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Volume 6

Brazil and the New Education
International Movement:
Networks and Transnational
Circuits of Innovation
(1920-1950)

Diana Gonçalves Vidal
&
Rafaela Silva Rabelo



BOLETIM DE EDUCAÇÃO
-- PÚBLICA --
A Diretoria Geral de Instrução Pública do Distrito Federal iniciou a publicação de um boletim, cujo primeiro número acabou de ser divulgado. Esse trabalho tem distribuído muito para uma obra de divulgação dos novos métodos de ensino adoptados e em prática na Instrução. O numero de edição do boletim tem desenvolvido noticiário inserindo artigos de colaboração e notas de interesse para os professores do Distrito. O Dr. Fernando de Azevedo escreve sobre a "Escola Nova e a Reforma", comentando os programas das escolas. O professor Jonathas Serrano escreve sobre o movimento educacional de Bakhousier os museus de ensino do professor Carlos Wernock. O boletim e de sciencias naturaes. Prota Pessoa "As creações da reforma". O Linda Fernando Azevedo, "A nova politica de edificações escolares".

Brazil and the New Education International Movement: Networks and Transnational Circuits of Innovation (1920-1950)

Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Rafaela Silva Rabelo

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Preface

Rosa Bruno-Jofré
Queen's University

This book, *Brazil and the New Education International Movement: Networks and Transnational Circuits of Innovation (1920-1950)*, authored by Diana Gonçalves Vidal & Rafaela Silva Rabelo, makes a substantial contribution to the understanding of New Education/Progressive Education/*Escola Nova* in Brazil within a transnational movement of people and ideas. It is divided into three parts: Organizations, with emphasis on the New Education Fellowship (NEF)/Ligue internationale pour l' éducation nouvelle (LIEN); Subjects, with attention to Isaac Kandell and an emphasis on the network between Brazil and the United States, Maria dos Reis Campos and the modern school, and Anísio Teixeira and his work with UNESCO; and Printed Materials, in Brazil, and international publications.

The study has been carefully researched and is grounded in substantive primary sources and publications of the time, not only from Brazil but also from the United States and Europe. In terms of the theoretical and methodological framework, the authors have moved away from the center-periphery approach and look for the reconstruction of multidirectional networks and the tracing of connections. The use of “hub” as an heuristic concept helps to capture the function of organizations such as the New Education Fellowship (NEF)/ Ligue internationale pour l' éducation nouvelle (LIEN), the Progressive Education Association (PEA), Teachers College at Columbia, and the Institute Jean Jacques Rousseau in Geneva, among others, and to understand the circulation and articulation of often conflicting strands, agendas, and political positioning.

This book has many innovative features. Thus, the research pays particular attention not just to well-known progressive Brazilian educators who have been studied extensively in spirited books and articles, but also to foreign educators, particularly but not exclusively

from Teachers College at Columbia University, who visited Brazil and other Latin American countries, and the networks they built. Another relevant contribution is embodied in the return to the subject as protagonist and to agency when analyzing the networks.

The examination of the New Education Fellowship (NEF)/Ligue internationale pour l'éducation nouvelle (LIEN) is not only sophisticated; the tracing of the building of a section in Brazil is revealing and illustrates the fragility of the network there as well as in Latin America. Despite the transnational and international character of the organizations related to New Education, including the New Education Fellowship, the Bureau international de l'éducation, the Bureau International de l'éducation nouvelle, and the international congresses that reached the Far East, the character of the movement was western with unpredictable articulations, a point that can be explored further. For example, the 1932 NEF meeting took place in Tokyo without having a significant influence. Earlier, Dewey had arrived in 1919 during the Taishō era (1912-1926), known as Taishō Democracy, but as Rapleye wrote, intellectuals were cool to Dewey, while the influence of German philosophy would reinforce nationalist and bureaucratic elitism, and the radicals saw in Dewey's philosophy an expression of USA imperialism.¹

It is fascinating that Vidal and Silva Rabelo address the little explored role of Isaac Kandel, which was relevant, since he was the coordinator of missions and international students at the International Institute housed at Columbia University's Teachers College. Kandel was far from progressive, and his entanglement with US politics in Latin America calls for further research; the authors provide good leads, indeed. Vidal and Silva Rabelo asked how Kandel was appropriated while spreading a counter-paradigm. Anísio Teixeira's international role, his connection with Teachers College, and his work with UNESCO provide an interesting dimension to the construction of educational understandings in Brazil.

Pedagogical innovations are discussed within the conceptual framework of hybridism. Certainly, there was no stale imitation. Furthermore, there was a hybrid/eclectic reading of Progressive Education/New Education authors. Thus, Edward Thorndike, John Dewey, and William Kilpatrick appeared in the same discourse, not only in Brazil, while Ovide Decroly, Adolphe Ferrière, and Maria Montessori were prominent in some of the texts. Quite often, this was the result of responding to practices and policy demands of a system in construction. The appropriation/translation to other historical settings had its own life,

¹ Jeremy Rapleye, "Re-Contextualizing Foreign Influence in Japan's Educational History: The (Re) Reception of John Dewey," pp. 116-148 in *The Global Reception of John Dewey's Thought. Multiple Refractions Through Time and Space*, eds. Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jürgen Schriewer (New York, London: Routledge, 2012), 127.

albeit the question about the exportation of democracy and education remains an open one.

The examination of the teaching program through the analysis of syllabi used at the Teacher Training School/School of Education at the Institute of Education, Rio de Janeiro, listed not only foreign authors, but studies and commentaries from Brazilian authors, among them Anísio Teixeira, Manuel B. Lourenço Filho, and Maria Reis Campos, the author of *Escola Moderna*. This approach opens an interesting research venue, as discussed by Vidal et al. In another place, the interpretations become sources that circulate and keep re-creating knowledge and building theory.² Teixeira, Lorenço Filho, and Campos, among others, were at Teachers College, Columbia University, which is conceptualized by the authors as a hub for the Brazilians, the Pan-American Union playing a relevant role.

The book closes with an original study of printed materials, specialized literature conveying not only the Brazilian production with vernacular interpretative versions, but also the international literature translated into Portuguese. Here, another distinguished educator who preferred to talk of “modern schools,” Fernando de Azevedo, is profiled in his administrative and reformist role in Rio de Janeiro.

