

# THE ANÁLIA FRANCO WOMEN'S LYCEUM AND THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR MATERNAL SCHOOLS IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

O liceu feminino de Anália Franco e a formação de professoras  
para as casas maternais no início do século XX

El Liceo Femenino de Anália Franco y la formación de maestras  
para las casas maternas a comienzos del siglo XX

REGINA LUCIA SILVEIRA MARTINS<sup>1\*</sup>, JEFFERSON DA COSTA SOARES<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Instituto Benjamin Constant, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil. <sup>2</sup>Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil. \*Corresponding author. E-mail: [reginaluciasilveira@ibc.gov.br](mailto:reginaluciasilveira@ibc.gov.br)

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**Abstract:** This study analyzed the Lyceum of the Associação Feminina Beneficente e Instrutiva de São Paulo, which was founded by Anália Franco in 1902. It was a teacher training course focused on early childhood education, intended to serve daycare centers and maternal schools throughout the state during the first decade of the Republic. We used a documentary analysis methodology, examining sources such as advertisements published in periodicals from that time, printed materials, and the memoirs of a former student. First, we characterized the original project for creating the Lyceum, which resulted in the pedagogical inclusion of a segment not considered by the state's educational reforms. Then, we analyzed the modifications and strategies adopted by the educator to implement and maintain this pioneering experience. Finally, we identified the difficulties she encountered.

**Keywords:** Associação Feminina Beneficente e Instrutiva de São Paulo; Teacher Training Course; History of Early Childhood Education.

**Resumo:** O objetivo do artigo é analisar o Liceu da Associação Feminina Beneficente e Instrutiva de São Paulo, criado por Anália Franco, em 1902. Trata-se de um curso de formação de professoras, voltado para a educação infantil, para atender a creches e casas maternais espalhadas pelo estado na primeira década republicana. A metodologia utilizada foi a análise documental de fontes como anúncios publicados em periódicos da época, impressos, o livro de memórias de uma ex-aluna, dentre outros. Caracterizamos o projeto original de criação do Liceu, que culminou na inclusão pedagógica a um segmento não contemplado nas reformas instrutivas do Estado; analisamos as modificações e estratégias adotadas pela educadora para concretização e manutenção desta experiência pioneira; e identificamos as dificuldades por ela enfrentadas.

**Palavras-chave:** Associação Feminina Beneficente Instrutiva de São Paulo; Curso de Formação de Professores; História da Educação Infantil.

**Resumen:** Este artículo analiza el Liceo de la Associação Feminina Beneficente e Instrutiva de São Paulo (Asociación Femenina Benéfica e Instructiva de São Paulo, AFBI), fundado por Anália Franco en 1902. Se trató de un curso de formación de maestras orientado a la educación infantil, destinado a atender guarderías y casas maternas en todo el estado durante la primera década de la República. La metodología consistió en el análisis documental de fuentes como anuncios publicados en periódicos de la época, impresos y el libro de memorias de una exalumna, entre otros. Caracterizamos el proyecto original de creación del Liceo —que promovió la inclusión pedagógica de un segmento no contemplado por las reformas instructivas del Estado—, analizamos las modificaciones y estrategias adoptadas por la educadora para implementar y sostener esta experiencia pionera e identificamos las dificultades que enfrentó.

**Palabras clave:** Asociación Femenina Benéfica e Instructiva de São Paulo; Curso de formación de maestras; Historia de la educación infantil.

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## INTRODUCTION

Law No. 14986, of September 25, 2024, established the *Week to Honor Women Who Made History* in the context of basic education schools in the country. In this context, it is fitting to highlight the pioneering work of Anália Franco (1853-1919), a teacher who founded maternal schools in São Paulo at the beginning of the 20th century. Her association's shelters were distinguished by their pedagogical plan, setting them apart from others at the time. Interest in educators involved with the republican period in São Paulo during its first decade, with implications for teacher training and professionalization, led to research<sup>1</sup> on the Lyceum of the Associação Feminina Beneficente e Instrutiva de São Paulo (AFBI), which was founded by the educator. Based on the results of this research, the objective of this article was to analyze the Lyceum and its role in the historical context of its creation.

Anália Franco, a philanthropist known for her shelters for orphans, created an inclusive educational project for these shelters and daycare centers in the late 19th century when she founded AFBI in São Paulo in 1901. According to Kishimoto (1988, p. 52), Anália Franco was the “first educator to use terms such as daycare centers and nursery schools to name her institutions for children, the so-called *maternal schools*. The author states:

While Children's Shelters or Orphanages generally lack pedagogical activities or the presence of elements specialized in early childhood education, the establishments by Anália receive young girls who attend the teacher training school called Lyceum, which had the function of preparing professionals for teaching in the daycare centers and maternal schools of the Anália education network (Kishimoto, 1988, p. 55).

The research on the Lyceum, an educational institution created in 1902 within the Associação Feminina Beneficente e Instrutiva (Beneficent and Instructive Women's Association), is particularly relevant to the history of education during that period. São Paulo was experiencing a fertile context of educational ideas and innovations that began in the late 19th century and were driven by the Republican Party through its manifestos and proposals for public education.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Martins, R. L. S. (2024). *Anália Franco and the Lyceum of the Instructional Beneficent Association of São Paulo (1902-1917)*. Doctoral Thesis - Department of Education, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, 248 p.

<sup>2</sup> See Viscardi (2012) [Viscardi, C. M. R. (2012). *Federalism and Citizenship in the Republican Press (1870–1889)*. Tempo, 18. <https://www.scielo.br/j/tem/a/rDdtmkHB9cb4dFYyLr8VTmd/?format=html&lang=pt>] on the Republican Manifesto. Regarding the Manifesto of Public School Teachers, of 1871, and the

There are several academic works about Anália Franco and the AFBI. Published between 1986 and 1998, we can cite Kishimoto's book (1988), entitled *A pré-escola em São Paulo (1877 a 1940)*, and Kuhlmann's articles (1991, 1998) on initiatives to protect impoverished children in São Paulo. Both mention the leading role of Anália Franco in conducting her work with underprivileged children, indicating pedagogical relevance. It is from the current century onwards that research on this educator has expanded, giving rise to several academic works. In our bibliographic survey, we used the keywords "Anália Franco" and "Associação Feminina Beneficente Instrutiva de São Paulo" in the CAPES database of theses and dissertations, the Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD), and found four master's dissertations and two doctoral theses. Oliveira (2007) analyzed educational practices for children and women in the work of Anália Franco and the AFBI. Lodi-Correa's dissertation (2009) reveals aspects of her socio-educational work during the transition from the Empire to the Republic, while Chagas (2016) investigated one of her printed materials, the magazine *Album das Meninas*. Portela's thesis (2016) reveals characteristics of the educator's professional trajectory. Johansen's (2017) research provides a documented account of the Anália Franco Shelter for Orphans in Ribeirão Preto. Ferreira (2020) found data on Anália Franco's women's and educational movement published in the press. Articles, laudatory literary works, and other publications about Anália Franco establish connections between the educator and the Spiritist doctrine. Together, these publications present records of Anália Franco's trajectory as director of the AFBI, her network of relationships, and the support that maintained her work. They also provide information about her printed materials and educational ideas. However, these publications contain little information about the Lyceum, the subject of the research that gave rise to this article.

The sources investigated were newspapers found on the website of the Digital Newspaper Archive of the National Library, during the period when Anália Franco was director of the AFBI, between 1901 and 1919, specifically the periodical *Correio Paulistano*, where we found a significant number of citations, totaling 280 records. We also consulted magazines authored by Anália Franco, some reports and manuals from the AFBI available on the website of the Carlos Chagas Foundation and in the São Paulo State Archives, and an out-of-print work written in 1959 and republished in 1982 by a former AFBI student of Anália Franco's who resided there between 1906 and 1918.

