

## “Sob os céus mais perigosos”: a segunda fase da “Página de Educação” do *Diário de Notícias* (1933)<sup>1</sup>

Jussara Santos PIMENTA<sup>2</sup>

### Resumo

À frente da “Página de Educação” do *Diário de Notícias*, Cecília Meireles, apesar de resistir e permanecer fiel às concepções educacionais e aos compromissos assumidos no “Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova”, do qual foi uma das signatárias e uma das suas mais ardorosas defensoras, enfrentou divergências político-ideológicas que resultaram no seu afastamento, em janeiro de 1933. O presente estudo tem como objetivo compreender como foi estruturada a fase posterior à sua saída, ainda não contemplada nos estudos historiográficos da educação brasileira; procura, também, identificar de que forma e em que medida os novos dirigentes mantiveram a proposta anterior e/ou procuraram legitimar e difundir as suas próprias concepções educacionais. Foi possível identificar, no período investigado, mais diferenças que semelhanças e um decréscimo na amplitude dos temas abordados.

**Palavras-chave:** “Página de Educação”. *Diário de Notícias*. Segunda fase. Cecília Meireles.

---

<sup>1</sup> Research funded by the Carlos Chagas Filho Foundation for Research Support of the State of Rio de Janeiro (FAPERJ): Process E-26/202.359/2021 – SENIOR POSTDOCTORAL PROGRAM (PDS – 2021), conducted at the Graduate Program in Education (ProPEd) of the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ). Duration: 10/01/2021 to 09/30/2022.

<sup>2</sup> PhD and Post-Doctorate in Education (ProPEd-UERJ). Professor at the Federal University of Rondônia (UNIR). Leader of the Interdisciplinary Studies Group in Education, History, and Memory (MNEMOS). ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5283-2509>. E-mail: [jussara.pimenta@unir.br](mailto:jussara.pimenta@unir.br)

## “Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the *Diário de Notícias* (1933)

*Jussara Santos PIMENTA*

### **Abstract**

At the head of the “Página de Educação” in the *Diário de Notícias*, Cecília Meireles, despite resisting and remaining faithful to the educational conceptions and ideals of the “Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova”, of which she was one of the signatories and one of the most enthusiastic defenders, faced political-ideological opposition that resulted in her removal in January of 1933. The present study aims to understand how the phase following her departure, not yet contemplated in historiographical studies of Brazilian education, was structured. It aims to identify how and to what extent the new leaders maintained the previous proposal and/or sought to legitimize and disseminate their own educational concepts. It was possible to recognize, in the investigated period, more differences than similarities and a decrease in the amplitude of the topics covered.

**Keywords:** “Página de Educação”. *Diário de Notícias*. Second phase. Cecília Meireles.

## Bajo los cielos más peligrosos: la segunda fase de la “Página de Educação” del *Diário de Notícias* (1933)

*Jussara Santos PIMENTA*

### Resumen

Al frente de la “Página de Educação” del *Diário de Notícias*, Cecília Meireles, a pesar de resistir y mantenerse fiel a las concepciones educativas y a los compromisos asumidos en relación al grupo del “Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova” del que fue una de las firmantes y una de sus más ardientes defensoras, enfrentó diferencias político-ideológicas que resultaron en su destitución en enero de 1933. El presente estudio tiene como objetivo comprender cómo se estructuró la etapa posterior a su partida, aún no contemplada en los estudios historiográficos de educación brasileña. Se busca identificar cómo y en qué medida los nuevos líderes mantuvieron la propuesta anterior y/o buscaron legitimar y difundir sus propias concepciones educativas. Fue posible identificar más diferencias que similitudes y una disminución en la amplitud de los temas tratados en el período investigado.

**Palabras clave:** “Página de Educação”. *Diário de Notícias*. Segunda fase. Cecília Meireles.

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the Diário de Notícias (1933)

## **Preamble**

Created on June 12, 1930, the “Página de Educação” (Education Page) appeared in the first issue of the Rio de Janeiro newspaper Diário de Notícias (1930-1974), founded by journalists Orlando Ribeiro Dantas, Nóbrega da Cunha, and Alberto Figueiredo Pimentel. It was directed by Cecília Meireles, who remained in charge until January 12, 1933. After her departure, the page continued to be published under various contributors until it was discontinued in October of the same year. Research focusing on the uniqueness and configuration of this educational dissemination vehicle has primarily concentrated on the initial years, particularly investigating Meireles’ role as both a leader and mediator, as well as her contributions as a creator/writer of hundreds of education-related chronicles. This leads to the presumption that the vehicle was discontinued after her departure. Using the keywords “Página de Educação” and “Crônicas de Educação”, (Education Chronicles) it was possible to identify theses and dissertations through the Capes Thesis and Dissertation Catalog, among which we highlight those by Strang (2003), Silva (2008a), Silva (2008b and 2015c), Souza (2013a), Roberto (2013), Nascimento (2013), Almeida (2014), and Souza (2014b), who researched sources related to this phase of the publication.

The “Crônicas de Educação” were analyzed by Strang (2003) and Nascimento (2013) to understand Cecília Meireles' educational, historical, and social concepts, as well as the paths she followed, her thoughts, actions, and her involvement in various groups and trends. Silva (2008a) centers their work on the idea that the chronicles present an aesthetic education project based on the convergence between lyricism and reflection, linking them to Edgar Morin’s ideas on education for the 21st century. Silva (2008b) and Silva (2015) examine the chronicles as a repository of memory, identifying Meireles' conceptions of art and culture in education, which allowed for insights not only into her thought but also into the historical version of the moment from the poet's perspective. Souza (2013a) explores the various meanings that the word/sign "education" assumes in the “Crônicas de Educação” and analyzes the shifts in meaning and different (re)definitions constructed by Meireles. Roberto (2013) discusses the educator's participation in the context of educational debates and the publication of the Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education, aiming to uncover the debates and confrontations that help understand the period in question and the importance of her voice in defending the ideals of a modern school. Almeida (2014) examines the traces of Cecília Meireles' readings present in the chronicles and how they converge to discussions on themes such as solidarity, cooperation, and fraternity among humans, integrating the national with the universal. Souza (2014b) identifies the

presence of "passions," according to Aristotle's characterization in the *Rhetoric*, as emotional components that determine the persuasive character of a discourse, highlighting how Meireles used "positive" passions to refer to ideas in agreement with the New School and "negative" passions to address ideas and actions contrary to the New School movement.

In dialogue with the aforementioned works, this study aims to explore and reflect on the gap regarding the characteristics of this phase, which has not yet been covered in Brazilian educational historiography. The goal is to understand to what extent the "Página" (Page) was appropriated for conveying a different discourse, with a different intention, although also addressing education-related themes, diverging from the ideals of the New School educators' group, of which Cecília Meireles was a part. What educational conceptions did they aim to convey to readers? What did they publish, and which themes were emphasized? Was there any divergence from the proposals of this education-dedicated page? What dissemination strategies were used? These questions led us to investigate the articles in the "Diário de Notícias" starting from January 13, 1933. The content that began to be published and the changes implemented from that moment present possibilities for understanding other facets of the educational movement of the 1930s—a broad movement that amalgamated actors with proposals that included disagreements, influences, positions, oppositions, confrontations, contradictions, and ruptures.

## **Under new management?**

In the first editorial of the new phase, readers were informed about the changes and new directions being adopted. The editorial stated that Cecília Meireles, who had been writing the page with the fervor of her intelligence, would no longer be among the "writers." It mentioned that the section would continue its mission, advancing the beautiful battle in favor of the ideals of the New School, and announced that, instead of the column "Commentario", it would feature articles from "the greatest names of the pioneers of new education" (which did not actually happen, as will be shown later) and that Attilio Vivacqua would write the article for the next edition (D. N., 13/01/1933). Questions that arise include: Who were the editors and what did they publish from that date onward? What were the proposals for continuing this "mission"? Despite the claim that "the greatest names" would continue to publish articles in that space, it can be observed from those editions that the intent was not fully realized and that other projects and directions were adopted. One challenge encountered during the

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the Diário de Notícias (1933)

research was identifying who was responsible from January to October 1933. Many of the articles were signed with initials such as M. G., M. J., and G. M<sup>3</sup>.