We are delighted to publish this book, a rich source of well-researched knowledge and a springboard for further research.

² Diana Gonçalves Vidal, Vivian Batista da Silva, Ana Laura Godinho Lima, and Bruno Bontempi Jr., “Introduction,” in *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, eds. Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Vivian Batista da Silva, (New York: Routledge, 2024) 1-21, DOI: 10.4324/9781003374091.

Introduction

The body of academic work that still manifests interest in the study of the New Education International Movement is extensive. Two dossiers published in *Paedagogica Historica* and one released in the journal *Sarmiento*, as well as the recent dossier proposed by *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación*, illustrate these dimensions. The first, published in 2006, collected a selection of works presented at the 26th Congress of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education, which took place in Geneva and was dedicated to the theme “L’Éducation nouvelle, genèse et métamorphoses.”¹ The second was organized by Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly in 2009.² The third, titled “Footprints and Influences of the Ligue Internationale Pour l’Éducation Nouvelle in Iberian and Brazilian Contexts (1921-2021),” created by Anton Costa Rico and Luís Alberto Marques Alves for *Sarmiento*, aimed to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the creation of the International Education League at the Calais Congress in 1921, with particular attention to the Iberian and Brazilian sphere. Finally, the fourth, launched in 2024, is edited by Diana Gonçalves Vidal, Camila Pérez Navarro, and Ignacio Frechtel.³ All four dossiers demonstrate the prominence of this topic for research conducted on the Americas, Europe, and Oceania, particularly between 1920 and 1940. According to Hofstetter and Schneuwly, this stems from the worldwide diffusion of the movement and can be attributed to the various denominations it has taken on in different countries, such as New Education, Progressive Education, *Reformpädagogik*, *Escola Nova*, *Escuela Nueva*, Functional Education, and Active School, to which we could add *Éducation Nouvelle* and *École Nouvelle*.

¹ Charles Magnin and Rita Hofstetter, “Education nouvelle et changements éducatifs: éléments de définition et pesées d’une influence,” *Paedagogica Historica* 42, no. 1-2 (2006): 1-14.

² Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly, “Contrasted Views of New Education on Knowledge and Its Transformation. Anticipation of a New Mode or Ambivalence?” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 4-5 (2009): 453-467.

³ “Lanza RMHE convocatoria para Dossier sobre la Escuela Nueva en América Latina,” *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación* (October 2, 2024). Accessed February 18, 2025. <https://somehide.org/lanza-rmhe-convocatoria-para-dossier-sobre-la-escuela-nueva-en-america-latina/>.

However, the frequency with which the issue emerges in academic debate either diverges from or converges with the level of generality in which the term is invoked in the works, depending on the perspective adopted. It diverges if we consider that such insistence should be reflected in a robust problem delineation. It converges if we agree with Daniel Hameline's analysis,⁴ when he asserts that the appeal of a formula increases the more imprecise its definition is, thereby creating a neutral territory capable of accommodating different and even divergent approaches. This evaluation serves as a caution: for argumentative sake and in support of the notion of a formula, we have chosen, provisionally, to use the expression "New Education" in this book, although we acknowledge that changes in nomenclature also entail shifts in meaning that are socially and historically constructed.

One element is seemingly fundamental in outlining the issue and gives rise to all others. According to Watras⁵ and Brehony,⁶ the spread of New Education during the 1920s and 1930s coincided with the creation of departments of education at many universities worldwide. Such was the case of Teachers College (TC) at Columbia University in 1923; the Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau (IJJR) at the University of Geneva in 1929; and the Institute of Education at the University of London in 1930, to name a few examples. Similarly, Brazil saw the creation of the Institutes of Education of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, along with their teacher training schools, in 1932 and 1933, respectively. These institutes were then incorporated into the universities of the Federal District (Rio de Janeiro) in 1935 and São Paulo in 1934.⁷ Thus, the predominantly practical nature of teacher training in normal schools was overcome, aiming for the development of a true science—or sciences—of education, supported by legitimacy protocols established within the academia.

Currently, the prominence of authors linked to New Education in pedagogical discourse and the sharing of a repertoire of concerns and themes bring together professors, researchers, and educators from different countries. Updated and often historically decontextualized proposals such as child protagonism, the project method, centers of interest, the teacher as a mediator, and education for democracy, among others, persist as ideals to be achieved or as practices sporadically implemented and rarely replicated,

⁴ Daniel Hameline et al., *L'Ecole Active: Textes Fondateurs* (PUF, 1995).

⁵ Joseph Watras, "The New Education Fellowship and Unesco's Programme of Fundamental Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 1-2 (2011): 191-205.

⁶ Kevin J. Brehony, "A New Education for a New Era: The Contribution of the Conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the Disciplinary Field of Education, 1921-1938," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 5-6 (2004): 733-755.

⁷ See Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Rafaela Silva Rabelo, "A criação de Institutos de Educação no Brasil como parte de uma história conectada da formação de professores," *Cadernos de História da Educação* 18, no. 1 (2019): 208-220.

shaping a dynamic we might address as—and reiterating Fernando Vidal⁸—facets of a political-pedagogical utopia that emerged in the interwar period.

Two initiatives that emerged in the 1920s and had a significant impact on the educational debate can be identified at the origin of the international circulation of theories and experiences related to New Education. The creation of the New Education Fellowship (NEF) in 1921—known in Latin countries as the Ligue internationale pour l'éducation nouvelle (LIEN) or simply “the League”—and the systematic efforts to establish at least two major international institutes linked to Teachers College (TC) and the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau (IJJR). Other initiatives, such as the Progressive Education Association (PEA), the Bureau International d'Éducation (BIE), and the Bureau International d'Éducation Nouvelle (BIEN), along with the establishment, in Brazil, of the Associação Brasileira de Educação [Brazilian Education Association] (ABE), in 1924 and the Federação Nacional das Sociedades de Educação [National Federation of Education Societies] (FNSE) in 1929, intertwined with this international movement and solidified the networks that connected nations worldwide.