Thus, we analyzed the documents from the perspective of cultural history, since "deciphering the reality of the past through its representations, trying to reach those discursive and imagistic forms through which men express themselves and the world" (Pesavento, 2005, p. 42), allows us to reflect on certain cultural and social phenomena that characterize a memory portrayed in documents that do not necessarily express a

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formation of the Republican Club of Itu, in 1873, see Lemos (2013) [Lemos, D. C. A. (2013). The Manifest of Public Primary Teachers of the Imperial Court and the Emergence of Teacher Associations. *Revista Contemporânea de Educação*, 8(15)].

reality. As Le Goff (2003, p. 535) states, “The document is not just anything that remains from the past; it is a product of the society that manufactured it according to the relations of power.”

Despite the “decisive role of the state in the development of public instruction and the promising era of investments in popular education,” the organization of education addressed in the Public Instruction Regulations of December 30, 1892<sup>3</sup>, stipulated that teacher training would take three years for teaching practice in Preliminary and Complementary Education. Articles 1 and 2 of the law guaranteed that public instruction should only begin at age 7, so education prior to this date could not be the responsibility of the government (Kishimoto, 1988, p. 106). It was not until the 1920s and 1930s that this segment transformed into a preschool unit (Kishimoto, 1988, p. 157).

The teacher training course at AFBI, the Liceu Feminino (Women's Lyceum), was therefore a school institution embedded in the rich period of public educational initiatives, stemming from debates and conflicts between the legislature, which enacted laws and decrees to guide the reform of public instruction, and the reality of the state. Examining the sources provided us with insight into the challenges the institution faced and the complex moment in the organization of public education in São Paulo. The educational problems were numerous, reported by inspectors and recorded in the Education Yearbooks. There was a mismatch between the envisioned model and the reality of the city and the state; from methodology, school spaces, and available teaching materials, to the unification of teaching and administrative procedures, and especially the precarious teacher training. This period also reveals different models of teacher training, different schools, starkly exposing the controversial marks of the clashes and confluences in the history of teacher training and professionalization.

The Lyceum's teacher training courses for maternal schools were a precursor to an initiative that was still lacking due to the absence of laws and decrees supporting an educational project for children in this age group and the lack of specific manuals for teacher training. Anália Franco needed to unify the pedagogical and administrative methodology and procedures because maternal schools were being inaugurated in the city, and the so-called “branches” in the interior of the state, all of which were linked to AFBI.

The railway network, which was created in the mid-19th century and expanded in subsequent years, facilitated the establishment of maternal schools throughout the state's interior, which were always requested by Anália Franco, the director of the AFBI. Monteiro (1992, p. 97) lists the “branch schools in the interior” linked to AFBI in Agudos, Barretos, Bauru, Bebedouro, Brotas, Campinas, Cândido Rodrigues,

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<sup>3</sup> State of São Paulo. (1892). *Decree No. 144-B, of December 30, 1892 – Regulation of Public Instruction of the State*. Legislative Assembly of the State of São Paulo. Retrieved from <https://www.al.sp.gov.br/repositorio/legislacao/decreto/1892/decreto-144B-30.12.1892.html>

Dobrada, Dois Córregos, Dourado, Franca, Itapetininga, Jaboticabal, Jaú, Jundiaí, Limeira, Monte Azul, Pederneiras, Ribeirão Preto, Rincão, Rio Claro, Salles de Oliveira, Santa Adélia, Santa Ernestina, Santos, São Carlos, São José do Rio Pardo, São José do Rio Preto, São Manuel, São Vicente, and Sertãozinho. According to Monteiro (1992), in 1910, the total number of maternal schools maintained by AFBI was 110.

In Bem (1998), we found a detailed list of the railway stations, the main line of the São Paulo Railway Company, and its articulation with other companies that emerged to serve the political and economic needs of the railway network. These companies sought to connect the interior of the state and the capital with the port of Santos (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – Railways of São Paulo at the end of the 19th century.



**Note.** Brainly (2023). *Railways of São Paulo at the end of the 19th century*. Retrieved from <https://brainly.com.br/tarefa/32719598>

Anália Franco requested free passes for teachers to travel to the branches of the maternal schools. The minutes of the meetings confirm her request, indicating the use of the railway network in creating and monitoring the AFBI branches.

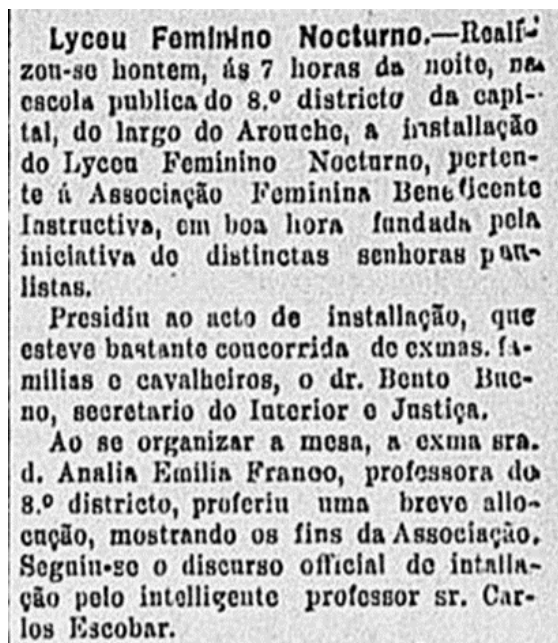
Given the above, we sought to identify the objectives of the AFBI Women's Lyceum, the content to be taught, the teachers and students, and the challenges Anália Franco faced in carrying out her project.



## THE CREATION OF THE AFBF WOMEN'S LYCEUM

The AFBF Women's Lyceum was founded on January 25, 1902, as reported by the newspaper *Correio Paulistano*<sup>4</sup> (Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Publication of the Inauguration of the AFBF Women's Lyceum



**Note.** Photograph available at the *Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira* (s.d.). Source: Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil (s.d.). [http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/090972\\_06/1555](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/090972_06/1555)

The announcement is full-page; we only omitted the date and time of the inauguration and who presided over it, Dr. Bento Bueno, Secretary of the Interior and Justice, with Professor Carlos Escobar<sup>5</sup> giving the official speech. The objective of the AFBF Lyceum, since its creation, has been to train teachers and principals for maternal schools. According to Monteiro (1992, p. 83), “Anália Franco knew that it would be pointless to have room for expansion in the tasks of literacy and education of underprivileged youth if she did not have a sufficient number of teachers prepared according to her teaching method.”

The course program was the same as that of the maternal schools, plus French language and the history of pedagogy, starting with Pestalozzi. Its objective was also that

<sup>4</sup> Ed. 13804.

<sup>5</sup> The newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*, dated March 29, 1903, reports that Carlos Escobar graduated from the Normal School of the Capital in 1884. He was born in 1862 and died in 1941. He held almost all positions in public education. He founded the first teachers' association. In 1910, he promoted the teaching congress. He was a regular contributor to the *Revista de Ensino*. 156 Source: BN Digital Newspaper Archive. Available at: [http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/090972\\_06/1555](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/090972_06/1555)

the future educators would be the same orphaned girls who had been placed in shelters. For Anália Franco, these poor, unprotected girls should leave with a profession.

The educator's proposal was to shelter, provide educational assistance, and offer a profession to the girls in the shelter. This purpose was aligned with government policies of helping the underprivileged and teaching children and young people a profession. Discussions about vocational training for minors, as a form of social inclusion, were among the concerns regarding the future of underprivileged children. She stated: "We want to produce useful citizens, with initiative and ability who are ready to collaborate and never ask" (Franco, 1903, as cited in Monteiro, 1992, p. 85).<sup>6</sup>

In the AFBI Report of 1908, and in the August 1904 issue of *Voz Maternal*<sup>7</sup>, Anália Franco asserts her objective of educating and teaching a profession to girls living in shelters:

[...] The need to provide a career path for the poor orphans sheltered in the Shelter and Daycare Center has driven us to work tirelessly to ensure that their preparation aligns with our ideals. [...] However, with immense efforts, we have managed to prepare several young women for maternal schools in the first two years of their course (Franco, 1909, p.7)

[...] the sewing and printing workshops at the Shelter and Daycare Center are already modestly organized, where several destitute widows and orphans work. Thus, we will gradually achieve our goal of providing for the needy through work (Franco, 1904, p. 8).

