyze in this article, in turn, is written by Oscar Wanderley from Rio Grande do Norte and entitled “The influence of Professional Education”. This is the conference held at the Escola de Aprendizes Artífices in Natal during the Second Brazilian Education Week ²⁰, on October 9, 1929. From the beginning of his speech, Wanderley highlights his understanding of the relationship between professional education, industry and the future of Brazil. When referring to the awakening of the industry and its growth, he states

This stupendous miracle that will be perpetuated in the granary of History, and that is bringing to the Country the irresistible fluid of new and amazing inspirations, will inevitably be the irrefutable work of science. And you know, better than I, that intelligence and education, when at the service of work, constitute the most abundant source of common wealth, which is why it is a fundamental condition for all prosperity (Wanderley, 1929, p. 48, our translation).

Wanderley highlights that technical instruction in Brazil was still insufficient. However, the educator highlights that, in his opinion, there should not be a general expansion of technical education in the country, nor should it be mandatory, given that the existing primary schools were not yet sufficient for the school-age population. According to the author, “only 20% of Brazilian minors are enrolled in primary schools” and adds, when referring to normal education, “while Argentina has 48 thousand working primary teachers and the United States has 761 thousand, Brazil, with a population four times larger than that, it boasts only 25 thousand, when,

²⁰The Brazilian Education Weeks refer to an initiative by the Brazilian Education Association (ABE) that aimed to promote instruction and popular education events in the states. In Rio Grande do Norte, we identified three Education Weeks – 1928, 1929 and 1930. The Second Week was organized by the Teachers' Association, from October 7th to 13th, 1929. The Association then produced, based on the event carried out, a form published by the Official Press to gather the news and conferences given.

in proportion, it should have a number never less than 192 thousand” (Wanderley, 1929, p. 50, our translation).

At this point, we highlight the formation and performance of the intellectual associated, above all, with primary and normal education. We also highlight Wanderley’s ties to the Teachers’ Association. These aspects allow us to understand the educator’s defense in relation to these teaching modalities, whilst recognizing the importance and need for professional education.

For Wanderley (1929), it would be necessary to offer a minimum of elementary preparation so that students could improve in any art or craft. He also did not defend the specialized course in professional education and pointed out the need for education as capable of preparing man as an economic value. In his text, the intellectual cites other countries such as England, Germany and France, but points to the United States as having the “most complete professional education known” and adds

Whether due to their advanced processes, adaptable, in fact, in prosperous countries like ours, or due to the exemplary preparation of their people, the Americans have such perfect educational organizations, in terms of the professional training of their students, that the courses in their educational establishments teaching are compared to real ateliers, factories or workshops, with the material necessary for any advanced industrial center (Wanderley, 1929, p. 51-52, our translation).

When referring to the need for professional education for the country’s economic development, Wanderley cites speeches by two important Rio Grande do Sul politicians of the period, Juvenal Lamartine de Faria and José Augusto Bezerra de Medeiros. Certeau (1982, p. 97, our translation) explains to us that this resource used by the author in his writing gives the text credibility, at the same time it gives it a place of credibility, since “the language cited has the function of proving the discourse: as a reference, introduces a real effect into it.” In the same way, we understand that, as it is a speech before political and educational authorities of the State, Wanderley chooses to make these mentions as a form of recognition to these politicians mentioned. Wanderley highlights the benefits of work in building the country by stating

We do need to water our land with the sweat of our brow, making it as fertile as thought. It is necessary to convert those noble qualities that no one can deny to our race – the heroic value, the singular constancy, the tenacity to all proofs, the fierceness of character, the authority of customs, into many other elements of cultural expression and progress for the work of our economic and intellectual redemption (Wanderley, 1929, p. 53, our translation).

For the author, a good professional school would develop a scientific spirit in its students. Wanderley (1929) points out that progress in commerce and industry is based on advances in science and cites, as an example, once again, the United States, where, at the same time that children would have access to books, they would also be initiated into manual work, from the perspective of “learning by doing”. We show that the intellectual is careful to, at the same time as he defends professional education, seeks not to fail to mention the reality of illiteracy, making reference to the importance of primary education.

From this perspective, Wanderley (1929) explains his conception that higher education courses would be aimed at the most favored classes, while primary and professional education should be offered to everyone, being a duty of the State. Other elements addressed by the intellectual concern the relationship he identifies between work and morals, and the need for the federal government to be responsible for more professional education establishments, like those that already existed, the Schools for Apprentice Craftsmen and the Agricultural Schools. Oscar Wanderley concludes his text by stating that “Brazil's luck lies in honest and constructive work. Thought and workshop work. Let us raise Brazilians in the school of true learning, so that they themselves know how to think and act” (Wanderley, 1929, p. 56, our translation).