Therefore, from that point onward, it is possible to observe a reorientation in the published themes. Noting these clues, observing the residues, the marginal data, and the “details considered insignificant or even trivial,” as Ginzburg (1990, p. 149-150) suggests, we sought further evidence in the subsequent editions and identified a notable change: the frequency, emphasis, and predominance of rural education, the mentions and dissemination of texts praising Alberto Torres's ideas, as well as articles, courses, and news related to the *Sociedade dos Amigos de Alberto Torres* (SAAT) throughout the editions until the section's closure. Thus, we paid attention to these clues, marks, statements, and silences present in the documents. As Stephanou and Bastos (2011) state, documents “do not possess an inherent truth, ready to be unveiled by the researcher,” and it is necessary to perform the “specific operation of transforming traces into research data” to produce “a discourse, a narrative that constitutes one's reading of the past” (STEPHANOU; BASTOS, 2011, p. 417-418). It was essential to interpret these signs to find meaning from what they revealed or concealed and to transform them into research data.

The reading of the initial numbers and the indications found alerted us to a possible reorientation in the content, a hypothesis confirmed by the evaluation of the subsequent editions. It became evident that new proposals and configurations emerged, starting with the column titled “Excerptos,” strategically placed in the same section where Cecília Meireles's “Commentario” had previously appeared, possibly as a means to simulate the argumentative vigor and the exuberance of the themes discussed by the former editor. Instead, the focus shifted to a diversity of texts, betting on a certain political-ideological coincidence among their authors. In the newly created column, daily small excerpts from texts by educators, literati, politicians, ecclesiastics, and celebrities appeared, such as Sampaio Dória, Delgado de Carvalho, Oliveira Vianna, Alceu Amoroso Lima, Adolphe Ferrière, Monteiro Lobato, Rabindranath Tagore, Roquette Pinto, Mario Casasanta, João Ribeiro, Alfonso Reyes, Alberto Torres, Afrânio Peixoto, Paul Valéry, Bertha Lutz, Gerardo Backheuser, Henry Ford, Graça Aranha, Selma Lagerlöf, and others who were already known to readers. The column also

---

<sup>3</sup> Probably, Moisés Gikovate, a geologist from the National Museum, also associated with the Revista Nacional de Educação. G. R. was likely Garcia de Rezende, a professor, writer, school inspector, and head of the Cultural Cooperation and Extension Service during Atílio Vivacqua's reform. As a journalist, Rezende published the column “Notas Ligeiras” in the Diário da Manhã, authored various articles for the Diário de Notícias, and also contributed to the “Página de Educação”.

included fragments from speeches and texts by Oliveira Salazar, Benito Mussolini, and Adolf Hitler, as will be discussed later. However, there is a distinction: these are texts by prominent intellectuals in the new education literary and educational scene that had already been published, not commissioned and created for publication as before, perhaps due to the directors not having the same network of contacts.

From the continuities observed, we can see that the illustrations by the Portuguese artist Fernando Correia Dias<sup>4</sup>, remained throughout the period following Cecília Meireles' departure. These illustrations were frequent throughout the entire run of the "Página de Educação" and appeared in sections such as "Portugal Continental e Ultramarino," "Cinema, Teatro, Música," "No Lar e na Sociedade," "Automobilismo," "Economia, Comércio e Indústria," and "Marinha Mercante," as well as in the chronicles and poems of the "Suplemento Literário," which was published on Sundays.<sup>5</sup>

Initially, as mentioned in the editorial, at least three main articles were to be published, authored by prominent figures in the new education movement. However, over time, these articles dwindled and eventually disappeared, indicating that this goal was not achieved. Subsequently, articles about rural schools, rural education, successful experiences in different states of the federation, and initiatives from the National Federation of Education Societies (FNSE),<sup>6</sup> appeared. The publication of a first text by Attilio Vivacqua<sup>7</sup> followed. Titled "The Educational Conception of Alberto Torres"

---

<sup>4</sup> Portuguese illustrator, painter, caricaturist, book cover designer, and sculptor (1892-1935), he worked for magazines such as *Águia* and *Rajada* (in Portugal) and *Festa*, *Terra de Sol*, and *Árvore Nova* (in Brazil), as well as newspapers like *Diário de Notícias* and *A Manhã*. He was also responsible for bookplates and vignettes in works by Cecília Meireles, Olegário Mariano, and others. He was Cecília Meireles's first husband.

<sup>5</sup> The "Página das Crianças" ("Children's Page") appeared on the second Sunday of circulation of the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* and was published from June 22 to August 31, 1930, totaling eleven issues. It was created and organized by Cecília Meireles and Correia Dias, who illustrated the stories, tales, biographies, and games (PIMENTA, 2001, p. 35-36).

<sup>6</sup> The National Federation of Education Societies (FNSE) was established in 1929 in Rio de Janeiro, then the Federal District. It was linked to the Brazilian Association of Education (ABE) and aimed to "coordinate the efforts of all affiliated societies in favor of national education" (J. B., 1929, p. 14). According to Carvalho (2021), the organization brought together around twenty pedagogical societies from different Brazilian states. Carvalho also states that "the National Federation of Education Societies (FNSE) is a missing reference in the memory of the Brazilian educational movement. However, it is timely to reconstruct some of its history because, between 1929 and 1931, it gathered the most prominent figures among the signatories of the Manifesto. Founded by Vicente Licínio Cardoso and presided over by José Augusto (...), the FNSE emerged from a dissent within the Brazilian Association of Education (ABE)." "(...) Around Licínio and the Federation's project were some of the most prominent signatories of the Manifesto, such as Fernando de Azevedo, Anísio Teixeira, Lourenço Filho, Sampaio Dória, Frota Pessoa, and Venâncio Filho." (CARVALHO, 2021, p. 168-169).

<sup>7</sup> Attilio Vivacqua (1894-1961), a politician and educator, was one of the signatories of the Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education. He was responsible for the educational reform of Public Instruction in Espírito Santo in 1928, promoting the ideals of New Education and the structuring of school institutions in the state. He contributed to the

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the Diário de Notícias (1933) (VIVACQUA, 22/01/1933), the text praises the intellectual as the “exalted master,” the “distinguished thinker,” the “great citizen,” who, despite not having created “a comprehensive national education plan,” had nonetheless presented “the principles and foundations” encapsulated in the “deeply luminous socio-political work” that the master had bequeathed to “the cultural heritage of humanity.” On another occasion, despite publishing an article titled “Escola Nova,” Vivacqua truly addresses the issue of rural education. According to the author, the school should aim to prepare the “agricultural mentality” and the retention of the “young rural inhabitant in their environment,” and to achieve this, it is necessary to “awaken in the child a love and interest for agricultural life, provide knowledge and application of the rational methods governing plant and animal production, and instill the economic benefits of polyculture” (VIVACQUA, 02/02/1933).

As can be seen, from that point forward, texts are published not only to clarify and disseminate the ideas of Alberto Torres but also to celebrate, exalt, and promote the figure of this intellectual. The aim is to highlight his legacy to Brazilian thought and the importance of incorporating his ideas into legislation, educational guidelines, and institutional actions. This approach seeks to guide and encourage a return to rural life, the creation of rural institutions, and the training of teachers for rural schools.<sup>8</sup>

The texts continue to be published over the months, and it is worth highlighting Mario Casasanta's speech about Alberto Torres in June 1933, during the inauguration of the Minas Gerais branch of the SAAT in Belo Horizonte. In his address, the educator reminded those gathered around the “exalted figure of Alberto Torres” of the importance of studying national problems alongside him and combating the overwhelming political empiricism that has guided national problem-solving. In his laudatory speech, Casasanta emphasized that there was no one among the millions of Brazilians living on the land and the millions beneath it, since the first century of Brazil's formation, quite like Alberto Torres. He noted that Torres had the ability to discern, within this reality, the needs, demands, and issues that required attention, study, and effort for a “correct solution” (CASASANTA, 11/06/1933).