According to Barros (1982), the young women, orphans, studied and worked in all areas of responsibility of the Association, such as music lessons, handicrafts, and teaching classes. Some worked in the AFBI printing workshops, while others taught in the daycare centers and maternal schools operating in all neighborhoods of the city of São Paulo. Some were child supervisors, while others were kitchen, laundry, and linen room managers. They studied and continuously rotated through these duties (Barros, 1982, p. 22).

Thus, AFBI followed the established references for orphan shelters, a model for teaching a profession as a welfare policy of the time. In Article 41 of the internal regulations, which appears in the January 1904 edition of *Voz Maternal*<sup>8</sup>, the objective of the Lyceums, founded in the Associations whose model was AFBI, was to provide vocational training institutions intended to give theoretical and practical instruction

<sup>6</sup> Since there was no standardized spelling at the time, we have chosen to use the current spelling in all citations.

<sup>7</sup> Available at: <https://www.fcc.org.br/pesquisa/educacaoInfancia/EducacaoInfancia.abrirTopico.mtw?idTopico=1>

<sup>8</sup> The magazine, printed at the AFBI printing press and written by Anália Franco, contained not only announcements but also news about AFBI and its schools.

to women pursuing teaching careers in the maternal and elementary schools of the Women's Association.

In the articles of the AFBI Internal Regulations, the course organization was two years for maternal schools and three years for elementary schools, comprising the subjects of Portuguese, Arithmetic, Pedagogy and Morality, French, Geography, Natural History, History of Brazil, Music, Drawing, Gymnastics, and Handicrafts. Subjects were distributed across the years of the course as follows: in the first year, there was Portuguese, 8 lessons per month; elementary arithmetic, notions of geography, pedagogy and morality, drawing, history of Brazil, elements of natural history, and French, 4 lessons per month; geometry, gymnastics, and handicrafts, 3 lessons per month. In the second year: Portuguese, arithmetic, and French, 12 lessons of each subject in the 1st trimester. Pedagogy and morality, geography, and history of Brazil, 12 lessons in the 2nd trimester.

Regarding the methodology of maternal schools, it is important to relate it to the life story of Anália Franco. It is necessary to examine her personal and professional trajectory. According to Nóvoa (1992, p. 7), it is impossible to separate a teacher's "personal self" from their "professional self." Understanding aspects of her training and practice as an educator leads us to reflect on her methodological choices in creating educational institutions.

Despite the possibility that we may be seeking the artificial creation of meaning, as Bourdieu (2006) warns, by combining aspects of their training with their performance, as well as attempting to establish consistency and constancy in life and professional relationships as cause and effect in their life trajectory, we cannot ignore the critical perspective on the privileged social mechanisms, experiences of time, and social spaces that constitute the subject's representations and that, in some way, influence their personality and possibilities. According to Bourdieu, these resources constitute economic, social, and cultural capital for individuals.

Therefore, by analyzing some aspects of Anália Franco's biography, we can affirm that cultural elements were incorporated into her upbringing, a heritage she inherited from her family. Her mother, Teresa Emilia Franco, was a teacher at a time when education and professional training were denied to women. Her father, Antonio Marianno Franco Junior, held the position of ensign, a military officer who was likely educated and trained at a military academy.

Other elements were added to her development, along with cultural assets from her family that contributed to her work. On December 29, 1877, the newspaper *A Província de São Paulo* recorded that Anália Franco achieved a brilliant result in her first year of teacher training at the Normal School of São Paulo. However, we note that her name was misspelled as "Amália" in the section signed by Justus in the newspaper (Figure 3).



Figure 3- News article about Anália Franco's brilliant performance as a student at the Normal School of São Paulo in 1877.

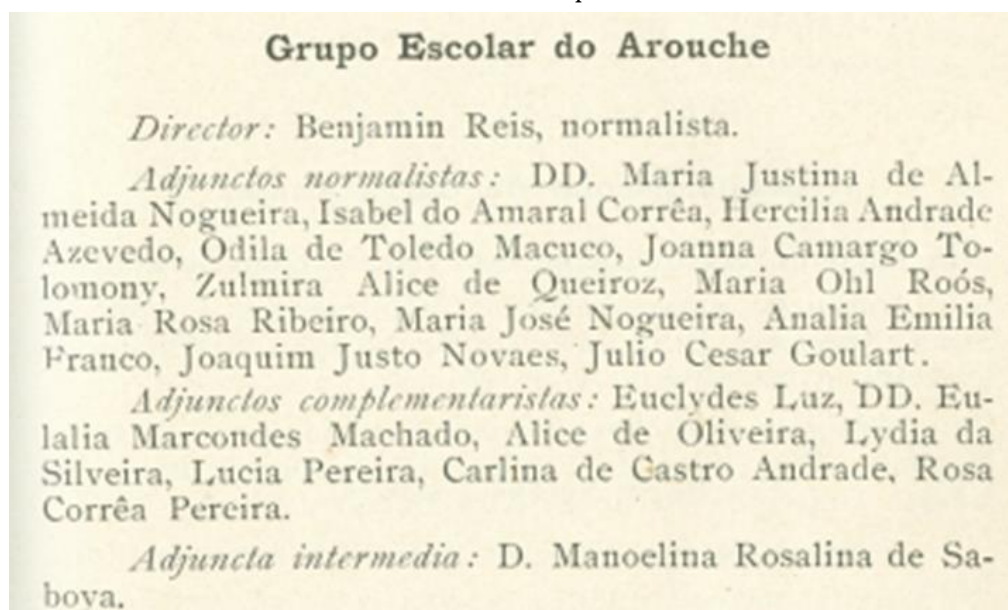


**Note.** Image extracted from *A Província de São Paulo*, issue No. 8,861, 1877. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira (Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil).

<https://memoria.bn.gov.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=347159&pagfis=3472>

The Normal School of São Paulo was at the “top of the hierarchy of teacher training institutions” (Monarcha, 1999, p. 212). Therefore, Anália Franco received her teacher training at the best normal school in the province. After completing the course, she was appointed a public school teacher to work at the Largo do Arouche school group in São Paulo, a privileged location. According to Souza (1998, p. 73), “being a teacher at the school group was a matter of dispute among public school teachers,” because the school groups offered better salaries and good working conditions. They were schools considered high-quality and prestigious, as the teachers who worked in the groups “represented one of the standards of excellence in São Paulo education during the First Republic, as the school groups were customarily represented as centers of radiant light” (Monarcha, 1999, p. 230). We found her name as an adjunct teacher at the Largo do Arouche School Group, in the São Paulo Education Yearbooks, at the São Paulo State Archives, for the years 1907 to 1918 (Figure 4).

Figure 4 – Photo of the page from the 1908 Yearbook with the names of the teachers at the Arouche School Group.



**Note.** Image extracted from the *Anuário de São Paulo* (1908–1909). Source: Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo.

[https://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/web/digitalizado/bibliografico\\_periodico/anuarios\\_ensino](https://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/web/digitalizado/bibliografico_periodico/anuarios_ensino)

Once again, we turn to Bourdieu (2003, p. 78), who presents us with other components added to the cultural baggage inherited by the subject:

With the diploma, this certificate of cultural competence that confers on its holder a conventional, constant, and legally guaranteed value with regard to culture, social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital that has a relative autonomy in relation to its holder and even in relation to the cultural capital that he or she actually possesses at a given historical moment.

Joined to this cultural heritage are the networks of socialization that permeate the conventionally valued spaces. Anália was a writer in the São Paulo period from 1890 to 1918, and her name was associated with a group of women writers during that time. Through the press, one can observe the intense movement of intellectuals mediated by structures of sociability conceptualized as networks by Sirinelli (2003). In these networks, like-minded groups shared common interests.