Final remarks

Throughout this text, we seek to present and analyze the thoughts of two intellectuals regarding professional education during the First Republic. Aprígio Gonzaga from São Paulo and Oscar Wanderley from Rio Grande do Norte have similarities when it comes, above all, to their training at Escola Normal. These are two normalists thinking about professional education.

We identify the circulation of ideas starting from the State of São Paulo as Aprígio Gonzaga's writings are reproduced in different states, including Rio Grande do Norte. Likewise, the connection between intellectuals and the thoughts and practices adopted in other European countries is evident, but, above all, the North American influence. We noticed points where the speeches of intellectuals come closer and further apart. Educators point to the North American model as the one to be followed and, when defending professional education, they highlight its relationship with the country's economic development.

Aprígio Gonzaga and Oscar Wanderley present in their writing a conception of professional education that is not restricted to simple craftsmen, but relates it to an integral education based on advances in science. This comprehensive education should not aim at

specializing the student, but rather contribute to the development of their skills. Thus, we perceive the realistic positioning of intellectuals in relation to what could be accomplished in Brazil. Looking at models from other countries should guide national actions, but they understand the limitations of this adaptation to the Brazilian reality, whether due to the insufficient educational system or the opposition encountered.

When we look at the First Republic, we highlight the importance of pedagogical printed materials for the circulation of ideas defended by intellectual educators during the period. Despite the creation of several professional education institutions since the first decade of the 20th century, we realize that they were still in an embryonic state. The conception of professional education, what was expected from the training of students, was under construction. The thoughts exposed by Aprígio Gonzaga and Oscar Wanderley help us understand the History of Professional Education in the period.

REFERENCES

A MANHÃ. Rio de Janeiro, 05 jan. 1926.

A ORDEM. Rio Grande do Norte, p. 04, 05 maio 1938.

ARAÚJO, M. M. **José Augusto Bezerra de Medeiros - vida, educação, política**. 1995. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 1995.

ARRAIS, R. A cidade, o todo e as partes. *In*: Arrais, R. (org.). **A terra, os homens e os sonhos: a cidade de Natal no início do século XX**. Sebo Vermelho, Natal, p. 07-12, 2017.

ASSUNÇÃO, M. A. T. Aprígio de Almeida Gonzaga: um seletor normalista fazendo história no ensino profissional (1911 – 1934). 163 f. Tese. (Doutorado em Educação) – Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo. 2016.

AZEVEDO, L. P. M. C. **As viagens pedagógicas de Nestor dos Santos Lima e a educação no Rio Grande do Norte na Primeira República**. 190f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Centro de Educação, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, Natal. 2020.

BARROS, J. D. Os campos da História – uma introdução às especialidades da História. **Revista HISTEDBR On-line**, Campinas, SP, n.16, p. 17-35, dez. 2004

CARETA. **O ensino profissional em São Paulo**. Rio de Janeiro, p. 38, 1913.

CERTEAU, M. **A Escrita da História**. Tradução de Maria de Lourdes Menezes. Rio de Janeiro: Forense-Universitária. 1982.

CUNHA, L. A. O ensino industrial-manufatureiro no Brasil. **Revista Brasileira de Educação**, n. 14, p. 89-107, 2000.

DIARIO DE NATAL. Natal, p. 01, 07 dez. 1909.

GINZBURG, C. **Mitos, emblemas, sinais**: morfologia e História. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras. 2007.

GOIS, U. O Ensino Comercial em Natal. Contribuição ao I Seminário de Estudos do Problemas de Educação e Cultura do Município de Natal. **REVISTA DO IHGRN**. Natal: Tip. Centro de Imprensa S. A. Volume LIV, p. 78-86, 1961.

GONZAGA, A. A. Finalidade do Ensino Profissional para homens – observação, inferença e acção. **Revista da Educação**. v. 1, n. 1, Imprensa Methodista de São Paulo. 1923.

GONZAGA, A. A. O Slojd e a formação moral dos jovens. **Revista Pedagogium**, n. 21. Natal: Empresa Tipográfica Natalense, p. 36-45, 1925.

JORNAL DO BRASIL. Belo Horizonte, 02 jan. 1926.

JORNAL DO COMMERCIO (RJ). A semana Brasileira de Educação. p. 02. 1928.