Unlike the approaches based on the concepts of center and periphery, we prefer to employ the category of hub⁹—a network connection point, a place of meeting and transition. This shift is significant. A hub functions as a node situated at the intersection of multiple trajectories. It is not necessarily a starting or ending point, but rather the point of contact. Therefore, it is neither a condition nor an outcome but a convergence. This perspective highlights the importance of personal interactions and meeting spaces. In this sense, we agree with Peter Burke's¹⁰ assertion that analyses based on the center-periphery relationship risk only considering knowledge diffusion processes originating from the center while overlooking flows moving from the periphery toward the center. Indeed, this focus on local and regional appropriations underpins the thematic dossier proposed by *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación*.

This reflection substantiates the category of network, while simultaneously highlighting the choice of a connected history of education and the focus on the international circulation of individuals and educational print materials. Regarding the first point, Eckhardt Fuchs stated that, “Networks are condensed and intentional relations between actors confined to specific spaces.” His analysis emphasizes the need to assess “the meaning, the shape, and the duration of its existence as well as the intensity, frequency, balance, prominence

⁸ Fernando Vidal, “l'éducation nouvelle et l'esprit de Genève,” *Equinoxe*, no. 17 (1997): 98. See also Diana Gonçalves Vidal et al., “Democracia, Escola e Infância: Legado e Utopia Escolanovista,” in *Democracia, Escola e Infância*, ed. Carloto Boto and Julio Groppa Aquino (Feusp, 2019), 107-122.

⁹ In network theory, hubs are nodes with multiple connections. Nodes, in turn, can represent individuals, groups, corporations, or any type of collective. Albert-László Barabási, *Linked: How Everything is Connected to Everything Else and What it Means for Business, Science, and Everyday Life* (Plume, 2003); Sílvia Portugal, “Contributos para uma discussão do conceito de rede na teoria sociológica,” *Oficina do CES*, no. 271 (2007).

¹⁰ Peter Burke, *História Social do Conhecimento* (Zahar, 2003), 57.

and speed of contacts, exchanges and transfers.”¹¹ He also notes that networks have specific modes of governance or coordination of actions, which can be organized either formally or informally.

This process values the agency of educational actors, combining macro- and micro-level approaches in multiple, interwoven histories shaped across different scales. It emphasizes the “crucial, at times decisive, role that local and particular initiatives,” as Sanjay Subrahmanyam¹² puts it, play in shaping the knowledge and practices regarded as foundational. These diverse circuits are what a connected history of education seeks to capture, avoiding a dualistic perspective by focusing on the “blended, often surprising and always unpredictable landscapes” that sources reveal, as Serge Gruzinski suggests.¹³ Thus, we also reject the transfer paradigm, aligning with Noah Sobe’s argument that this approach tends to obscure “the complexity of connections and intersections.”¹⁴

This book strives to understand how Brazilian education became embedded in the New Education International Movement. It seeks to position Brazil within a polycentric circuit by blurring the points of departure and arrival of pedagogical innovations, valuing local appropriations, and reconfiguring both geographic and epistemological territories through the tracing of educators’ travels, pedagogical print materials, and their connections with organizations. To this end, it is structured into three interconnected parts.

Dedicated to organizations, the first part maps the territorial diffusion of the New Education Movement by following the trajectories of associations such as NEF and PEA, as well as institutions like TC, IJJR, BIE, and BIEN, interweaving them with ABE and FNSE. We situate the transit of Brazilian educators through these territories, while also drawing attention to the place Brazil occupied in the international educational scene, attracting educators from other countries. This is the primary focus of Chapter 1, followed by an analysis of Brazil’s institutional insertion into the NEF through the creation of a section, addressing the obstacles faced and shedding light on the informal connections maintained with actors involved in this network.

The second part addresses individuals and their journeys. Brazil becomes both a destination and a point of departure for educators. We explore Isaac Kandel’s visit to Brazil in 1925, Maria Reis Campos’s 38-day stay in the United States, and Anísio Teixeira’s participation in the early years of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The circulation of these educators invites us to delve into

¹¹ Eckhardt Fuchs, “Networks and the History of Education,” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 187.

¹² Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Comércio e Conflito: A Presença Portuguesa no Golfo de Bengala, 1500-1700* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 1994), 153.

¹³ Serge Gruzinski, “Os mundos misturados da monarquia católica e outras connected histories,” *Topoi* 2, no. 2 (2001): 175-196.

¹⁴ Noah Sobe, “Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education,” in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 96.

itineraries, dialogues, and hybridizations, shedding light on elements of these intercontinental exchanges.

The third and final part is dedicated to pedagogical print materials, examining two periodicals: *Boletim de Educação Pública* and *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*. The first was created in 1930 during the reform of public education in Brazil's then-capital, Rio de Janeiro, led by Fernando de Azevedo following the principles of the New School Movement. It was within this reform that Maria Reis Campos traveled to the United States. The second journal is the official publication of the Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos [National Institute of Pedagogical Studies] (INEP), created in 1937 as a section of the Ministry of Education, to which the Brazilian section of the NEF was linked between 1942 and 1948. *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* started in 1944. Our focus is on investigating the foreign authors and publications that emerged as references in these journals, tracing a different type of map—a cultural map of the diffusion of the New Education International Movement in Brazil.

These are the questions that drive our endeavor. Note that the chapters included here are updated versions of previous publications we have authored individually or collaboratively.¹⁵ Each chapter contains a footnote indicating the original texts and their authorship. However, the texts have been revised and edited to form a cohesive whole, ensuring what we hope is a fluid and well-structured reading experience. We also clarify that these writings were primarily circulated in Portuguese and that, except for a few excerpts from Chapter 5, they are entirely unpublished in English. Finally, we highlight that the last two chapters of the book, which conclude Part III, are completely new and were written specifically for this publication.

We hope that this book contributes to the international discussion on the New Education Movement, providing insights to reconfigure objects and analytical territories in the construction of a polycentric History of Education.

Lastly, we extend our gratitude to the São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP) for its continuous support over the past 10 years, which made this book possible. Only through the continuous encouragement of investigation can we advance the production of scientific knowledge.