---

“Página de Educação,” publishing articles on education in Espírito Santo, including topics such as sanitary education, artistic education, vocational education, educational cinema, libraries, scouting, museums, rural education, and normal schools. He returned to the “Página” in January 1933. Aspects of his reform were mentioned in two chronicles (MEIRELES, 1930 and 1931). During his trip to Portugal in 1934, Vivacqua was one of the intellectuals who met with Meireles and Correia Dias during a ship stop in Vitória. See: PIMENTA, 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Many of these exaltation texts about Torres were published in the section and also in the “Excerptos” column.



Most of the speeches and articles published from then on aimed to exalt the figure and ideas of Alberto Torres, as if only he, his concepts, and his work held all the answers for the "salvation" of the Brazilian nation, elevating him to levels of excellence and development that no other intellectual or politician had envisioned for the country. In other words, it was no longer about offering readers new perspectives on education in different contexts, concepts, and national or international spaces, as had been presented previously. Instead, it was about asserting categorically a single path for understanding and implementing actions in the Brazilian educational sphere. According to Le Goff (1990), "collective memory is not only a conquest but also a tool and an object of power" (p. 477). This observation applies to the direction taken from January to October 1933. Without Cecília, the group of intellectuals taking control of educational work in the *Diário de Notícias* explicitly revealed their affinities and choices for shaping and guiding the movement and educational policy they aimed to influence from then on. From these elements, it can be inferred that the intellectuals were connected to the *Sociedade dos Amigos de Alberto Torres* (SAAT) as well as the *Federação Nacional das Sociedades de Educação* (FNSE). The ideas and initiatives advocated by the intellectuals of these two organizations were clear, hegemonic, and contributed to the content of those pages dedicated to education. Gradually, there was a decline in the presence of icons from the new school movement, especially the signatories of the *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* (Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education), and a dominance of the ideas of members of SAAT and FNSE. Some of these intellectuals were involved in the new school movement but were no longer participants in the *Associação Brasileira de Educação* (Brazilian Education Association) (ABE), as the Catholic group had migrated and joined other groups with similar ideological affinities. The publications suggest that the intellectuals connected to SAAT had a more prominent role compared to those linked to FNSE, as there were more indications of leadership belonging to the former organization and fewer, or less significant, to the latter.

### **The SAAT and the Strategies for Disseminating Torres' Ideology**

But who was Alberto Torres? How was the SAAT formed? Who were its members? According to Camargo (2014), Torres' works became, for nationalist intellectuals, "the secular bible of the 1930s generation," with Oliveira Vianna being one of its major disseminators in the 1920s and 1930s. Torres and Oliveira Vianna were "the great ideologists of the state and society project that should emerge with the 'national organization,' another term that, not coincidentally, named the political agenda of

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the Diário de Notícias (1933)

the Vargas Era” (p. 140). The influence of Alberto Torres was such that citing his works equated to legitimizing the discourse and defining the direction for public policies and academic discussions

[...] This meant that anyone who cited Alberto Torres was considered a nationalist, patriot, and realist, grounded in an objective understanding of national reality and committed to improving it. It also implied possessing a disinterested and socially recognized knowledge that authorized the intellectual to comment and intervene in society. Citing Alberto Torres signified belonging to a generation of intellectuals eager to influence political reality, assigning themselves a crucial role in the new nation to be (re)constructed (PINHO, 2007, p. 165).

According to Fernandes (2011), Alberto Torres (1865-1917) is “considered one of the foundations of Brazilian authoritarian thought,” more for his ideas than for his actions. His work gained prominence in the 1930s, and the 1934 and 1937 Constitutions incorporated some of his concepts, with the most evident aspects being “nationalism, criticism of imperialism, criticism of political parties, defense of agriculture, and defense of the national worker” (FERNANDES, 2011, pp. 1-2). For Torres, the formation of the Nation was crucial, and he called upon the new generations to achieve this goal:

[...] According to Torres, the formation of the Nation would not come through the outdated models of the old European nations; on the contrary, it was necessary to create a truly national model, far from European dogmas of racial and military superiority. These external models could at most serve as a guide to detect what we are not and, from there, define what we are (FERNANDES, 2011, p. 4).

Regarding Alberto Torres, Fernandes (2011) states that the intellectual did not only reject the imperialism of France and England, but also viewed the Monroe Doctrine positively and denied the unity of the Americas, considering the United States as economically and culturally superior to the other Latin American countries. He saw the alignment of Brazil with the United States as fortuitous, as it countered Argentina's hegemonic ambitions on the continent. In terms of agrarianism, or the return to the land, Torres believed that it was the “concrete expression of a people’s nationality” and that the “defense of the land and its resources” gained “the status of defending the very Nation, still in formation” (FERNANDES, 2011, p. 4). For him, the land “is the basis of nationality and should be the basis of the economy,” and “only what came from working the land would be considered production.” Only ties to the land would reinforce national unity. Industrialization and the migration of populations to cities contributed to disorganization, instability, physical and moral weakness of the population, and, consequently, to national disintegration. On the other hand, commerce would lead to luxury and frivolity in society, “which was more severe in the case of Brazil, a new nation where the solidarity of the people had not yet been completed.” This solidarity could only be achieved in the countryside, with the formation of a “web of social solidarity among the people” (FERNANDES, 2011, p. 10). The author highlights that Torres considered large estates as not the most suitable model

for the country's development, advocating small property and agricultural diversification as appropriate for leading the country on the "correct path of development" and to the "formation of the nation." Thus, she reaffirms, "agrarianism would come (...) as a logical consequence of Alberto Torres's nationalist stance," and the defense of agriculture would merge with "the defense of the country itself" (FERNANDES, 2011, p. 13). Therefore, according to these guidelines, the defense of agrarianism, the return to the countryside, and the rejection of migration to cities would prevail in the conception of the content to be presented to the readers of the "Education Page."

The Society of Friends of Alberto Torres (SAAT), according to Pinho (2007, p. 171), was founded in November 1932 and was headquartered in the *Jornal do Comércio* building, owned by Félix Pacheco, who was the Minister of Foreign Relations in the Arthur Bernardes administration (CAMARGO, 2014, p. 141) and also one of its members. Its founders included important educators, scientists, diplomats, and politicians such as Edgar Teixeira Leite, Alde Sampaio, Fernandes Távora, Juarez Távora, Saboya Lima, Ildefonso Simões Lopes, Lourenço Baeta Neves, Alcides Gentil, Heloísa Alberto Torres, Edgard Roquette-Pinto, José Savaresi, Paulo Filho, Humberto de Campos, Félix Pacheco, Barreto Campello, Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, Oliveira Vianna, Hélio Gomes, Alcides Bezerra, Belisário Penna, Rogério de Camargo, Saturnino de Brito Filho, Roberto Marinho, Alberto J. Sampaio, Magalhães Correa, Prado Kelly, Humberto de Almeida, Porfírio Soares Neto, Mário Roquette-Pinto, Protógenes Guimarães, Anna Amélia Carneiro de Mendonça, Raymundo Magalhães, Rafael Xavier, and Raul de Paula. Later, personalities such as Carlos Pontes, Cândido Mota Filho, Celso Vieira, Plínio Salgado, and Nicolau Debané also joined the society (PINHO, 2007). According to the author, few were qualified to join and contribute to the SAAT:

According to the organization's statutes, it was necessary to: be a native or naturalized Brazilian; be proposed by one or more active and current members; obtain a favorable opinion from the Fiscal Council; pay a certain amount of money; and pledge loyalty to the program and objectives of the SAAT. Additionally, after becoming a member, a monthly fee was required. Thus, there were requirements related to nationality, economics, ideology, and, importantly, sociability, as one had to be recommended by one or more members. Finally, membership could be revoked in cases of "moral incapacity, or by engaging in acts or promoting ideas incompatible with the program and objectives of the Society, at the discretion of the General Assembly (PINHO, 2007, p. 170).