Anália Franco circulated among writers who were part of the social and cultural elite of the period, including Francisca Julia da Silva<sup>9</sup>, who wrote for the periodicals *O Estado de São Paulo*, *Correio Paulistano*, and *Diário Popular*, as well as the magazines *O Album* (RJ), *A Semana* (RJ), *Boêmia* and *A Paulicéia* (1896), *Educação* (1902), *São*

<sup>9</sup> To learn more about the periodicals and the women writers mentioned, see Martins (2001).

*Paulo Ilustrado* (1904), *A Vida Moderna* (1905), *Ilustração Brasileira* (1905) and *Orkidea* (1920); América Carolina da Silva Couto, who wrote for the periodicals *Eco das Damas*, from 1879, and *A Família*, from 1888; and Josephina Álvares de Azevedo, who wrote for *A Semana*, and *Educação* 1902, as well as the *Almanake de Senhoras de Lisboa*; Presciliana Duarte de Almeida (Martins, 2001, pp. 466-467), for the magazine *A Mensageira*, launched in 1897; Zalina Rolim, who participated in the magazines *A Mensageira*, and *Revista do Jardim da Infância* (1896); and Julia Lopes de Almeida, who collaborated with the magazines *O Quinze de Novembro*, *Kosmos*, *O Paiz*, *A Gazeta de Notícias*, and *A Semana*.

Anália Franco also created her own magazines, *Album das Meninas*, which began circulating in 1898, and *A Voz Maternal*, which replaced the former in 1903.

Along with this extensive network of relationships, Anália Franco was linked to Spiritism and Freemasonry; the latter, an institution with a relevant role during the First Republic, aligned with liberal and Enlightenment ideas, also influenced by the positivist ideology of scientism, and played a role in reforming education in São Paulo by advocating for public, secular, and free elementary education. Spiritism<sup>10</sup> was restricted to a segment of society that was fluent in French and knowledgeable about the new scientific discoveries associated with the movement in France. According to Valle (2010), this intellectual elite was composed of lawyers, doctors, and liberal professionals, such as teachers, journalists, and merchants, who enjoyed prestige among the dominant and ruling groups of the empire.

This network of relationships reveals the intellectual, social, and cultural profile of the group that circulated with Anália Franco and who participated in her project in some way. These included teachers trained at the Normal School, teachers from school groups, and relationships that were acquired throughout her social trajectory and that became a kind of wealth, a “social capital” that she used to serve to realize her educational plan, the AFBI. The list of teachers at the Lyceum includes teachers from the Normal School and school groups.

Regarding the methodological approach of the course, we sought to identify potential influences on its development. Regarding the teaching program of the Normal School, Silva and Pérez (2014) state that one of the most widely used manuals in Brazil in the 1870s was the *Curso Prático de Pedagogia* manual by Daligault.

<sup>10</sup> According to Monteiro (1992, p. 185), “determining the date and how” Anália Franco “converted to Spiritism is a difficult task, “because, according to the biographer, “there is no concrete evidence in the biographical records” indicating when she became involved with Spiritists. It is possible to consider the influence that may be related to the Spiritist activism of her partner, Antônio Francisco Bastos, since Anália Franco was still Catholic in 1898, according to Monteiro (1992, p. 185), citing an article by the respected professor, Mr. Olympio Catão, who records that Franco was a “confessed Catholic.” However, Bastos, according to Azevedo (2010), was a Spiritist, a frequent attendee and disseminator of the doctrine, with active participation in the Spiritist movement in São Paulo.

The book, in its chapters, offered guidance for the teachers who would, in a sense, “complete God’s work” (Daligault, 1870, p. 18). At the beginning of the manual, we find the chapter that describes what would constitute the “dignity” of the primary school teacher’s role and the necessary qualities for the profession. According to the author, the seven qualities of a good teacher are kindness, firmness, patience, regularity, purity of morals, and Christian piety.

We also find a description of the indirect qualities for the role, those that contribute to the good outcome of teaching, which are: politeness, modesty, prudence, disinterestedness, and love of solitude, cautions that the teacher should take in their behavior, such as avoiding parties, gambling houses and “walking now to one side, now to the other” (Daligault, 1870, p. 53).

Hygienic precautions were part of the first chapter; this was divided into categories such as the boys’ hygiene, the cleanliness of the place, air renewal, variety in exercises, good posture, and taking care to separate or isolate boys with illnesses. Work, through direct means or exercises, indicated items such as: walking, running, jumping, climbing, sliding or gliding, and gardening; this item, according to the author, meant the work of the whole body, in cultivating, harvesting, and planting.

Anália Franco (1898, pp. 50, 51), in the magazine *Album das Meninas*, year 1, no. 3, June 30, 1898, states the following:

Whatever idea one may have of thought, one cannot ignore the fact that the intellectual instrument is also subject to physical ailments and cannot do without rich blood, nourished by pure air and regenerated by various exercises. [...] Hence the need for a complete, integral, and harmonious education.

At the AFBI Colony, we observe that there was “physical labor” in the “world of the land, in the farmhouse” (Barros, 1982, p. 45). According to the memoirs of a former student, constructive work in rural life was part of the students’ education and was guided by teachers. In the maternal schools, according to Monteiro (1992, p. 56), in addition to the following subjects, rudiments of Portuguese, arithmetic, geometry, geography, natural and national history, “gymnastics”, manual work, choral singing, and moral teachings were taught.

The second part of the Pedagogy manual adopted at the Normal School addressed intellectual education. For the development of intelligence, it was necessary to carry out certain actions that would develop intellectual faculties: “The perception of objects, the attention that examines them, the recalling information, the imagination that penetrates their relationships, and the reasoning that combines judgments among themselves” (Monteiro, 1992, p. 68).

Disciplinary measures represented the means of maintaining order. Discipline was essential for developing intelligence and forming a good character. Discipline established the rules. Thus, in Article 1 of the chapter, the author indicated that the distribution of time and work was a form of discipline. Days and times were therefore recorded in the book for summer and winter. There were two methods: simultaneous and mixed.

Regarding the subject of discipline, there are precepts and rules for a well-regulated class: gestures and body signals made by the teacher, eye contact, hand movements—all of these would be enough to bring a boy to order. The bell served as a signal to stop playing and end recess.

At AFBI, according to Barros (1982, p. 29), there was discipline and order in the children's routine: "Discipline...discipline [...] the exact times; recess, schoolwork, [...] meals on time and rest in comfortable and clean dormitories. The bell served to stop the games, the time for games, or recess, according to the manual. Similarly, the bell rang at the shelter where Anália Franco's former student lived. Barros (1982) mentions the "big bell, which Marieta rang for all daily events", for all daily events. "Breakfast? First ring of the bell. Soon after, the first classes. Lunch? "The second ring of the bell and everyone knew that the bell was calling them" (Barros, 1982, p. 52). As for the way of calling a girl to order, in the case of teacher Anália Franco, Barros (1982, p. 52) states that "the adoptive mother never reprimanded, spoke sweetly, and gave advice."

Student records were also highlighted as an important item, since standardizing this procedure would allow the school to get to know the students, including their numbers, attendance, conduct, and progress. The manual also suggested standards for registration, grade, and composition records.