¹⁵ This work was carried out with the support of the São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP), Brazil, under grant numbers 2018/26699-4, 2016/07024-0, and 2015/06456-1.

Part I:

Organizations

1. Two Labels, One Entity: Territories of the New Education International Movement¹⁶

Historiography places the birth of the New Education Fellowship (NEF) at the Calais Congress, held in 1921 under the leadership of three key figures: Beatrice Ensor, Adolphe Ferrière, and Elisabeth Rotten. In its early years, NEF brought together highly diverse groups, including teachers and individuals with varied backgrounds interested in education, among them laypersons and those affiliated with theosophy. On the one hand, its roots traced back to the Fraternity of Education, a theosophical group founded by Ensor in London in 1915. On the other hand, it incorporated earlier initiatives such as the Bureau International d'Éducation (BIE), established by Ferrière. In this sense, any precise definition of the organization would have resulted in division rather than unification around certain shared principles, such as education for peace and the creation of a more supportive world, resistant to the horrors of war—a response to Europe's recent experience of a large-scale armed conflict.¹⁷

The imprecision, therefore, also functioned as a strategy for consolidating a movement that, at the time, saw itself as social and political rather than necessarily academic. The dual designation adopted in Anglophone and Francophone circles offers some clues. By employing the term “fellowship,” the New Education Fellowship preserved, in English, the

¹⁶An earlier version of this text was published as part of the dossier “Pegadas e influências da Ligue Internationale pour L'Éducation Nouvelle no espaço ibérico e brasileiro (1921-2021)” in Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Rafaela Silva Rabelo, “Fórmula e Utopia: o movimento internacional da educação nova,” *Sarmiento* 25, (2021): 23-50. It was supported by FAPESP, Brazil, under grant numbers 2016/07024-0 and 2015/06456-1.

¹⁷ The bibliography on NEF/LIEN is extensive and spans various themes. For studies on its founding and early decades, see, for example, William Boyd and Wyatt Rawson, *The Story of the New Education* (Heinemann, 1965); Maxwell D. Lawson, “The New Education Fellowship: The Formative Years,” *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 13, no. 2 (1981): 24-28; Celia M. Jenkins, “The Professional Middle Class and the Social Origins of Progressivism: A Case Study of the New Education Fellowship, 1920-1950” (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1989); Sue C. Middleton, “New Zealand Theosophists in ‘New Education’ networks, 1880s-1938,” *History of Education Review* 46, no. 1 (2017): 42-57; Sue C. Middleton, “Clare Soper's hat: New Education Fellowship correspondence between Bloomsbury and New Zealand, 1938-1946,” *History of Education* 42, no. 1 (2013): 92-114.

character of associationism expressed by “fraternity” from Fraternity of Education, while at the same time eliding the more direct references to theosophy. However, its French translation as Ligue internationale pour l’éducation nouvelle (LIEN) does not hold a direct semantic correspondence.

The challenge of translating the English name into other languages, along with its intrinsic meanings, was a topic of debate from NEF’s inception and frequently emerged on the organization’s agenda. One of the most thoroughly documented discussions on renaming NEF took place in 1932, as recorded in a report submitted to the Consultative Committee. The proposed reorganization of NEF outlined in the document arose in response to efforts to establish a partnership with the Progressive Education Association (PEA). The organization’s name was the first issue addressed, with the opening sentence of the report noting that this had been a long-standing subject of debate. Three key arguments were presented in favor of retaining the name:

- (a) It is now well-known all over the world.
- (b) The term “New Education” indicates the function of our organization as a pioneer body, the purpose of which is to adapt education continuously to the changing needs of society. A new education is always being needed.
- (c) “Fellowship.” This word describes not only one of the essential principles of the Fellowship but also its method of work. NEF is made up of individuals who desire to come together in fellowship to discuss common problems and attempt a solution of them.¹⁸

Subsequently, four arguments were presented against retaining the name.

- (a) The term “New Education” often suggests that it is something entirely different and remote from the old. Actually, NEF regards its movement as proceeding directly from the great educational movements of the past.
- (b) It would be easier perhaps for the Progressive Education Association to come into the world movement if NEF changed its name.
- (c) The word “Fellowship” in the USA is often thought to denote what we call “scholarship” in Europe.
- (d) It has also been found extremely difficult to translate the word “Fellowship” into French or German.¹⁹

¹⁸ “Document 17. To members of the Consultative Committee of the New Education Fellowship. Proposal for the re-organization of the New Education Fellowship,” *World Education Fellowship Papers* (March, 1932).

¹⁹ “Document 17. To members of the Consultative Committee of the New Education Fellowship. Proposal for the re-organization of the New Education Fellowship,” *World Education Fellowship Papers* (March, 1932).

One of the consequences of the difficulty in translation was to authorize sections and groups with other languages to adopt variations of the English name, since in some languages “it was impossible to secure a satisfactory translation of the word “Fellowship.””²⁰ The issue of renaming appears in other documents, though lacking the same level of detail. In 1936, for instance, during a committee meeting, Fred Clarke reported that in conversations with members from South Africa, it had been pointed out that the term “New” in New Education Fellowship was a complicating factor for many people. In response, he suggested changing the name to International Education Fellowship. It was decided that the matter would be put to a vote by the Executive Committee and the International Council. Although details of the discussion were not found, it can be presumed that the proposal was rejected, as the name remained unchanged.²¹

Whether due to the difficulty of translating “fellowship” to other languages or the meanings attributed to New Education, the issue resurfaced repeatedly and was never fully resolved. Ultimately, in 1966, the organization officially adopted a new name, World Education Fellowship, under which it is known today. Notably, the change involved removing the term “new” and replacing it with “world,” emphasizing the organization’s international scope.

The choice of LIEN as the French equivalent of the English name was not only a consequence of the challenge in finding a suitable translation for “fellowship” but also reflected a political shift which was evident in both its ambition to become an internationally influential movement and its aspiration to establish itself as a united front—a league. It was very likely inspired by the recent creation of the League of Nations (or Société des Nations) in Versailles in 1919, an international organization with the shared goal of ensuring world peace. The relocation of the League of Nations headquarters to Geneva in November 1920, where Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau—home to Adolphe Ferrière—was based, along with the similarity in their objectives, may have influenced the adoption of the term “Ligue” in the French version of the name.