According to the author, although it was not stated in its statutes, the true purpose of the SAAT, "declared by several of its members," was to "contribute to the work of drafting the new Constitution" (PINHO, 2007, p. 171). The association's statutes outlined the following principles, which were to constitute the goals and actions intended and undertaken by its members:

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the Diário de Notícias (1933)

- a) To promote the study of national issues in order to indicate the suitability of institutions to the facts of our experience, in light of global political events;
- b) To disseminate the teachings of Alberto Torres, as they currently constitute the best comprehensive program for our issues, subjecting them to the facts of experience and observation;
- c) To promote the publication of Alberto Torres's unpublished or out-of-print works (...);
- d) To advance the methodology of the subjects focused on by Alberto Torres, as well as the courses related to them, aiming for the integration of these teachings into national education in the form of didactic compendiums;
- e) To establish Torreano study centers throughout the country to bring together elements that conduct inquiries and conferences, where different Brazilian programs are examined at their own sources;
- f) To publish a monthly magazine featuring the conferences held in Rio and the states, as well as all works deemed useful for the study of various issues concerning Brazilian nationality;
- g) To publish, in volumes, the conferences and studies carried out by the Society, provided that the competent body considers the work of real value for the interpretation, analysis, and promotion of Torreano's work and useful for clarifying national issues;
- h) To define the fundamental principles of Alberto Torres's thought in summary (...);
- i) To promote, by all means and ways, continental and universal fraternity;
- j) To encourage, by all means, the study and solution of Brazilian rural issues from the triple aspects of political, social, and economic perspectives (PINHO, 2007, p. 172).

From the objectives listed in the SAAT's statutes, it is important to highlight those related to the dissemination of Torres' ideas and actions concerning education. This includes the provision of courses and the integration of his teachings into national education through didactic compendiums:

Starting in 1933, we witnessed the emergence of forums for debates on rural education, primarily sponsored by the newly founded Society of Friends of Alberto Torres (SAAT) and the congresses of the Brazilian Association of Education (ABE). The understanding of the subject broadened. Other topics were included in the fundamental understanding of the issue: extending support for agricultural production; distribution of credit; improvements in communication infrastructure and assistance services; “rural missions” employing modern technical diffusion processes, such as cinema, which impact students' perceptions; improvements in school facilities, construction of housing for teachers, and regional organization of teacher training (CAMARGO, 2014, p. 144)

The SAAT's headquarters was located in Rio de Janeiro, but it also had regional and municipal branches in various states of the federation. Pinho (2007) identifies the central lines of thought and action of its members, with education being a primary guide and agricultural education the main directive: “Always a practical education, focused, for example, on notions of nutrition, health, and hygiene” (p. 173). To extend the reach of the organization, Agricultural School Clubs were created, supported by regional and municipal branches as well as the headquarters. According to the author, in 1933, the “First National Press Exhibition at the National Library, featuring 406 school newspapers” from different parts of the country, was organized. A few years later, in 1936, “there were over a thousand clubs (...) in various parts of Brazil,” indicating the significant reach of the

society's principles and actions (PINHO, 2007, p. 176). From these figures, it is evident that the engagement of its members and the scope of activities were considerable. Despite this reach and the dominance of thought and action achieved across Brazil, the educational activities of the SAAT have been only marginally investigated by the historiography of education. What could account for this neglect? Could it be attributed to the fragility and/or doctrinal and authoritarian aspects of its proposals? Why did the influence of Torres' ideas wane among intellectuals? Why was it rejected by educators of subsequent generations?

Among SAAT's proposals was the creation of a monthly magazine, as outlined in item “f,” intended to publish “the conferences held in Rio and in the states, as well as all works deemed useful for studying various problems of Brazilian nationality and the publication of lectures given by SAAT members.” This initiative was unsuccessful, as noted by Pinho (2007, p. 176). Instead, the strategy adopted was to send activities and conferences to be published in newspapers and magazines. According to the author, citing Lima Sobrinho (1968, p. 510), this was largely due to the efforts of Raul de Paula, who went from newsroom to newsroom, in a truly prodigious effort to spread the word. Consequently, materials from the Society were published in *Jornal do Comércio*, *Correio da Manhã*, *Jornal do Brasil*, *Folha do Povo*, *A Nota*, *Diário Carioca*, *Revista de Ensino*, *Revista Nacional de Educação*, and *O Agricultor*. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of *Diário de Notícias* or the “Página de Educação,” possibly because this vehicle was already, as Pinho (2007) observes, one of the “official organs” for spreading Torres' ideas, alongside *Jornal do Comércio*, which was the primary outlet for disseminating SAAT's activities. This is because:

Felix Pacheco, owner and editor-in-chief of *Jornal do Comércio*, was an active member of the SAAT and frequently provided them with free space in his newspaper. Entire SAAT conferences were regularly transcribed in this paper, sometimes occupying more than one page. Between 1932 and 1937, the years of the SAAT's greatest activity, its presence in *Jornal do Comércio* through news of its activities or transcriptions of lectures—appeared in about 15 issues or more. This media presence granted the SAAT significant power. Indeed, the headquarters of the SAAT was located in the building of this newspaper, at Av. Rio Branco, number 117, rooms 110 and 111. In fact, it was in a fire at the *Jornal do Comércio* headquarters that all SAAT documentation was lost, as reported by its last president, Edgar Teixeira Leite. According to him, “the magnificent archive” of the SAAT, as well as “the bronze plaque on which I had inscribed Alberto Torres' central thought, was devoured by the flames in the fire that destroyed the old *Jornal do Comércio*.” (PINHO, 2007, p. 173).

Thus, gaining control of the *Diário*, which had become an important communication vehicle, was a considerable asset for the Torreano members, even though this connection with the SAAT does not appear in the aforementioned research. This journalistic outlet had achieved enough prestige, credibility, and respect among readers in its two and a half years of existence due to its initial content.

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the Diário de Notícias (1933)

Affirming the group's ideology was not merely about diminishing early achievements or letting the results, stance, and thoughts of Cecília Meireles and other educators who had “frequented” that space fall into oblivion, but rather about supplanting other educational concepts—a movement that became imperative for the Torreano intellectuals. This deliberate “forgetfulness” is referred to by Le Goff (1990, p. 443) as *damnatio memoriae*, a process undertaken by those in power to make “the name of the deceased emperor disappears from archival documents and monumental inscriptions. The destruction of memory responds to the power of memory.” It can be inferred that past memories were intentionally subdued and made to disappear in favor of a time when other ideas and different paths for the country's education were exalted. According to Bourdieu (2009), grounded in capital and ties to the prevailing political power, these

[...] dominant fractions... aim to impose the legitimacy of their domination either through conservative ideologues who truly serve the dominant interests by extension, always threatening to divert to their benefit the power to define the social world that they hold by delegation; the dominated fraction (scholars or "intellectuals" and "artists," according to the time) always tends to place the specific capital to which it owes its position at the top of the hierarchy of principles of stratification (BOURDIEU, 1989, p. 12).

Alberto Torres and the members of the institution bearing his name were personalities dedicated to forging new paths, disseminating concepts, influencing, and guiding the educational debate in the Federal District and the country, with the goal of intervening in politics and directing readers and professionals about what they considered the master's great contribution.

While the magazine that was supposed to be edited by SAAT did not succeed, this objective was achieved with the creation of a publication that became an important vehicle for disseminating the ideas of Alberto Torres and SAAT: the *Revista Nacional de Educação* (RNE), founded at the National Museum, and which circulated between October 1932 and 1934. It was directed by Edgard Roquette-Pinto and funded by the Directorate of Statistical Information and Publicity of the Ministry of Education and Public Health. According to Duarte (2004, p. 33), "its main goal was to disseminate content on science, history, and art to a broader audience across various regions of Brazil." The magazine had a circulation of 12,500 copies and was sent to "teachers, schools, city halls, and various cultural and professional associations," which "began to receive the publication free of charge" (DUARTE, 2004, p. 34). The articles were authored by intellectuals and scientists associated with the National Museum. It also included translations of excerpts from travelers and was presented "as an initiative of a renewed Republic, part of a broader strategy to inaugurate new relationships between the government and a population to be educated. The magazine aimed to become 'a spiritual landmark

of nationality, aligned with the ideal of a State whose pedagogical action would constitute a people and a nation' (DUARTE, 2004, p. 33). Still according to the author,

The RNE operated in various areas of knowledge and art dissemination, enabling its readers to understand Brazil in terms of its flora, fauna, physical, social, and historical aspects, as well as to appreciate literary, pictorial, and musical works. Additionally, it aimed to turn each reader into a contributor to the effort of educating the people and shaping the nation. Several issues included models of literacy posters to be used by those willing to combat illiteracy (...) (DUARTE, 2004, p. 45).