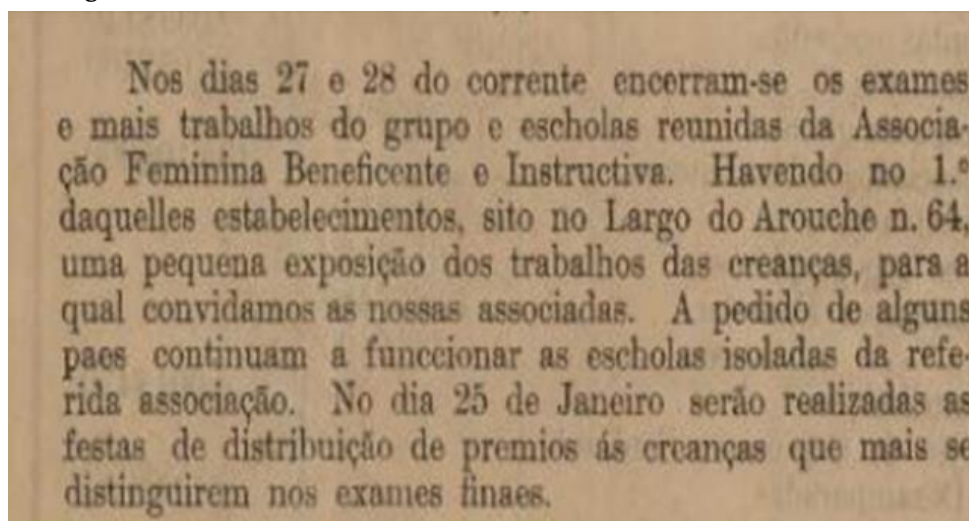
We found this rule regarding records cited in the magazine *A Voz Maternal*. The number of students served by AFBI was recorded. In the Internal Regulations of the schools, Anália Franco defined the role of one teacher from each group of schools to supervise administrative tasks such as preparing enrollment reports, student elimination reports, student absence reports, teacher absence reports, and organizing roll calls by the class teacher. These reports were to be numbered and presented to the president of AFBI, who would sign them.

For Daligault, rewards were an excellent means of maintaining order and discipline, as their distribution throughout the school could motivate the students. These rewards could include praise from the teacher, good grades, spots on the display board for the best compositions, merit and conduct medals, certificates, letters of recommendation, satisfaction cards, a place on the honor roll, and annual prizes.

At AFBI, children who excelled on their final exams were also rewarded, as seen in Figure 5 from the December 1903 issue of the magazine *A Voz Maternal*.



Figure 5 - News about awards for children who excel in their final exams.



**Note.** Image from the digital collection of the Public Archives of the State of São Paulo.

[https://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/web/digitalizado/bibliografico\\_periodico/jornais\\_revistas](https://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/web/digitalizado/bibliografico_periodico/jornais_revistas)

Daligault also emphasized the importance of punishments in school practice. He stated that repressive measures were necessary and should be carried out by teachers with prudence and wisdom. Examples of punishments mentioned in the manual include reprimands, loss of points, loss of distinction medals or ribbons, and removal from the honor roll.

According to the internal regulations of AFBI schools, punishments and rewards were permitted as disciplinary measures. Article 12 lists the following rewards: good grade cards, merit and praise cards, praise in front of the class, and inclusion on an honor roll.

In addition to the subjects and pedagogical methodology studied by the students at the Lyceum, Anália Franco published teaching manuals to guide teachers. According to Monteiro (1992), these manuals contain pedagogical principles from Fröebel, Kergomard, and Montessori. However, Anália Franco did not limit herself to one method in her teaching and learning work. In her 1902 *Manual das Escolas Maternais*, she wrote:

Since maternal schools do not aim to exercise one set of faculties to the detriment of others, but rather to develop them harmoniously, we do not strictly follow any of the methods that are based on an exclusive and artificial system. On the contrary, we gather the simplest exercises from the best methods and, with the help of these diverse elements, form a set that is more or less appropriate to the child's needs, putting all their faculties into play (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 3).

In the minutes of the Association's board meeting on December 5, 1903, we find some decisions regarding what was expected of the young women's careers during their qualification process: "Teachers could not be appointed to their positions until they had completed one year of teaching experience in the Maternal Schools of the Interior."

Regarding the exams, the director clarified that they held quarterly exams and covered all subjects for each quarter. The exams were written and oral. For the final exam in November, examinees took an oral and practical test in which they explained a specific point drawn at random. The principal noted the discipline and rigor of the evaluation and stated that the written exam paper would bear the association's stamp and that the exam of any student who used fraudulent methods would be annulled.

The criteria for approval were given through concepts: excellent, good, or poor. Students were also evaluated on their behavior in terms of attendance, procedure, application, and benevolence.

In the practical exam, the student who demonstrated her ability to teach the subject received the qualification. "The final exam had to be taken before the board of directors, along with a panel composed of the president and two other members who signed the respective diplomas together with the teachers of the subjects" (Franco, 1904, p. 6).

Considering the influences of her trajectory on the creation of AFBI, the methods and planning, we find, in Dias (2013), a list of her first-year teachers at the Normal School of São Paulo in 1877. In her book, Dias (2013) specifies the subjects and some biographical details of her teachers, which makes it possible to understand, firstly, the organizational panorama of the school during that period, at different moments of the Normal School when it was established in its second phase, which had a short duration, from 1875 to 1878. The school operated in a temporary location; according to Monarcha (1999, p. 13), the Normal School, in its second foundation, "operated in a room of the course attached to the Faculty of Law of Largo de São Francisco", "while awaiting the construction of its own building" (Monarcha, 1999, p. 96), which may explain the professional profile of the teachers, who were mostly graduates of the Faculty of Law. According to Monarcha (1999, p. 24), "the intellectual production of the early stages of academic education in Brazil led graduates to address the needs arising from the transition from the colonial order to the competitive order," because education is what civilizes a people — creating a rational, moral society that can mediate conflicts between individuals and institutions. To promote this education, it was urgent to qualify teachers, which was done by graduates and judges.

Therefore, Anália Franco received training that emphasized the urgency of teacher training with the republican traits of law graduates, who ideologically guided the foundations of teacher training, the regeneration of individuals through reason and science, order and progress, the positivist ideals of education as progress and civilization of a people, and secular education. In her training, we can highlight the

priest teachers, instructed in the Episcopal Seminary, urban intellectuals (Monarcha, 1999, p. 112) who shared the dogmas of the Religion of Humanity.

Another influential trait is found in the record of her teachers' involvement with orphanhood<sup>11</sup>. Besides teaching, one was a judge for orphans and the other a general curator of orphans. Thus, the professional identity of these teachers, linked to assisting orphans, may have influenced Anália Franco's training and led her to pursue a career focused on orphanhood.

Monteiro (1992, p. 84) points out that, in the year the Lyceum was inaugurated, 10 students enrolled in the 1st year; 15 students in the 2nd year; and 20 students in the 3rd year, with 22 students in preparatory classes.

In the Association's magazine *A Voz Maternal*, we find, in the December 1903, 1904, and May 1905 issues, information about the number of female students at the Lyceum. Chart 1 contains records of student enrollment at the Lyceum in 1904.

Chart 1 – Number of enrollments at the Lyceum in 1904

Month	July 1904	August 1904	September 1904	October 1904
Number of female students at the Lyceum	40	40	50	55

**Note.** Table prepared based on information provided by the Carlos Chagas Foundation.

<https://www.fcc.org.br/pesquisa/educacaoInfancia/EducacaoInfancia.abrirTopico.mtw?idTopico=1>.

The attendance report provided a quantitative list of students in the magazine edition for the month following registration. Therefore, the June attendance record is in the July edition, the July attendance record is in the August edition, and so on. This also shows that new students were admitted throughout the course despite the enrollment period being published in the magazine at the beginning of each year. This illustrates the urgency of accepting new enrollments for teacher training in maternal schools throughout the year.

Regarding the profile of the course's teachers, according to Monteiro (1992), the classes at the Lyceum were taught by teachers who had graduated from the Normal School of Praça and the School Groups.

The AFBI *Relatório* of 1908 contains some teachers' names and enrollment numbers, as shown in Chart 2.

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<sup>11</sup> Professor Américo Ferreira de Abreu was the general curator of orphans, inspector of public instruction, judge of orphans in the capital, and fiscal procurator of the Provincial Treasury (Dias, 2013). And Dr. João Bernardes da Silva was a municipal judge and judge of orphans.