One of the key topics in the 1932 document discussing the reorganization of NEF was relocating its headquarters, which was then in London. One of the proposals suggested moving it to Geneva in 1933. Among the advantages cited were Geneva’s status as an international center, which would bring NEF closer to other international movements and “in particular with the League of Nations.” It was also argued that the new location would be more widely accepted by other countries than the headquarters in England. Among the

²⁰ New Education Fellowship, “At a Meeting of the Members of the International Council of the New Education Fellowship,” *World Education Fellowship Papers*, August 5, 1932.

²¹ “Document 33. A meeting of the members of the Committee at Headquarters was held on 3rd dec. 1936,” *World Education Fellowship Papers* (December, 1936).

drawbacks, the document noted that other organizations with similar objectives, such as BIE and the League of Nations, were already headquartered in Geneva.²²

The lack of a clearly defined philosophy—possibly used as a strategy to attract both educators and laypersons interested in new directions in education—as well as the challenge of directly translating the organization's name, contributed to the blurred contours of the association, so much so that, even today, some national historiographies of education do not explicitly connect NEF and LIEN. Moreover, adherence to one or the other denomination often implies alignment with a specific pedagogical repertoire, linked to specific authors or institutions. A similar ambiguity exists regarding the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau (IJJR), the Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles (BIEN), and the Bureau International d'Éducation (BIE)—a topic which will be resumed later.

What matters here, however, is that the expansion of NEF/LIEN undeniably reached academia, particularly in the 1930s, when departments of education gained a more striking prominence on the international stage. The succession of congresses organized by NEF/LIEN—both international and regional conferences—the establishment of sections and groups in different countries, and the number of associated pedagogical journals all attest to the reach of the network and the success of its efforts in shaping a common agenda in the educational arena.

A total of seven international congresses were held during the interwar period: the first, marking the formal creation of NEF/LIEN, took place in Calais, France, in 1921 and had 150 participants. It was followed by congresses in Montreux, Switzerland, in 1923 (300 participants); Heidelberg, Germany, in 1925 (450 participants); Locarno, Switzerland, in 1927 (1,200 participants); Elsinore, Denmark, in 1929 (2,000 participants); Nice, France, in 1932 (1,800 participants); and Cheltenham, England, in 1936 (1,400 participants). According to Kevin Brehony, these congresses played a significant role in the establishment of the field of education sciences, characterized by a process of internationalization.²³ With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, plans for the eighth international congress had to be reconsidered, and the event was ultimately held only in 1942 in Michigan, the United States.²⁴

Among NEF's regional conferences, notable ones include those held in South Africa (1934), Japan (1935), Mexico (1935), Scotland (1935), New Zealand (1937), and Australia (1937), as they attracted significant participation and welcomed delegates from various countries, including some internationally renowned figures. The South African conference, for instance, featured the participation of John Dewey, Pierre Bovet, Harold Rugg, and

²² "Document 17. To members of the Consultative Committee of the New Education Fellowship," *World Education Fellowship Papers* (1932, março).

²³ Rafaela Silva Rabelo, "The New Education Fellowship, the Progressive Education Association, and the American Department of State: South America as Part of an Awkward Entanglement," *Paedagogica Historica* 57, no. 1-2 (2021): 183-199.

²⁴ Brehony, "A New Education for a New Era."

Helen Parkhurst. In New Zealand and Australia, attendees included Susan Isaacs, Rugg—once again—and Isaac Kandel, among many other well-known educators. Carleton Washburne attended the Mexican conference, which was part of a series of three meetings held around the world with the aim of disseminating discussions about New Education, expanding NEF's partnership and action networks, and fostering international connections among educators. The first regional meeting to take place in 1935 was held in Tokyo, organized by the New Education Association of Japan, the Japanese section of NEF, and titled the Pan-Pacific Conference. The second was held in the British Isles, between August 13 and 23, hosted at the University of St. Andrews, in Scotland. The third was held in Mexico City from August 26 to 31, with the proposal of integrating representatives from Mexico, the Caribbean, the United States, and Canada.²⁵

As previously mentioned, besides the congresses, the establishment of affiliated sections in other countries and the association with pedagogical journals played a crucial role in forming international networks. For instance, by 1936, NEF/LIEN had fifty-one national sections, and twenty-three associated journals published in fifteen languages.²⁶

At first, NEF/LIEN had an official journal published in English. Originally titled *Education for the New Era*, the journal preceded the organization's founding, launched in 1920. In 1921, its title was shortened to *The New Era*. Shortly after NEF/LIEN was established, the journal was transferred to the newly formed organization and became its official publication. In early 1922, two new affiliated journals were introduced: *Pour l'Ère Nouvelle*, edited by Adolphe Ferrière, and *Das Werdende Zeitalter*, edited by Elizabeth Rotten. It is worth mentioning that, as Ensor clarified in the editorial announcing their launch, these were not mere translations of *The New Era*. While they shared some articles, each journal had editorial autonomy in its organization and selection of content to be published. Thus, NEF/LIEN expanded its international reach with journals in three languages—English, French, and German—disseminating the organization's discussions and ideas internationally.²⁷

Over the years, NEF/LIEN incorporated journals from various countries as affiliates, often linked to newly established sections or even serving as catalysts for their creation. By 1926, *The New Era* listed four new affiliated journals in Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, and Spain. In 1928, a Swedish journal was added, along with provisional affiliations in Argentina,

²⁵ Diana Gonçalves Vidal et al., "Educação nova e socialismo: um debate para além das fronteiras nacionais," in *Histórias da Educação na Ibéria e América: Fontes, Experiências e Circulação de Saberes*, org. Amarílio Ferreira Neto et al. (Appris, 2022), 51.

²⁶ Vidal and Rabelo, "A criação de Institutos de Educação."

²⁷ Vidal and Rabelo, "A criação de Institutos de Educação;" Sjaak Braster and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "La escuela nueva en imágenes: fotografía y propaganda en *The New Era* (1920-1939)," *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 8, (2018): 97-145; Rafaela Silva Rabelo, "O ensino de matemática em um número especial da revista *The New Era*, 1934," *Bolema: Boletim de Educação Matemática* 33, no. 65 (2019): 1109-1132.