Roquette-Pinto, one of the signatories of the Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education, "sought his intellectual belonging in the effort to take over major political causes and confront them in the scientific field in which he wove his professionalization" (RANGEL, 2010, p. 13). According to the author, over three decades, Roquette-Pinto founded Rádio Sociedade do Rio de Janeiro and implemented the "Municipal Radio School of the Federal District, the Educational Radio Service of the Ministry of Education and Public Health, and the National Institute of Educational Cinema" (RANGEL, 2010, p. 13). He was also a member of the "Brazilian Academy of Sciences, the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute, the Brazilian Academy of Letters, the Brazilian Association of Education, among others" (RANGEL, 2010, p. 13). Roquette-Pinto, as previously mentioned, directed the *Revista Nacional de Educação* (RNE), which featured, on the right, the title and the Ministry's indication, followed by the epigraph that accompanied the publication until its disappearance in mid-1934: "In every home in Brazil, the moral comfort of Science and Art," a phrase attributed to him. He was also a member of the SAAT and had Heloisa Alberto Torres (sister of Alberto Torres) as one of his assistants at the National Museum, who was also affiliated with the society honoring her brother. Therefore, the *Revista Nacional de Educação* was another important vehicle for disseminating the proposals, ideas, conferences, and actions of the association:

The close timing between the creation of the magazine in October 1932 and the founding of the association in early November of the same year is striking. The society's statutes, as well as all the social events and recommendations in which it was involved, were extensively reported by the RNE. Many of the lectures given by its members were reproduced in the periodical, with a focus on agricultural cultivation techniques, environmental preservation, and all the knowledge that the rural man was supposedly expected to possess (CAMARGO, 2014, p. 145).

According to Camargo (2014), it was rural education that united the members of the SAAT "around a nation-building project." Thus, agricultural school clubs were created, "which distributed seeds, fertilizers, maps, and agricultural tools, taught nutrition concepts, promoted reforestation campaigns, and offered rural education courses for teachers." Another initiative, the "March to the West," involved "pedagogical activities of the association," with "rural weeks organized across the country

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the *Diário de Notícias* (1933) by regional and local branches.” These events featured “pedagogical, health, and agricultural courses for teachers, children, and farmers; exhibitions of regional agricultural and industrial products; educational cinema; excursions; free distribution of seeds and books; conferences on economic, educational, and health issues; and planting in commemorative forests” (CAMARGO, 2014, p. 145).

This suggests that the *Revista Nacional de Educação* (RNE) and the “Página de Educação” were the material supports for the dissemination of Alberto Torres's ideas and those of the SAAT members. The RNE also published about various activities conducted in different parts of the country: lectures, conferences, technical visits to educational institutions, articles, courses, meetings of student councils, and successful experiences and institutions in rural education.

### **On a Collision Course**

Over the months, the page followed its course with uncertain content. Mentions of the prominent figures in the New School movement, which had been promised in the editorial of the respective phase, almost disappeared. There were few publications of interviews, speeches, conferences, and coverage of administrative actions, especially those of Anísio Teixeira, who was the Director of Public Instruction of the Federal District. Finally, in March, the first report appeared on “Innovations in Primary Education in the Federal District” undertaken by him. It was a meeting with the press, presided over by the educator, who gave a “detailed exposition of the new plan for the registration service in primary schools in the Federal District.” Teixeira outlined what he intended to implement, “pointing out the flaws in the current education system, as well as suggesting measures to equip the (...) primary instruction system in accordance with the latest pedagogical doctrines” and requesting the “essential collaboration” of the press “in this great work of primary education among us” (D. N., 30/03/1933). In April, in an article titled “To Ensure the Education of Children,” the measures adopted by Teixeira were reported, including his decision to open a public competition for the admission of underprivileged and needy minors to private educational institutions (D. N., 22/04/1933). The following month, a portion of a conference by Anísio – “Mandatory Popular Education” – delivered at the Rotary Club, was published in the “Excerptos” column (TEIXEIRA, 24/05/1933). The actions of the Director of Public Instruction would not reappear until September in “The Reform of Municipal Instruction: How Mr. Anísio Faces It,” which discusses the Decree that provides for “significant changes in the exercise of various school positions and in the understanding



of their duties and functions” (D. N., 21/09/1933). As can be seen, Teixeira’s actions and achievements as Director of Public Instruction are only covered on a few occasions, diminishing his contribution to the educational debate.

In August, part of a conference by Fernando de Azevedo titled “Populate, Unite, Educate!” was published in the “Excerptos” column. In it, Azevedo considered the idea of returning to the countryside a mistake and deemed the extension of education under current conditions to all scattered groups in rural and remote areas impossible, criticizing the obscuring of the issue with yet another of those “saving ideas” that the mysticism of primitive thinking has been fertile in generating. Days earlier, in another fragment of a conference titled “The Politics of ‘Heading to the Countryside,’” Azevedo had been even more incisive and emphatic in his criticism of pedagogical ruralism, the leitmotif of Alberto Torres’ ideas and his followers, stating the following:

The policy of “heading to the countryside,” which has emerged among us in response to periodic phenomena of economic depression, always appears under the guise of these “saving ideas,” which primary mysticism has constituted almost all of the country’s political literature. Vague and rambling, this pseudo-realist policy, radiating from either high levels of public power or educational sectors, has never managed to create “a climate of reflection” capable of awakening an awareness of the problem and the need to resolve it (AZEVEDO, 25/08/1933).

Interestingly, Azevedo is referred to as a “publicist and educator,” whereas the usual term for other intellectuals involved in education whose texts were published in that space was “educators.” These considerations might have contradicted the beliefs of the directors, for whom returning to the countryside was seen as a means for the country’s development, economic organization, and nation-building, as Fernandes (2011) asserts. Therefore, it is unclear whether the term “publicist” was intended as a way to challenge the educator’s reflections or to depict his actions as those of an intellectual responsible for “social transformation,” from Kropotkin’s perspective.<sup>9</sup> As Camargo (2014, p. 144) asserts, Fernando de Azevedo was one of those responsible for the “sophistication of the intellectual debate on rural education,” alongside Almeida Júnior, Abgar Renault, and Teixeira de Freitas. Therefore, it is possible to infer that Alberto Torres’s theses were not entirely refuted or considered outdated by Azevedo, given that Torres was “and still is recognized as one of the pioneers of Brazilian Sociology and one of the interpreters of Brazil” (p. 144). Torres was required reading for

---

<sup>9</sup> **Educacionismo** is a term that expresses a concept developed in the 19th century by Piotr Kropotkin, aiming for a “social transformation through education.” Its central thesis asserts that education has a social role of such transcendence that it is attributed the function of transforming society. Source: Wikipedia <https://g.co/kgs/9NtyTo>. Accessed on 01/01/2022.

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the Diário de Notícias (1933)

intellectuals and should thus have been considered essential reading among other major figures of the country’s intelligentsia<sup>10</sup> (MARTINS, 1987, p-p. 65-87). As the director of the Brasiliana Collection at Companhia Editora Nacional, Azevedo published two of Alberto Torres’s works, *O problema nacional brasileiro* and *A organização nacional*, in 1933, as well as two works dedicated to the author: *As ideias de Alberto Torres*, a selection of excerpts organized by Alcides Gentil in 1932, and *Alberto Torres e sua obra*, a biography by Saboya Lima in 1935 (PINHO, 2007).

Another of these returns is that of Mme. Louise Artus-Perrelet,<sup>11</sup> an educator present during Cecília’s time, who reappears and continues to feature in various editions from February 1933 onwards. According to the information provided to readers, the educator was well-known for her drawing course, “Twenty-seven Lessons from the Artus-Perrelet Improvement Course,” her first work in Brazil, developed between 1929 and 1931. She had returned to the country in late 1932 and early 1933, and her course “New Pedagogical Methods – Lessons from Professor Artus-Perrelet,”<sup>12</sup> taught at the Escola Rivadávia Corrêa, was now being reproduced in the “Página de Educação”. The article (re)introducing the course was signed by M. de P., who from then on signed as Marina de Pádua.<sup>13</sup>

However, what most distinguishes this second season, besides the fading influence of the “cardinals”<sup>14</sup> and other leading figures of the national and international new school movement, and the exacerbation of Alberto Torres’s figure, ideas, proposals, and works, is undoubtedly the most surprising: the “peaceful” coexistence of excerpts from texts by educators and literary figures with those of foreign political personalities, such as Hitler, Salazar, and Mussolini, existing alongside educational content in a page dedicated to education. The “Excerptos” from speeches and journalistic

<sup>10</sup> According to Martins (1987), the term presupposes the “existence of groups of intellectuals who are characterized—and distinguished from their peers—by a certain number of attributes, among which the principal one refers to the particular nature of their relationships with politics.” See: MARTINS, 1987, pp. 65-87.