Chart 2 – Women's Lyceum: quantitative overview

Lyceu Feminino									
SECÇÃO DE ESCOLAS									
Nomes das Escolas		Nomes das professoras	Matrícula	Freq. geral	Nacidas	Estrangeiras	Maiores de 12 anos	Menores de 12 anos	Freq. media
Lyceu	1.º anno	D. Maria José Oliveira	12	3456	12	0	9	3	12
»	2.º »	» Francisca Ramos	13	3456	13	0	9	4	12
»	3.º »	» Julia Andrade	8	2804	8	0	8	0	8
			33	9216	33	0	26	7	32

S. Paulo, 31 de Dezembro de 1908.

**Note.** Table prepared based on the 1908 Report of the *Associação Feminina Beneficente Instrutiva*. <https://www.fcc.org.br/pesquisa/educacaoInfancia/EducacaoInfancia.downloadArtigo.mtw?id=35>.

What also caught our attention was the age of the students enrolled in 1908. Among the students enrolled in 1908, there were girls under 12 years old in the teacher training course. Anália Franco records, in the 1908 report, the enrollment of 33 students in the 1st year, and of this number, 13 students had progressed to the 2nd year. In the same year, 13 students enrolled in the 2nd year, 8 students in the 3rd year, and only 4 students had completed the course.

There is no record of the number of enrollments at the Lyceum in the AFBI *Relatório* of 1912. The report details the total number of internal staff in the various AFBI care models. The absence of any mention of the number of female students at the Lyceum raised questions about the existence of the course in that year. Based on the sources found, we were unable to answer this question.

As previously mentioned, the teaching program at the Lyceum was the same as that of the maternal schools. According to the statute in Chapter 2, Paragraph 1:

As stated, the teaching program at the Lyceum was the same as that of the maternal schools. According to the Statute found in Chapter 2, Paragraph 1:

[...] The program at the Women's Lyceum is the same as that of maternal schools, but more developed, adding to the study of the French language and history, especially pedagogy, with an accurate

study of teaching methods from Pestalozzi to the present day (Estatuto da fundação da AFBI, 1901).

According to Kishimoto (1988), the activity program for daycare centers incorporated Fröebel's theories into educational practices, such as sensory education, a method suitable for children of this age group. The program adopted by the maternal schools also included concepts of Geography, History of Brazil, Lessons on Things, and Geometry, a curricular organization similar to that of French educators such as Pape-Carpantier and Pauline Kergomard.

Former student Barros (1982, pp. 52-53, emphasis added) describes the methodology in an activity in which she participated:

[...] in the Colony, the bread was made by Dona Marieta, and only there could she see the bread rise, alongside the children lined up, admiring it. The coffee was sweetened with sugarcane juice from the sugarcane plantation, prepared by black Maria Rita, a grown woman and our colleague. [...] there on the farm, we studied Botany with Anita Santos, with practical lessons on pistils, stems, leaves, and flowers [...] the clothes were washed in the river [...] we found a way to fish with pillowcases. [...] stamens and pistils, stems, leaves, and flowers; peduncles, calyxes and corollas; petals and sepals; roots and stems, petiolate leaves, chlorophyll and carbon dioxide [...] and so we continued with our *practical lessons*.

According to Valdemarin (2004), Decree No. 7,247 of 1879, issued by Minister Leônicio de Carvalho, established the introduction of the concept of things in primary education, a teaching method based on empiricism. The senses as the starting point for knowledge was the new teaching method: concrete, rational, and active, called teaching by aspect, lessons of things, or intuitive teaching. Teachers were responsible for directing students' "gaze towards understanding," ordering knowledge from the concrete to the abstract.

The pedagogical approach was characterized by a concern with literacy, beginning with reading common words and simple phrases, through playful methods and movable letters to expand vocabulary. Analyzing curriculum data in her research, Kishimoto (1988, p. 29) states that:

[...] there was a high degree of memorization that was unsuitable for children aged 5 to 7 years old, requiring concepts of nouns, gender, notions of horizontal space, parallel curves, and river names in Geography, as found in the *Manual para as Escolas Maternais* by Anália, from 1905.



Anália Franco emphasized the development of the child's inner faculties. She therefore valued what was prevalent at the time in pedagogical guidelines, especially regarding intuitive teaching. She prioritized playful activities in the educational process. The *Manual para as Escolas Maternais* of AFBI, written in 1902 by Anália Franco and Eunice Caldas, contains the program for the 1st grade Maternal Schools for children up to 5 years old and the 1st trimester.

Moral - simple conversations, moral stories.

Writing exercises – first one letter, then diphthongs, and finally short words.

Numbers – numbering from 1 to 19 with addition and subtraction, + and - signs.

Drawing – sticks, straight lines, triangles, squares, various figures.

Geography – location of objects in the classroom, cardinal and collateral points, streets known to the children, and the location of the school.

History of Brazil – the discovery of Brazil, the indigenous people, and Pedro Álvares Cabral. *Lessons about Things* – coffee, wine, cassava, hand, rose, leaf, dog, ox.

Grammar – letters, words, and names.

Manual Work – weaving, graded exercises, and combinations of colored wools on canvas or paper.

Colors – primary and secondary colors.

Songs – short hymns.

Gymnastics, Games – turning right and left, standing up and sitting down, walking right and left, and gymnastic positions, first, second, third, and fourth. Simultaneous, successive, and alternating movements.

Marches – easy evolutions (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 7, emphasis added).

Because she was a teacher at the Arouche School Group, Anália had access to the formal curriculum established in the guidelines of Public Instruction. Therefore, when comparing the teaching programs of the maternal schools with those of the 1st kindergarten attached to the Normal School of São Paulo in 1896, we find that both institutions' programs present similar content (Chart 3).

Chart 3 – Comparative box of the teaching programs of the maternal schools and the kindergarten of 1896, made by the author.

<b>Program of Maternal Schools 1st grade – children up to 5 years old (Franco &amp; Caldas, 1902)</b>	<b>Kindergarten program attached to the Normal School, 1st period (1896)</b>
First principles of moral education: moral lessons are given to children to instill good habits, foster a love of discipline, and promote harmony among them. These lessons introduce early notions of good and evil.	
Language exercises – conversations about beings and objects that are useful to and attract their attention. Pronunciation exercises, aiming to increase the child's vocabulary, short memory exercises, stories, fables, narrations, and questionnaires.	Language: children's conversations; the child in the family and in kindergarten – main parts of the body – beings and objects that are useful to them and that frequently attract their attention. Very short and simple stories.
Sticks forming the letters VFJA in space, giving the child 3 sticks and a curved line. First exercises on vowels.	
Primary and secondary colors	Colors; primary and secondary colors
Manual Work – Graded preliminary exercises, interlacing with sticks. Paper folding, weaving, beads, and some paper decorations.	Manual work – beads, graded preliminary exercises. Simple projects. Beads and shapes made from colored paper. Some embellishments and ornaments. Interlacing with sticks.
Songs: Short Hymns. Gymnastics. Head and finger movements. Marching with hand movements.	Songs: Short Hymns.
	Gymnastics: head and finger movements, accompanied by simple melodies.
Numbers: Counting from one to ten with cubes. Varied exercises according to the map for each grade. Signs + - =	Numbers: counting from one to ten using strings. Knowledge of numbers from one to ten using printed numbers. Addition and subtraction exercises.

**Note.** Table prepared based on Franco & Caldas (1902) and *Revista do Jardim da Infância* (1896).

Little cubes, sticks, balls, spheres, cubes, boards, and rods were materials presented in Fröebel's methodology because, according to her theory, playing with colored materials develops multiple activities, such as differentiating between the left and right hand, identifying certain qualities of the ball, as well as providing color classification and comparing shapes and textures. According to Kishimoto, a large amount of music is interspersed in all the exercises.

During this school period, manuals for teachers proliferated in schools with the aim of guiding pedagogical practice. The same occurred with the manuals written by

Anália Franco for principals of maternal schools. These manuals aimed to present a method for improving students' experimentation and observation of objects, encouraging children to reason and progress their knowledge from perception to idea, from the concrete to the abstract, from the senses to intelligence, and from data to judgment.