Belgium, Chile, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and Portugal.²⁸ This process of incorporating new journals continued in the following years, sometimes leading to the establishment of sections and groups based on pre-existing publications.²⁹

As a hub, NEF/LIEN brought together actors affiliated with various institutions, which, in turn, also engaged in international initiatives. Understanding Teachers College at Columbia University and Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau at the University of Geneva as other hubs enables a reframing of the discussion, broadening and refining the analysis. The goal here is not to point to a singular direction of action in favor of the New Education Movement but, in line with Hameline's³⁰ assessment, to highlight that while the framework served as a unifying mechanism, it neither restricted nor coordinated efforts, leaving room for multiple interpretations and achievements.

The project method is a good example of such permeabilities. Although it took shape and became popular in the United States, its origins trace back to Europe, and its diffusion across various countries led to diverse interpretations. Maria del Mar del Pozo Andrés specifically analyzes its reception in Spain, the different forms it assumed, and the reasons for its success in the 1930s, by which time it had already been abandoned in the United States.³¹

Precisely because it functioned as a hub, NEF/LIEN connected not only with individuals but also with diverse organizations across multiple countries—some of which had their own extensive international networks, as we will see below.

1.1 TC and PEA: Hubs of New Education Ideas and Experiences in the U.S.

The origins of Teachers College (TC) date back to 1887 when the institution was founded by Grace Hoadley Dodge, Nicholas Murray Butler, and James Earl Russell. It was incorporated into Columbia University in 1898. The selection of faculty invited to join TC's

²⁸The affiliated journals in 1926 and their respective editors were: Bulgaria (*Svobodno Vaspitanie*, D. Katzaroff), Hungary (*A Jovo Utjain*, Marthe Nemes), Italy (*La Nuova Era*, Arcara Gaetano). *The New Era* 7, no. 26 (1926). In 1927, the affiliated Italian journal changed to *L'Educazione Nazionale*, edited by Lombardo-Radice, and the Spanish journal *Revista de Pedagogía*, edited by Lorenzo Luzuriaga, also was incorporated. *The New Era* 8, no. 30 (1927). In 1928, a Swedish journal (*Pedagogiska Spörsmål*, edited by Ester Edelstam and M. Montelius) was incorporated, and six other publications were provisionally affiliated: Argentina (*Nueva Era*, J. Rezzano), Belgium (*Het Schoolblad de Aktieve School*, M. E. Vincent), Chile (*La Nueva Era*, Armando Hamel), Czechoslovakia (*Nové Skoly*, O. Chlup), the Netherlands (*Tijdschrift Voor Ervaringsopvoedkunde*, H. G. Hamaker and M. J. Stamperius), and Portugal (*Educação Social*, M. Alvaros V. Lemos). *The New Era* 9, no. 33 (1928).

²⁹Some journals had a short lifespan, such as *Das Werdende Zeitalter*, which ceased publication in 1932. Others were published irregularly and experienced periods of interruption.

³⁰Hameline et al., *L'Ecole Active*.

³¹María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "The transnational and national dimensions of pedagogical ideas: the case of the project method, 1918-1939," *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 4-5 (2009): 561-584; María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "O Método de Projetos na Espanha: Recepção e Apropriação (1918-1936)," in *Movimento Internacional da Educação Nova*, org. Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Rafaela Silva Rabelo (Fino Traço, 2020): 189-208.

teaching staff reflects the institution's ambition to establish itself as a leading center for educational studies. Indeed, this first generation of TC professors, pioneers in various fields, built a legacy that positioned the institution as a major reference in education—not only in the United States but also globally. Among these pioneers, Edward Lee Thorndike stands out. Hired in 1899 by Dean James Russell on the recommendation of William James and James McKeen Cattell, Thorndike took the lead in educational psychology studies, a field in which he is considered one of the forerunners. Meanwhile, John Dewey became a widely recognized pioneer in educational philosophy. Dewey was a professor in the Columbia University Department of Philosophy, a position he held in 1904 after leaving the University of Chicago. Although he was not directly affiliated with TC, John Dewey gave lectures and maintained connections with faculty members from its progressive wing, many of whom were his disciples, such as William H. Kilpatrick. He was also part of the Department of Educational Research.³² Among the distinguished scholars who either gained prominence at TC or rose to recognition after joining the institution were Paul Monroe, Isaac Kandel, Harold Rugg, David Eugene Smith, Patty Smith Hill, Arthur Gates, and George Counts, to name a few.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, TC gained international recognition thanks both to its pioneering role and to its encouragement of foreign student enrollment, which increased significantly after the 1920s. In 1923, for instance, the college had 265 students from forty-two countries, and between 1926 and 1927, the number of foreign students reached 457. One major development was the establishment of the International Institute in 1923, made possible by a donation from the General Education Board, which had been founded by John D. Rockefeller. The International Institute played a key role in TC's internationalization during the 1920s and 1930s by organizing study missions abroad, facilitating student exchanges, and publishing works, including the *Educational Yearbook*. The institute was led by Paul Monroe, with faculty associates such as Isaac Kandel, Lester Wilson, and Stephen Duggan.

The International Institute was responsible for coordinating a range of activities for foreign students, including organizing study trips to various schools across the United States. Among its contributions was the International Educational Library, described as “one of the best collections of its kind in the world,”³³ and the publication of the *Educational Yearbook*. Edited by Isaac Kandel, the *Yearbook* focused on education in different countries and continued publication even after the International Institute closed in 1938, ultimately ceasing in 1944 and totaling twenty-one volumes.³⁴

³² Lawrence Cremin et al., *A History of Teachers College, Columbia University* (Columbia University Press, 1954).

³³ Cremin et al., *A History of Teachers College*, 74.

³⁴ Luis Grosso Correia, “‘The Right Kind of Education for the Right Individual:’ Comparative Education Studies According to the Educational Yearbook of the Teachers College (1924-1944),” *History of Education* 40, no. 5 (2011): 577-598.