JORNAL DO RECIFE. Pernambuco, 18 fev. 1926.

LUCAS, M. K.P.; SILVA, K.K.O.; MEDEIROS NETA, O.M. A escola profissional do Alecrim (década de 1920). **Revista Brasileira de Iniciação Científica**, v. 6, p. 3-12, 2019.

MANFREDI, S. M. **Educação profissional no Brasil**: atores e cenários ao longo da História. Jundiaí, SP: Paco Editorial. 2017.

MEDEIROS NETA, O.; NASCIMENTO, J.; RODRIGUES, A. Uma escola para aprendizes artífices e o ensino profissional primário gratuito. **HOLOS**, v. 2, p. 96-104, 2012. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.15628/holos.2012.919>. Access: 07 June 2023.

MEDEIROS NETA, O. A configuração do campo da Educação Profissional no Brasil. **HOLOS**, v. 6, p. 50-55, 2016. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.15628/holos.2016.4947>. Access: 07 June 2023.

NASCIMENTO, F. L. S. **A Escola Normal de Natal**: Rio Grande do Norte, 1908-1971. Natal: IFRN, 2018. Available at: <https://memoria.ifrn.edu.br/handle/1044/1665>. Access: 03 June 2023.

PINTO, A. T. E. **A presença do professor Luiz Correia Soares de Araújo no Grupo Escolar Frei Miguelinho (1912-1967)**. 92f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) - Centro de Educação, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, Natal. 2015.

O BRAZIL. Rio Grande do Sul, p. 02, 07 abr. 1923.

O ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO. São Paulo, p. 04, nov. 1911.

O IMPARCIAL. Rio de Janeiro, p. 05, nov. 1928.

O JORNAL. Rio de Janeiro, 03 abr. 1927.

OLIVEIRA, S. T. Escolarização profissional feminina em São Paulo nos anos 1910/20/30. **Projeto História, Revista do Programa de Estudos Pós Graduated de História**. v. 11. São Paulo. 1994.

PEDAGOGIUM. **Revista Oficial da Associação de Professores**. v. 5. n. 17. Natal. Empreza Typographica Natalense, jan./fev. 1925.

PRIMEIRO CONGRESSO BRASILEIRO DE PROTECÇÃO A INFÂNCIA. **Departamento da Creança no Brasil**. Rio de Janeiro, 1922. Available at: http://www.cch.uem.br/grupos-de-pesquisas/gephe/documentos/copy_of_primeiro-congresso-brasileiro-de-protecao-a-infancia. Access: 03 June 2023.

REVISTA DA EDUCAÇÃO. **O que nós pretendemos**. v. 1, n. 1, Imprensa Methodista de São Paulo. p. 06-07, 1923.

RIBEIRO, M. F. O Slojd e a formação moral dos jovens. **Research, Society and Development**, v. 7, n. 10, p. 01-12, 2018.

RIBEIRO, M. F. **Revista Pedagogium**: a associação de professores em ação pelo projeto educativo da Escola Nova no RN (1920-1932). 2020. 207f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Centro de Educação, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, Natal, 2020.

RIO GRANDE DO NORTE. **Decreto nº 178, de 29 de abril de 1908**. Restabelece a Diretoria na Instrução Pública, cria a Escola Normal, Grupos Escolares e Escolas Mistas e dá outras providências. *In*: Actos Legislativos e Decretos do Governo (1908-1909). Natal: Typographia d'A República. 1909a.

RIO GRANDE DO NORTE. Presidente Alberto Maranhão. **Mensagem apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo na abertura da Terceira Sessão da Sexta Legislatura em 1º de novembro de 1909**. Natal: Typografia d'A República, p. 9, 1909b.

RIO GRANDE DO NORTE. Presidente Antônio José de Mello e Souza. Mensagem apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo na abertura da 3ª Sessão da Décima Legislatura em 1º de novembro de 1920. Natal: Typ. Commercial J. Pinto & C. Natal, p. 13, 1920.

RIO GRANDE DO NORTE. Presidente Antônio José de Mello e Souza. **Mensagem apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo na abertura da Segunda Sessão da Legislatura em 1º de novembro de 1922**. Natal: Typ. Commercial J. Pinto & C. Natal, p. 22, 1922.

RIO GRANDE DO NORTE. Presidente Antônio José de Mello e Souza. **Mensagem apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo na abertura da Terceira Sessão da Undécima Legislatura em 1º de novembro de 1923**. Natal: Typografia d'A República, p. 15, 1923.