Anália Franco discusses this method in her 1902 *Manual das Escolas Maternais*, stating that:

The method primarily consists of explaining each thing and, as far as possible, actually seeing the object. Obviously, it will not always be possible to demonstrate exactly what one wants, but whenever one can only show the object instead of describing or defining it, that will be more advantageous (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 15).

The similarity of maternal schools to the French model of the “écoles maternelles” is confirmed by Anália Franco when she expressed her preference, in *Voz Maternal* no. 3 of February 1904, for pedagogical books donated by the government. Anália Franco published a thank-you note to His Excellency Mr. Bento Bueno and Mr. Oscar Thompson for the donation of 200 books to the Lyceum Library, but stated that what she really needed was the collection of books on the method of Mrs. Maria Pape Carpentier, “teaching through the eyes,” which would be very useful for maternal schools.

Regarding the moral education program, Anália Franco's arguments for such instruction are recorded in the *Magazine Album das Meninas*. The quote below was taken from issue no. 19 of Year III, SP, September 1, 1900.

The weakness of moral character revealed in all spheres of public life is largely due to our lack of confidence in spiritual cultivation. The development of intellectual faculties without moral and religious progress is not yet considered the sole and true end of study, but rather its fortuitous and insensible result. This produces the increasingly striking selfishness, disordered love of profit, and ever-growing indifference to religious and philosophical matters seen today. It also leads to the daily transformation of education into mere learning (Franco, 1900, p. 4).

In the 1902 manual for maternal schools (Franco & Caldas 1902, p. 11), Anália Franco points out that the first principles of moral education should not be taught sequentially, but rather through dialogues, narratives, and stories intended to inspire children to feel a sense of duty towards their family, country, and God. According to her, “These principles should be independent of all confessional teaching” (Franco & Caldas,

1902, p. 11). “The narratives or stories should be told as much as possible using images and dedicated to representing scenes from childhood” (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 12).

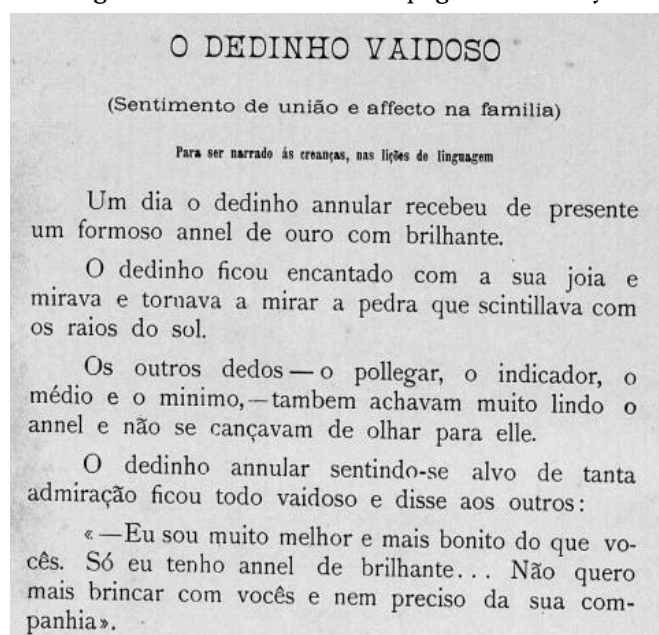
The first warnings given to teachers, found in the 1902 *Manual para as Escolas Maternais*, refer to the care that the mission imposed, “The terrible responsibility that weighs upon you (the teachers and principals) for childhood, for it (the child) will later be only what you have made of it.” “It is up to the teacher to form the character and heart of the children and guide them on the path of good through virtue” (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 10).

For Anália, maternal school:

[...] is merely the transition of the child from the family to school, and therefore it must preserve the affectionate sweetness and indulgence of the family, while at the same time initiating the child into the work and regularity of school (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 26).

The kindergarten program in the 1896 edition of the *Revista do Jardim de Infância* also emphasizes the importance of moral education through storytelling. The story, signed by Zalina Rolim and titled: *O Dedinho Vaidoso* (feeling of unity and affection in the family), has a moral background as it presents the importance of friendship among group members. If one finger becomes vain, thinking itself the best finger on the hand, it will be alone and unable to perform its function; all the fingers need to work together, the hand needs all the fingers to pick a fruit, or a rose, as Zalina Rolim's story says (Figure 6).

Figure 6 – Photo of the first page of the story.



**Note.** Image extracted from *Revista do Jardim da Infância*, vol. 1, Official Publication, São Paulo, 1896. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira. [http://memoria.bn.br/pdf/216690/per216690\\_1896\\_00001.pdf](http://memoria.bn.br/pdf/216690/per216690_1896_00001.pdf)

Some pages of the 1902 manual indicate a methodology geared towards teachers, such as, for example, the lesson of things. Anália Franco stated that it was not an easy methodology and would require careful preparation from the teacher, because, according to her, these lessons are not improvised and momentary inspirations. These lessons of things should be taught in front of a board because to the pleasure of seeing is added that of hearing; the keenly interested sight and ears rush towards the desired result. From the images, one derives doing, speaking, the names, the facts, and the desire to go further in knowledge. The method consisted of explaining each thing as far as possible in the presence of the object itself. Thus, “the image united with its oral commentary exerted a double influence” (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 33). In the subject of geography, Anália Franco emphasized that:

Without a map, it is not possible to teach geography. First, children must be able to regularly read something on a geography map (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 44).

It is an essentially natural and familiar methodology, said Anália Franco and Eunice Caldas (1902), open to new progress and susceptible to completion and reform; the exercises should be varied and include lessons, cases, dialogues, stories, drawings, reading, calculation, recitation, dividing the time with physical exercises or play (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 46). Teachers should understand the importance of “descending to the children” as one of the great secrets of modern pedagogy (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 59).

The aim of maternal schools would be to lead the child to build habits and dispositions of their own in the education of the senses that could support them later in entering regular education, “in addition to a taste for gymnastics, drawing, images, and storytelling, an interest in listening, seeing, observing, imitating, questioning and responding with a certain faculty of attention” (Franco & Caldas, 1902, p. 30).

### **The difficulties of the AFBI Lyceum in the “voice” of Anália Franco**

When the AFBI opened the Women’s Lyceum, its statutes stipulated that impoverished girls enrolled in the Association’s schools would acquire intellectual instruction and a profession to ensure their financial independence. Teaching was the profession Anália Franco desired for the girls in the shelter, as recorded in the *Relatório da AFBI* of 1912.

How far the social impact of educating these impoverished, unprotected girls would be, for, properly prepared, they would be the future initiators of the education of other living in shelters and destitute children like themselves! (Franco, 1912, p. 6)



The future educators of unprotected children, who are those same destitute orphans sheltered in the Women's Association's Shelters, have not yet managed to attract the benevolent attention of those who could advantageously take an interest in their fate (Franco, 1912, p. 5).

However, Anália Franco faced difficulties in achieving her goal. Consider her account in the *Relatório da AFBI* of 1908:

Always struggling with the same difficulties, due to the lack of appropriate classrooms and essential materials, the Women's Lyceum still continues to provide invaluable services to the instruction of future teachers. In the Argentine Republic, where maternal teachers lack the necessary preparation, since it is sufficient for them to know how to read and the first rudiments of arithmetic to be admitted to these schools [...] Among us, it must be confessed, despite the frantic struggle on the part of our administration to ensure that maternal teachers have a 2-3 year apprenticeship course, the preparation of these young women, future educators of unprotected children, has not yet managed to merit public attention. The need to provide careers for the poor orphans sheltered in the Shelter and Daycare Center has driven us to work tirelessly (Franco, 1908, p. 7).