<sup>11</sup> Louise Artus-Perrelet (1867-1946), a Swiss-born educator, “worked at the Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Professores in Belo Horizonte between 1929 and 1931, and gave lectures and a course on drawing and educational games for primary teachers in Rio de Janeiro.” (...) “The data reaffirmed that Artus-Perrelet’s pedagogy aligned with the principles of functional education and experimental pedagogy originating from the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute (1912), where she was one of the first teachers, alongside Édouard Claparède (1873-1940) and Pierre Bovet (1878-1944).” See: ALMEIDA, 2020.

<sup>12</sup> Publications also appeared on: March 4, 7, 15, 19, 23, 26, and 30, 1933.

<sup>13</sup> Marina de Pádua Barros Gomes, a declaimer and poetess, was a teacher of Artistic Education at PRD-5-Rádio Escola Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, associated with Catholic circles in Rio de Janeiro. She was involved with the Cruzada Feminina do Brasil Novo and was a member of the Associação Brasileira de Educação (ABE) in the 1930s. She published biographies for children of Brazilian personalities such as Humberto de Campos and Carlos Gomes. She signed all articles about Professor Artus-Perrelet’s classes in the “Página de Educação” in 1933. She was also a member of the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Brasileiro Júlia Lopes de Almeida. Source: Diário de Notícias (1930-1936)).

<sup>14</sup> Anísio Teixeira, Fernando de Azevedo, Lourenço Filho and Carneiro Leão (LEMME, 2004, p. 99).

articles attributed to these figures attest, if not to the leaders' alignment with the ideas of these personalities, at least to a synergy, identity, inclination, and predisposition to promote such discourse, which should have been avoided in a publication previously dedicated to disseminating, propagating, and popularizing the most modern ideas, projects, and educational experiences in Brazil and around the world. Moreover, it had been a platform where Cecília Meireles expressed her stance in favor of pacifism, universal fraternity, concord, and intercultural exchange to be achieved through education and schools, dialogues featuring intellectuals such as Alfonso Reyes, Adolphe Ferrière, Maria Montessori, Gandhi, and many others.

In her chronicle "Despedida," Cecília stated that she wished her successors would continue the work she had begun and possess "the intelligence that men need to achieve greatness" even "in the most adverse fields" and "under the most dangerous skies..." (MEIRELES, 01/12/1933). These were indeed times of adversity and uncertainty, marked by the birth, strengthening, and rise of European autocratic regimes, led by figures such as Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, and Salazar. According to Hobsbawm (1995),

Without Hitler's triumph in Germany in early 1933, fascism would not have become a general movement. In fact, all significant fascist movements outside Italy were founded after his rise to power (...). Moreover, without Germany's international position as a successful and rising world power, fascism would not have had a serious impact outside Europe, nor would non-fascist reactionary rulers have bothered to pose as fascist sympathizers, as when Salazar of Portugal claimed in 1940 that he and Hitler were "linked by the same ideology." (HOBSBAWM, 1995, p. 120).

The spread of this narrative also reached and made converts in Brazil, such as Plínio Salgado,<sup>15</sup> who reconciled the influences of European fascism, the thoughts of Farias Brito, Alberto Torres, Oliveira Vianna, and the Mexican José Vasconcelos with the presence of Christian religiosity "contained in the Encyclical Rerum Novarum, written by Pope Leo XIII in 1891 (...), in defense of the family and in opposition to materialism, represented by liberalism and socialism." (CAZETTA, 2011, p. 14).

The press became a vehicle for disseminating this blend of ideas, and the "Página de Educação" was no exception, as the intellectuals at its helm were also influenced by these notions and contributed to their spread. As Chartier states (1990),

---

<sup>15</sup> Plínio Salgado was the leader of the "Ação Integralista Brasileira," which was "the main fascist movement in Latin America" and had 200,000 members, organized similarly to Mussolini's fascist militias. As a member of SAAT, he intended to transform it into an integralist organization, but he was prevented from doing so by others, and the society continued to exist as a "non-partisan organization (which does not mean it lacked political objectives and engagement, quite the opposite)" (PINHO, 2007, p. 107).

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the Diário de Notícias (1933)

Perceptions of the social are by no means neutral discourses: they produce strategies and practices (social, educational, political) that tend to impose authority at the expense of others, whom they disparage, to legitimize a reformist project, or to justify individuals' own choices and behaviors. (...). Representation struggles are as important as economic struggles in understanding the mechanisms by which a group imposes, or attempts to impose, a conception of the social world, its values, and its dominance (CHARTIER, 2002, p. 26).

Besides the advocacy of Alberto Torres, as mentioned earlier, other influences are at play and define what is disseminated, depending on the convergence of the expectations, ideas, and interests of those organizing the section. Among the European leaders featured in the "Excerptos" column, for example, Adolf Hitler has the most excerpts published (16 occurrences), followed by António Salazar and Benito Mussolini. These are fragments of texts and speeches, and therefore, they do not fully reveal the authors' complete views, convictions, purposes, and expectations. However, it is possible to infer from them an autocratic and centralizing character, as seen in Mussolini's message to the Fascists, where he exhorted them to "a unitary sentiment and sovereign affirmation of the State, and above all, a conception of life based on duty, discipline, and struggle" (MUSSOLINI, 03/28/1933, p. 6). Salazar, in turn, in an interview with António Ferro, stated that "our Dictatorship is evidently similar to the fascist dictatorship in strengthening authority, in the declared war against certain democratic principles, in its markedly nationalist character, and in its social order concerns" (SALAZAR, 02/15/1933, p. 6). Table 1 provides the dates, authors, and titles of these contributions.

What purposes might there be in spreading such conceptions on a page dedicated to education?

**Table 1** - Texts by European totalitarian leaders published in the "Página de Educação."

Date	Author	Title
04 February	Adolf Hitler	"The Work of Former Generations"
15 February	António de Oliveira Salazar	"The Portuguese Dictatorship and Fascism"
25 February	Adolf Hitler	"The Militia and Compulsory Labor"
19 March	António de Oliveira Salazar	"The Doctrine of Violence"
21 March	António de Oliveira Salazar	"The Panorama of the Current Reality"
24 March	Adolf Hitler	"The German Panorama"
28 March	Benito Mussolini	"The Pillars of the Fascist Revolution"
11 May	Adolf Hitler	"Germany Today"
12 May	Adolf Hitler	"The Past and Present of Germany"
21 May	Adolf Hitler	"Germany in the Face of the Treaty of Versailles"
30 May	Adolf Hitler	"The Freedom and Rights of Germany"
01 June	António de Oliveira Salazar	"Men of Government"
07 June	António de Oliveira Salazar	"The Meaning of Portugal's Reconstruction"
13 June	Benito Mussolini	"The Quadruple Pact"
21 June	Adolf Hitler	"The Unity of Germany"
13 August	Benito Mussolini	"The Futility of International Conferences"

Source: "Página de Educação." Rio de Janeiro, Diário de Notícias. From February 2 to October 4, 1933.

Texts about these rising leaders were also published. These contributions came from both foreign and national authors, and the tone varied: it could be critical, sympathetic, or supportive, with assent to the thoughts and practices of these figures prevailing more often than not. These are more than sufficient indications to believe that there was indeed a predisposition, a defined purpose in the dissemination of these texts and their authors.

There are very diverse types of relationships between intellectuals and the regime. Some behave as ideologues of authoritarianism, occupying positions in the state, (...). Others are content to venture on their own in search of the authentic Brazil, striving to impose national themes, (...) and, when given the opportunity, presenting suggestions and requests to the government and its circle. Others, however, resolutely engage in the associations, movements, and leagues that proliferated after 1930 (PÉCAUT, 1990, p. 74-75).