RIO GRANDE DO NORTE. **Departamento de Educação do Estado.** Álbum de Fotografias do Departamento de Educação. 1927.

SANTOS, R. M. B. **Cidadania e ordem social:** a educação profissional e o mundo do trabalho no Rio Grande do Norte (1909-1937). 323f. Tese (Doutorado em Ciências da Educação) – Universidade do Minho, 2018.

SANTOS, J. A. A trajetória da educação profissional. *In:* LOPES, E. M. T.; FARIA FILHO, L. M.; VEIGA, C. G. (org.). **500 anos de educação no Brasil.** 2. ed. Autentica: Belo Horizonte, p. 205–224, 2000.

SÃO PAULO. **Decreto nº 2118-B de 28 de setembro de 1911.** Organiza as escolas profissionais da capital, de acordo com a Lei nº 1214, de 24/10/1910 e dá-lhes regulamento. 1911. Available at: <http://dobuscadireta.imprensaoficial.com.br/default.aspx?DataPublicacao=19111105&Caderno=Diario%20Oficial&NumeroPagina=4216>. Access: 07 June 2023.

SÃO PAULO. **Mensagem enviada ao Congresso do Estado a 14 de julho de 1913 pelo Dr. F. de Paula Rodrigues Alves.** São Paulo, 1913.

SÃO PAULO. **Mensagem apresentada ao Exmo. Sr. Dr. Carlos de Campos, em 1º de maio de 1924 pelo Exmo. Dr. Washington Luis Pereira de Sousa.** São Paulo, 1924.

SAVIANI, D. Instituições Escolares no Brasil: conceito e reconstrução histórica. *In:* NASCIMENTO, I. M. *et al.* (org.). **Instituições Escolares no Brasil.** Campinas, SP: Autores associados, p. 03–27, 2007.

SILVA, J. C. C., MEDEIROS NETA, O. M. História do ensino industrial no Brasil: uma análise historiográfica da obra de Celso Suckow da Fonseca. *Revista Brasileira De História Da Educação*, v. 19, 2019. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4025/rbhe.v19.2019.e091>. Access: 23 June 2023.

SILVA, K. K. O. **O ensino profissional do Rio Grande do Norte:** indícios da ação do Estado de 1908 a 1957. 2017. 88 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação Profissional) – Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia do Rio Grande do Norte. 2017.

SILVA, M. J. G. **"Em cada esquina um poeta, em cada rua um jornal":** a vida intelectual natalense (1889-1930). 2014. 399f. Dissertação (Mestrado em História) - CCHLA, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, Natal, 2014.

SIRINELLI, J. F. Os intelectuais. *In:* REMOND, R. **Por uma história política.** Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, p. 231-269, 2003.

TISSOT FILHO, O. G. **A Argentina como referência de instrução pública:** visões da elite normalista de São Paulo (1890-1920). 2013. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2013. Available at: [doi:10.11606/D.48.2013.tde-16092013-124708](https://doi.org/10.11606/D.48.2013.tde-16092013-124708). Access: 03 June 2023.

VIDAL, D.; SILVA, J. C. S. Interpretes do passado e do presente: a arte de historiadores da educação e arquivistas. **History of Education in Latin America - HistELA**, v. 3, e20951. 2020. Available at: <https://periodicos.ufrn.br/histela/article/view/20951>. Access: 07 June 2023.

WANDERLEY, O. Da influência da Educação Profissional. *In: Associação de Professores. As festividades da Segunda Semana Brasileira de Educação – Natal 7 a 13 de outubro de 1929.* Edição da Associação de Professores, Imprensa Oficial Natal, p. 47-56, 1929.

ZANLORENZI, C. M. P.; NASCIMENTO, M. I. M. Análise da imprensa como fonte de pesquisa para a História da Educação. **Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação**, Araraquara, SP, v. 15, n. 3, p. 1181-1192, jul./set. 2020. e-ISSN: 1982-5587. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.21723/riace.v15i3.12706>. Access: 03 June 2023.

CRedit Author Statement

Acknowledgments: Postgraduate Program in Education at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte – PPGED | UFRN and the Dean of Postgraduate Studies - UFRN.

Financing: Dean of Postgraduate Studies - UFRN.

Conflicts of interest: There are no conflicts of interest on the part of the authors.

Ethical approval: Not applicable.

Availability of data and material: Not applicable.

Author contributions: The authors contributed equally to the preparation of the article.

Processing and editing: Editora Ibero-Americana de Educação.
Review, formatting, standardization, and translation.