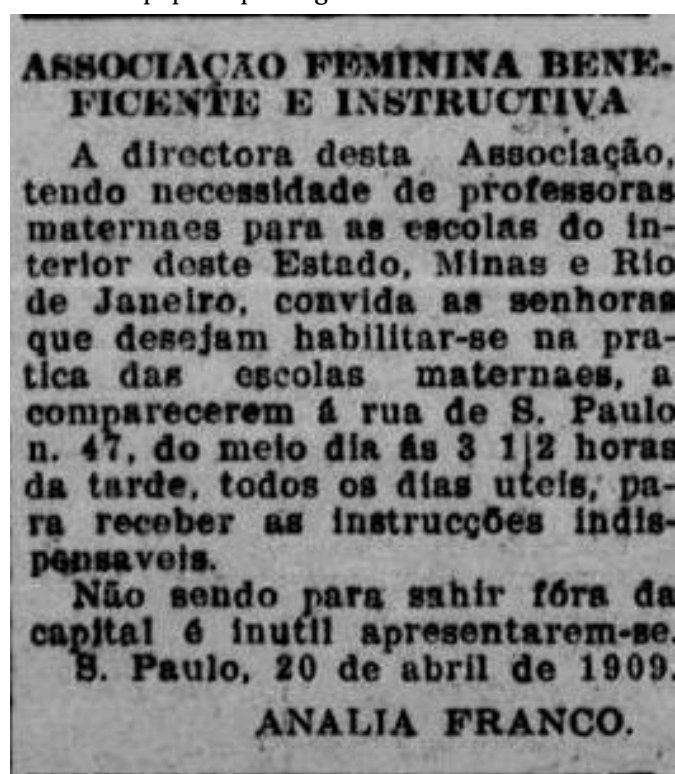
In February 1904, in *Voz Maternal*, Anália Franco reported that, of the 80 students who were enrolled, 50 regularly attended the various classes at the Lyceum, but that the objectives were still "flattering." Resources were "meager," and the teaching staff was poorly paid, and she was therefore appealing to charitable and generous people for help with this important undertaking.

Aside from the issue of lack of preparation, the students were extremely poor and, according to Monteiro (1992, p. 84), Anália Franco needed to provide the students of the Lyceum with "food, clothing, and everything else they needed for their teaching and practice." Anália Franco continues at the end of this section about the Lyceum, in her 1908 report:

Always struggling with the lack of maternal teachers because the girls in the shelter are still minors, we have accepted young women from the interior to teach at the schools, serving as substitute teachers during the absence of the other permanent teachers (Franco, 1909, p. 7).

The greatest difficulties were in finding teachers for the maternal schools of the interiors, where the largest number of children were deprived of an education due to a lack of teachers. The Digital Newspaper Archive contains an advertisement that confirms this difficulty and explains how Anália Franco, the director, managed the shortage of teachers by accepting women willing to work outside the city of São Paulo. According to the advertisement (Figure 7), these women would receive “essential instructions,” meaning that the teacher training that should have been provided by the Lyceum had been replaced with “essential instructions.”

Figure 7 – Photo of a newspaper reporting the need for female teachers for branch schools



**Note.** Photograph available in the Brazilian Digital Hemeroteca. Source: Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil (1909). <http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/227900/22675>

## FINAL REMARKS

In this article, we present the results of a research project on the Women’s Lyceum, the teacher training course of AFBI, in São Paulo, during the directorship of Anália Franco, from 1902 to 1919.

The analysis of the sources was interwoven with printed materials from the period and the memoir of a former student of the institution, Maria Cândida Silveira Barros, initially published at the insistence of her childhood friends in 1959. The edition we acquired is from 1982.

Through this analysis, we have constructed an incomplete version of the history of the teacher training course at the Lyceum, including the difficulties encountered in maintaining the course, enrollment, and the curriculum. This work also problematizes and raises questions about Anália Franco's pioneering work in teacher training and professionalization for the early childhood segment.

Our research for this article revealed the social and political context of São Paulo during the period of the Lyceum's creation, the history of the Republicans, and the Republican Party's planned Public Educational Reform, which occurred decades before the Proclamation of the Republic. Anália was present and active in the movements that occurred in the city during this period and created her presence through the printed materials she published, such as *Album das Meninas* and *A Voz Maternal*. Through these publications, we learned about her ideas and pedagogical actions, which were based on the social and pedagogical inclusion of "destitute" and "marginalized" children.

Anália Franco, in a way, contributed to the initiatives of the time, but encountered difficulties in maintaining her project, especially in training teachers for maternal schools. What was previously the Lyceum's objective—to train the women living in the shelter to become teachers in the AFBI maternal schools—ended up as a classified ad in a newspaper advertisement, recruiting women interested in meeting the urgent need for teachers in the rural maternal schools. In a sense, instruction would no longer be provided through a course with a curriculum and practical exercises that constitute the technique of a quality, efficient teacher. Rather, as the newspaper article shows, instruction would be provided through written job instructions. This was her strategy to meet the high demand for teachers in maternal schools. It seems that the students neither had the time nor the interest in training. This rearrangement served as the only possible measure to the detriment of Anália Franco and the reformers of public education, who were concerned with training and professionalizing teachers.

Anália Franco was a pioneer in training teachers for early childhood education. She sought to adapt the curriculum of the Lyceum to that of the Normal School of São Paulo. Initially, she collaborated with colleagues from the former Normal School and the School Group where she worked, but the urgency of training teachers to work in the AFBI maternal schools that were being founded proved challenging, as students living in shelters were uninterested in the course. Furthermore, some students needed to learn to read before attending the Lyceum, and others had difficulty passing the course. Sources in the magazine *A Voz Maternal* revealed a lack of teaching materials and that students needed food and clothing to participate in classes due to their poverty.

These challenges revealed an equation that was difficult to solve: the need for female teachers versus ongoing training, coupled with the financial and maintenance

circumstances of the Lyceum. At that time, the solution was to recruit women to be substitute teachers, which makes us reflect on the lack of prestige of the profession and the undervaluation of teacher training.

When she initiated a project to give an educational character to shelters, Anália Franco aimed to introduce children under the age of 7 to pedagogy through an educational project that emphasized the senses, promoting moral instruction through dialogue, children's stories, and the example of a dignified, loving, and caring teacher with good morals and customs. She believed that from this education would emerge the human being, anticipating certain psychoanalytic concepts that underpin the understanding of the role of childhood in the constitution of the human psyche.

Investigating the efforts made in favor of education in Brazil, in earlier periods, by intellectuals and teachers such as Anália Franco, can contribute to the field of the history of education, specifically to the histories of teacher training, the teaching profession, and early childhood education.

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**REGINA LUCIA SILVEIRA MARTINS:** She holds a degree in Education from PUC-Rio (1980), a Master's degree in Education from UNESA in the field of Social Representations (2013), and a PhD in Education from PUC-Rio (2024), with a focus on the History of Education. She is a retired teacher from the private school system of Rio de Janeiro, where she served as advisor, supervisor, and coordinator at Colégio Bennett and Colégio Santo Inácio. She is an EBT Professor at the Instituto Benjamin Constant (2025), where she worked as division chief, supervisor, assistant to the director, and deputy director of the Department of Education (2014–2021).

**E-mail:** reginaluciasilveira@ibc.gov.br  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3883-9405>

**JEFFERSON DA COSTA SOARES:** He is an Associate Professor in the Department of Education at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. He holds a bachelor's and a teaching degree in Social Sciences from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, a Master's degree in Education from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, and a PhD in Human Sciences – Education from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. He is a *Jovem Cientista do Nosso Estado* (FAPERJ, 2021), a member of the Brazilian Society for the History of Education (SBHE), and the leader of the Research Group on the History of the Teaching Profession and School Subjects (HISPROF).

**E-mail:** jefics@puc-rio.br  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6959-3471>

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**RESPONSIBLE ASSOCIATE EDITOR:**

Raquel Discini de Campos (UFU)

**E-mail:** raqueldiscini@uol.com.br

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5031-3054>

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