The authors, titles, and topics of the works selected to compose the "Excerptos" column speak volumes about the hegemonic ideological orientation of the writers of the "Página." Excerpts from Getúlio Vargas and other intellectuals supportive of the paths defined by the Brazilian president are published. The presence of such texts and authors in a space dedicated to education directly clashes with what Cecília Meireles advocated, as seen in her commentary "Fascismo e Educação," where the educator emphatically expressed her discontent, perplexity, and indignation at the dismissal of an Italian professor for "refusing to take the fascist oath imposed" by decree. She asserted that a teacher could not be "subjected to the oppression of an explicit or implicit oath." In light of this, the school would become "an instrument of a political, social, or religious creed, forming resigned servants of this creed, instead of human beings destined to know life and choose their rightful place within it" (MEIRELES, 01/27/1932). On many other occasions, such as in "Mussolini and Peace," Cecília vehemently refuted the ideas of the Italian politician, stating that "fascism does not believe in the possibility or utility of perpetual peace and dismisses pacifism, which implies renouncing the struggle" (MEIRELES, 08/06/1932). The educator countered Mussolini's claims by reaffirming the recommendations of the educational magazine *Pour l'ère nouvelle*,<sup>16</sup> in an article dedicated to universal fraternity, concluding: "Even children write this. But Mr. Benito Mussolini thinks

---

<sup>16</sup> "For the dissemination of these ideas of peace and the transformation of the world through the education of children, the magazine *Pour L'Ere Nouvelle* was born, bringing in its first issue a manifesto proposed by Ferrière. Other magazines were subsequently organized: *The New Era* and *Das Werdende Zeitalter*, with the aim of complementing the dissemination of ideas and gathering educators and sympathizers committed to the movement for the renewal of education and schools around the world." See: PIMENTA, 2018. p. 83-96.

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the Diário de Notícias (1933) otherwise.” (MEIRELES, 30/08/1932). For Meireles, as for the vast majority of pacifist educators of the time,

[...] Peace is an objective toward which all human endeavors should aim. It is not the solution of a moment, but the outcome of life itself. The work they are preparing holds this grand aspiration of becoming a general understanding of humanity (MEIRELES, 30/08/1932).

In the “Excerptos” section, we can find excerpts from ecclesiastical leaders on topics dear to Catholicism, as well as news about actions and ceremonies, among other clear demonstrations of the ideological affiliations of those responsible. As Strang (2018) points out, the Church emphasized the union “between the Catholic faith and the Brazilian homeland,” with the reconquest of power and influence over the Brazilian State being a primary issue. Thus, “Catholics sought to fulfill this ecclesiastical orientation, and to do so, they had to delineate the boundaries between the Catholic conception and the renovators’ conception of the restructuring of the school system, which both groups were advocating” (STRANG, 2018, p. 359). Therefore, the strategy of disseminating and convincing teachers and public opinion was as important, if not more so, for Catholics as it was for the renovators, under the leadership of Cecília Meireles. “The more convincing their discourses, the more followers they could gather, the greater the possibility of exercising control and legitimizing their ideals” (STRANG, 2018, p. 359).

SAAT continued to publish texts, such as the one on October 21 titled “The Propaganda Par Excellence of Rural Works,” with SAAT members on a caravan to the city of Piracicaba, São Paulo, for a technical visit to the educational institution there. Alongside rural education, issues such as the eradication of illiteracy, domestic education, agricultural education, regional education, sexual education, education for peace/peace through schools, military and religious education, and even articles related to combating leaf-cutting ants and drought were discussed, always with some ideological support from their associates. While the presence of texts by prominent figures in the New School movement was already minimal, we now observe a further decline, with the content becoming almost exclusively produced by the administrators of the section. There was a predominance of advertisements for various products, ranging from medicines to shoe stores and tailoring, as well as a profusion of announcements from educational institutions, courses, and associations, many of which occupied a significant portion of the available space. As time went on, even these news items began to disappear. Alongside the advertisements, which clearly financed the publication, there were obituaries, political news, and police reports that helped to fill the spaces as the educational content,

once the foundation of the section, dwindled. The loss of depth in the topics discussed and the promised continuation of the educational debate became evident. The decline in the subjects addressed is starkly visible and continued falteringly until the section's disappearance on October 4 of the same year.

## Final considerations

The "Página de Educação," in its second phase, experienced a period during which the dissemination of an ideology that contrasted and diverged from what was proposed and implemented by Cecília Meireles, its founder and leader, prevailed. Over the months, other aspects became apparent: the broad and diverse educational debate was replaced by articles praising religious education, the Catholic religion, European totalitarian ideas, military education, rural education, and domestic education. This shift indicates that those responsible for the page were predominantly promoting a dogmatic, doctrinal, and authoritarian educational and political thought, increasingly distancing themselves from the initial purposes and principles upon which the page was founded.

As could be observed, most of the discourses and articles published aimed to extol the figure and works of Alberto Torres, as if they possessed all the answers for the salvation of the Brazilian nation, elevating them to levels of excellence and development that no other intellectual or politician had envisioned bequeathing to the country. In other words, the goal was not to offer readers new perspectives on education in different contexts and conceptions, but to assert categorically a single path of orientation for understanding and implementing actions in the Brazilian educational landscape. We identified the campaign carried out by SAAT in promoting the ideas and ideals of Alberto Torres and, consequently, the organization itself, not only in *Diário de Notícias* but also in other newspapers such as *Jornal do Comércio*, *Correio da Manhã*, *Jornal do Brasil*, *Folha do Povo*, *A Nota*, *Diário Carioca*, in *Revista de Ensino*, *Revista Nacional de Educação*, and *O Agricultor*. Additionally, the dissemination of these concepts strengthened the creation of educational institutions, courses, didactic compendiums, agricultural clubs, exhibitions, and conferences.

Other intellectuals and political and religious leaders began to appear in the pages of the publication, with discourses that were markedly different from those that were common when it was directed by Cecília Meireles. Instead of Gandhi, Tolstoy, Alfonso Reyes, Montessori, and Ferrière, we see the selection of excerpts from the texts of Hitler, Mussolini, and Salazar. There is a glorification of the

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the *Diário de Notícias* (1933)

actions and purposes of these figures at the expense of messages of pacifism, non-violence, and the necessary solidarity among peoples for the abolition of conflicts and wars.

However, these setbacks were not enough to dishearten the journalist, poet, and educator. Even if the ideals of its creator disappeared from the “Página de Educação,” the aspirations for a new and inclusive education were reborn in other initiatives led by Cecília Meireles, such as the one she promoted at the *Centro de Cultura Infantil*, located in the *Pavilhão Mourisco*, in the Federal District, from 1934 to 1937. This was the first public children's library in Brazil, with specific pedagogical orientations that had not yet been implemented in other similar institutions. This experience inspired the creation of other children's libraries in different parts of Brazil. The story continued, and the dreams of an egalitarian, secular, public, and free education remained and flourished in the thoughts and actions of other educators, even “under the most dangerous skies,” which have so often appeared in the history of Brazil.

## References

A NOVA fase da Página de Educação. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 13 de janeiro de 1933. p. 6.

A REFORMA da Instrução Municipal: como o Sr. Anísio a encara. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 21 de setembro de 1933.

ALMEIDA, M. O. **Louise Artus-Perrelet e o ensino do desenho**: uma proposta de educação estética para formação de professores no início do século XX. 2020. 416 f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) - Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2020.

ALMEIDA, P. V. L. de. **Crônicas de Cecília Meireles**: leitura e literatura em prol da renovação educacional (1930-1933). Dissertação (Mestrado). Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2014.

AS INOVAÇÕES no Ensino Primário do Distrito Federal. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 30 de março de 1933.

AZEVEDO, F. de. A política do “rumo ao campo”. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 25 de agosto de 1933, p. 7.

\_\_\_\_\_. Povoar, unir, educar! Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 25 de agosto de 1933.

BOURDIEU, P. **O poder simbólico**. Tradução de Fernando Tomaz. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1989.

CAMARGO, A. de P. R. Organizar a nação, “missão de nossa geração”: concepção e política de população em Alberto Torres e Teixeira de Freitas. In: SENRA, Nelson de Castro (Org.).