In addition to the International Institute, TC housed other significant institutes, such as the Institute of Educational Research and the Institute of Child Welfare Research. The Institute of Educational Research was established in 1921 and was administratively structured into three divisions: the Division of Educational Psychology, led by Edward L. Thorndike; the Division of School Experimentation, directed by Otis W. Caldwell; and the Division of Field Studies, managed by George D. Strayer. The Institute of Child Welfare Research was founded in 1924 with funding from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund.³⁵

TC served as a key model for teacher training worldwide, influencing the creation of similar institutions in other countries. Notable examples include the Institute of Education at University College London³⁶ and the Edinburgh (teacher) Training Centre (Moray House) in Scotland during the 1920s and 1930s,³⁷ as well as the teacher training institutes established in Brazil in the 1930s.³⁸ Reviewing the lists of international students who attended TC reveals the institution's global reach in teacher education. Between the 1920s and 1930s, for instance, approximately 130 British students enrolled at the institution,³⁹ while twenty-four Brazilian students completed their studies during the same period.⁴⁰ Even after the closure of the International Institute, TC remained a major international reference and a key destination for foreign students.

The connections between TC and NEF/LIEN involve various elements in a dynamic process of compositions and re-compositions shaped by the trajectories of individuals in the development of the field of education, including the Progressive Education Association (PEA). According to Graham,⁴¹ PEA was originally an organization composed of teachers and administrators affiliated with elementary and secondary schools, mostly private schools. By the late 1920s and early 1930s, it had been largely taken over by professional educators, with a strong presence of Teachers College faculty, which gradually influenced the association's agenda and operational dynamics.

Many PEA members were internationally recognized figures. Carleton Washburne, who served as superintendent of schools in Winnetka, Illinois, from 1919 to 1943, exemplifies

³⁵ Cremin et al., *A History of Teachers College*, 76.

³⁶ Richard Aldrich, "The Training of Teachers and Educational Studies: The London Day Training College, 1902-1932," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 5-6 (2004): 617-631; Gary McCulloch, "Fred Clarke and the Internationalisation of Studies and Research in Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 1-2 (2014): 123-137.

³⁷ Martin Lawn, "Um conhecimento complexo: o historiador da educação e as circulações transfronteiriças," *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* 14, no. 1 (2014): 127-144.

³⁸ Vidal and Rabelo, "A criação de Institutos de Educação."

³⁹ Survey conducted based on the inventories of foreign students recorded each academic semester or during vacation courses. These records include both students who stayed for a short period, such as attending winter or summer sessions, and those who pursued a graduate degree and earned a title.

⁴⁰ Columbia University. *Students from Latin American Countries Registered in Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920-1940*. New York: Columbia University, ca. 1941.

⁴¹ Patricia Albjerg Graham, *Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe: A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955* (Teachers College Press, 1967).

the profile of early members who had no university affiliation. It was only in 1949 that he began working in higher education when he joined Brooklyn College in New York. Washburne was an active PEA member from the 1920s until its dissolution. He was also involved in NEF, participating in international congresses and frequently publishing in affiliated journals. He served as president of both associations: PEA from 1939 to 1943 and NEF/LIEN from 1947 to 1956.⁴²

Among the internationally renowned university-affiliated figures, William Kilpatrick and Harold Rugg stand out as professors at Teachers College. Like Washburne, they also participated in NEF/LIEN congresses and published in affiliated journals. Harold Rugg, in particular, was a strong advocate for closer ties between PEA and NEF/LIEN, which led to the establishment of the first NEF/LIEN section in the U.S. in 1932. Rugg served as the official liaison between the two organizations until 1944, when he was dismissed from the position due to internal conflicts within PEA.

Another prominent PEA member, also linked to Columbia University, was the renowned American philosopher John Dewey. Dewey was appointed honorary president of PEA in 1926, a title he held until his passing in 1952.⁴³ Records indicate his participation in at least one NEF/LIEN congress—the regional congress held in South Africa, in Cape Town and Johannesburg, in 1934. The presence of several influential Teachers College figures within PEA does not mean that PEA—or progressive education in general—was universally accepted at TC. In fact, even within the Progressive Education Association, different interpretations coexisted regarding what progressive education and the association's philosophy should be.

Isaac Kandel exemplifies the disputes within Teachers College, a discussion that will be revisited in Chapter 3. Regarded as a more traditional educator aligned with curriculum discussions, he was a staunch critic of progressive education. Nevertheless, he was involved with NEF/LIEN. For instance, in 1937, as stated before, Kandel attended the NEF/LIEN conference in Australia and was part of the initial committee that discussed establishing an NEF/LIEN section in the U.S.⁴⁴ His engagement with NEF/LIEN can be understood in light of their shared focus on the internationalization of education studies and research. His position at the International Institute encouraged him to interact with various organizations, regardless of philosophical and pragmatic differences in the educational field.

PEA and NEF/LIEN maintained a close relationship from the outset, likely influenced by their near-concurrent founding dates (1919 and 1921, respectively) but primarily driven by

⁴² Patricia Albjerg Graham, "Carleton Wolsey Washburne: A Biographical Essay," *Teachers College Record* 72, no. 6 (1971): 487-494.

⁴³ Dewey was invited to the honorary presidency following the death of Charles William Eliot, PEA's first honorary president and former Harvard president. Graham, *Progressive Education*.