**Organizando a coordenação nacional:** estatística, educação e ação pública na Era Vargas. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, Centro de Documentação e Disseminação de Informações: Escola Nacional de Ciências Estatísticas, 2014.

CASASANTA, Mario. A voz de Alberto Torres. Discurso do dr. Mario Casasanta na sessão de instalação do núcleo mineiro da Sociedade dos Amigos de Alberto Torres. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 11 de June de 1933. p. 8.

CARVALHO, M. M. C. de. A Liga Internacional pela Educação Nova e o “movimento de reconstrução educacional” brasileiro. **Sarmiento, Revista Galego-Portuguesa de Historia da Educaci3n**, La Coruña, Núm. 25 / 2021 / pp. 163-184.

CHARTIER, R. *A História Cultural: Entre práticas e representações*. Tradução de Manuela Galhardo. 2ª ed. Alges: Portugal, 2002.

DUARTE, R. H. Em todos os lares, o conforto moral da ciência e da arte: a Revista Nacional de Educação e a divulgação científica no Brasil (1932-34). **História, Ciências, Saúde**. Manguinhos, vol. 11(1):33-56, jan.-abr. 2004.

FERNANDES, M. F. L. Alberto Torres: nacionalismo, imperialismo e o Brasil no século XX. **Anais do XXVI Simpósio Nacional de História – ANPUH**, São Paulo, julho 2011.

GILIOLI, R. de S. P. **Educação e cultura no rádio brasileiro:** concepções de rádio escola em Roquette-Pinto. Tese (Doutorado – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo (USP), 2008, p. 86.

HOBSBAWM, E. **A Era dos Extremos:** o breve século XX: 1914-1991. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995.

JORNAL do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, n. 182, 31 de julho de 1929, p. 14.

LE GOFF, J. Documento/Monumento. In: **História e memória**. Campinas, SP Editora da UNICAMP, 1990.

LEMME, P. **Memórias de um educador**. 2 ed. Brasília: Inep, 2004. 5 v.

MARTINS, L. A gênese de uma intelligentsia: os intelectuais e a política no Brasil 1920 a 1940. **Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais**, v. 2, n. 4, 1987, pp. 65-87.

MEIRELES, C. A entrevista do capitão João Bley. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 30 de maio de 1931. p. 7.

\_\_\_\_\_. A formação do educador. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 16 de janeiro de 1931. p. 7.

\_\_\_\_\_. Despedida. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 12 de janeiro de 1933.

\_\_\_\_\_. Fascismo e educação. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 27 de janeiro de 1932.

\_\_\_\_\_. Mussolini e a paz, **Diário de Notícias**, Rio de Janeiro, 6 de agosto de 1932.

“Under the most dangerous skies”: the second phase of “Página de Educação” in the *Diário de Notícias* (1933)

\_\_\_\_\_. Os educadores e a paz, **Diário de Notícias**, Rio de Janeiro, 30 de agosto de 1932.

MUSSOLINI, Benito. Os pilares da revolução fascista. Duce da Itália, na mensagem aos Fascios, no 14º aniversário de sua fundação. **Diário de Notícias**, Rio de Janeiro, 28 de March de 1933, p. 6.

NASCIMENTO, R. L. da S. **Entre o poético e o histórico**: interlocuções de Cecília Meireles com a educação brasileira. Tese (Doutorado). Universidade Federal de Uberlândia. 2013.

PÁDUA, M. Os novos métodos pedagógicos – Lições da Professora Artus-Perrelet. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 19/22 de February; 04/07/15/19/23 e 28 de March; 02/06 e 09 de abril de 1933.

PARA assegurar a educação da infância: as providências adotadas pelo sr. Anísio Teixeira, diretor da Instrução Pública. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 22 de abril de 1933.

PIMENTA, J. S. **As duas margens do Atlântico**: um projeto de integração entre dois povos na viagem de Cecília Meireles a Portugal (1934). Tese (Doutorado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação (ProPED). Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), 2008. 374 f.

\_\_\_\_\_. Educação para a paz: construir o mundo que se espera. **Educação, Sociedade & Culturas**. Porto, n. 53, 2018. p. 83-96. Disponível em: <<https://ojs.up.pt/index.php/esc-ciie>>. Acesso em 28 de June de 2022.

\_\_\_\_\_. **Fora do outono certo nem as aspirações amadurecem**. Cecília Meireles e a criação da biblioteca infantil do Pavilhão Mourisco (1934-1937). Dissertação (Mestrado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação. Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), 2001.

PINHO, S. O. C. de. **Alberto Torres**: uma obra, várias leituras. Dissertação (Mestrado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais – UFMG, Belo Horizonte, 2007.

RANGEL, J. A. **Edgard Roquette-Pinto**. Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Editora Massangana, 2010. 144 p.: il. – (Coleção Educadores).

ROBERTO, J. de C. **Ecos de uma voz feminina**: Cecília Meireles e a “Página de Educação” do *Diário de Notícias* no ano de 1932. Dissertação (Mestrado). Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2013.

SALAZAR, A. O. A ditadura portuguesa e o fascismo, por Oliveira Salazar, presidente do Conselho de Ministros de Portugal, numa das suas entrevistas ao Sr. António Ferro. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 15 de February de 1933. p. 6.

SILVA, G. L. de S. **O pensamento educacional de Cecília Meireles**. Dissertação (Mestrado). Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás, 2017d.

SILVA, M. B. do N. **Cecília Meireles**: crônicas de arte, cultura e educação. Dissertação (Mestrado). Universidade Federal de Uberlândia. 2008b.

SILVA, M. V. da. **As crônicas de Cecília Meireles**: um projeto estético e pedagógico. Tese (Doutorado). Universidade Federal da Paraíba, 2008a.

\_\_\_\_\_. **Escola Nova na Página de Educação (1930-1933):** navegando nas palavras de Cecília Meireles no “Diário de Notícias”. Tese (Doutorado). Universidade Federal de Uberlândia. 2015c).

SOCIEDADE dos Amigos de Alberto Torres – Curso para Professores de Escolas Regionais. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 13 de abril de 1933.

SODRÉ, N. W. **História da imprensa no Brasil**. 4. ed. (atualizada) - Rio de Janeiro: Mauad, 1999.

SOUZA, A. V. de. **Análise retórica do discurso político-educacional de Cecília Meireles**. Dissertação (Mestrado). Universidade de São Paulo (Ribeirão Preto). 2014b.

SOUZA, E. L. L. de. **Os sentidos de educação nas crônicas de Cecília Meireles a partir dos conceitos de tema e significação**. Dissertação (Mestrado). Universidade Estadual do Ceará, 2013a.

STEPHANOU, M.; BASTOS, M. H. C. B. História, memória e história da educação. In: \_\_\_\_\_. **Histórias e memórias da educação no Brasil**. vol. III: século XX. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 2011. p. 416 a 430.

STRANG, B. de L. S. Ensino, Reformas e Política nas Crônicas de Educação de Cecília Meireles (1930-1933). **Rev. Ens. Educ. Cienc. Human.**, Londrina, v. 19, n.3, p. 353-362, 2018.

\_\_\_\_\_. **Sob o signo da reconstrução:** os ideais da Escola Nova divulgados pelas Crônicas de Educação de Cecília Meireles. Dissertação (Mestrado). Universidade Federal do Paraná, 2003.

TEIXEIRA, A. A educação popular obrigatória. Diretor de Instrução. De uma conferência lida no Rotary Club. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 24 de maio de 1933. p. 6.

VELLOSO, M. P. Os intelectuais e a política cultural do Estado Novo. **Revista de Sociologia e Política**, Paraná, v. 1, p. 1, 1997.

VIVACQUA, Attilio. A concepção educacional de Alberto Torres. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 22 de janeiro de 1933.

\_\_\_\_\_. A nova educação no Espírito Santo. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 15/16/20/21/22 de agosto de 1930.

\_\_\_\_\_. Escola Nova. Rio de Janeiro, **Diário de Notícias**, 02 de February de 1933.



Os direitos de licenciamento utilizados pela revista Educação em Foco é a licença *Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)*

Recebido em: 27/07/2022

Aprovado em: 20/03/2023