⁴⁴ Rafaela Silva Rabelo, "Isaac Kandel e a constituição de redes entre Brasil e Estados Unidos," *Revista de Ciências da Educação* 21, no. 43 (2019): 67-96.

their shared interest in promoting new educational methods and placing the child at the heart of the learning process. Thus, when NEF/LIEN was established and began organizing regular international congresses, a partnership with PEA was a natural outcome. Given the similarities between the organizations, NEF/LIEN aimed to partner with PEA rather than merely creating a new section. In pursuit of this goal, a name change for NEF/LIEN was considered, as previously mentioned, along with the possibility of relocating its headquarters.⁴⁵

However, the relationship was also marked by tensions and rivalries over leadership, which delayed the establishment of the NEF/LIEN section in the U.S. until 1932, following lengthy negotiations. According to Graham, one of the factors that delayed the creation of the section was the animosity that Stanwood Cobb, president of PEA from 1927 to 1929, had toward Beatrice Ensor.⁴⁶

With the establishment of NEF/LIEN section in 1932, PEA gained greater prominence within the organization throughout the 1930s and began acting as a liaison in Latin America—a role previously held by Ferrière.⁴⁷ These shifts became even more significant after the 1936 NEF/LIEN congress in Cheltenham, England, where the U.S. was considered as the host country for the next international congress. The rising tensions that led to World War II in 1939 played a crucial role in confirming the U.S. as the host of the eighth conference, which had to be postponed until 1941.⁴⁸

Similarities between PEA and NEF/LIEN went beyond their shared interests and extended to the challenges they faced in maintaining their operations. PEA's efforts to attract more members, along with the diverse perspectives it housed, led to an ongoing struggle to define its identity. Financial difficulties were also a persistent issue, making it increasingly challenging to secure funding, especially during the postwar. With the growing criticism of progressive education, which intensified in the latter half of the 1930s—particularly as it became associated with communism, with the outbreak of World War II and the years that followed—the term “progressive” took on a pejorative connotation. Not coincidentally, in 1944, the association changed its name to the American Education Fellowship, only to revert to its original name in 1953 before ultimately dissolving in 1955. The PEA's official

⁴⁵ See, for instance, New Education Fellowship, “At a Meeting of the Members of the Consultative Committee of the New Education Fellowship,” *World Education Fellowship Papers*, August 2, 1932; New Education Fellowship, “At a Meeting of the Members of the Executive Board of the New Education Fellowship and Representatives of the Progressive Education Association and of the American Committee on International Education,” *World Education Fellowship Papers*, August 7, 1932.

⁴⁶ Graham, *Progressive Education*, 42.

⁴⁷ For more on Ferrière's role in Latin American connections, see Joseph Coquoz, “Le Home ‘Chez Nous’ comme modèle d'attention à l'enfance”, *Educació i Història: revista d'història de l'educació*, no. 20 (2012): 27-46; Joan Soler i Mata, “Entre Europa i Amèrica Llatina: Adolphe Ferrière i l'Escola Nova a Barcelona,” *Temps d'Educació*, no. 35 (2008): 229-248.

⁴⁸ Rabelo, “The New Education Fellowship.”

journal, *Progressive Education*, continued to be published under the auspices of the John Dewey Society until 1957, when it was finally discontinued.⁴⁹

As hubs, TC and the International Institute connected with several Brazilian educators, including Isaías Alves, Noemy Marques da Silveira (also known as Noemy Rudolfer, her married name), and a group of teachers from Minas Gerais.⁵⁰ The most notable case is that of Anísio Teixeira. The educator first traveled to the United States in 1927. The following year, he returned and enrolled at TC, earning a Master of Arts degree in 1929. Through exposure to John Dewey's ideas, Teixeira became a proponent of Progressive Education, differing from Brazilian educators who preferred the term "New Education." He translated several of Dewey's texts into Portuguese and became one of the leading figures in the defense of democratic education in Brazil. His experience in the U.S. also allowed him to meet William Kilpatrick and helped shape the creation of the Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal [Institute of Education of the Federal District] (IEDF)—then Rio de Janeiro, capital of Brazil—in 1932, which adopted subject-based courses, an approach aligned with TC's practices.⁵¹ However, as highlighted by Carlos Roberto Cury,⁵² before traveling to the U.S., Anísio had spent four months in Paris in 1925, attending classes at the Sorbonne and studying the reform of the French educational system. He was particularly influenced by the state's role in organizing free, secular, and public schooling.

Anísio Teixeira was one of the signatories of the *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* [Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education], launched in 1932 and regarded by Brazilian historiography as the foundational text of a group of educators who became known as Escolanovistas [Newschoolers] in Brazil. There is no need to retrace his biography here, which has been the subject of numerous studies⁵³ detailing his tenure in public educational administration, his decisive advocacy for state-run public education, and his work as a translator. Instead, the focus is on his mobility, as in 1946, he was invited by Julian Huxley, the first director-general of UNESCO, to serve as a higher education consultant—a discussion that will be revisited in Chapter 5.

⁴⁹ Graham, *Progressive Education*.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, Rabelo, "Isaac Kandel"; Roberta Maira de Melo Araújo, "Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro (1905-1989): Formação e Atuação" (PhD dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2010); Nelma Marçal Fonseca, "Alda Lodi, entre Belo Horizonte e Nova York: Um Estudo sobre Formação e Atuação Docentes 1912-1932" (Master's Dissertation, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2010); Ana Cristina Matos Rocha, "Experiências Norte-Americanas e Projetos de Educação no Distrito Federal e em São Paulo (1927-1935): Anísio Teixeira, Noemi Silveira, Isaías Alves e Lourenço Filho" (PhD dissertation, Fundação Oswaldo Cruz, 2016).

⁵¹ Diana Gonçalves Vidal, *O Exercício Disciplinado do Olhar: Livros, Leituras e Práticas de Formação Docente no Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal (1932-1937)* (Edusf, 2001).

⁵² Carlos Roberto Cury, "Anísio Teixeira (1900-1971)," *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* 30, no. 4 (2000): 509-520.

⁵³ For a single reference, we highlight Clarice Nunes' doctoral dissertation, *Anísio Teixeira: A Poesia da Ação* (Edusf, 2000), an essential source on the subject.

As a cultural mediator, Teixeira moved between different intellectual spheres, appropriating and reconfiguring knowledge and practices, forging networks, and shaping both national and international education landscapes. The circuit, however, can be reversed and examined from the perspective of TC and PEA toward Brazil, taking the case of Carleton Wolsey Washburne who, during his trip to Brazil in 1942, contributed to the establishment of the Brazilian section of NEF/LIEN, which became associated with the Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos [National Institute of Pedagogical Studies] (INEP) and another key figure of the New Education Movement in Brazil, Manuel Bergström Lourenço Filho, who was also a signatory of the 1932 *Manifesto*. Between April and September 1942, Carleton Washburne toured South America, visiting Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Paraguay, and Brazil. During his trip, he established NEF/LIEN sections in the countries he visited. The context of the creation of the Brazilian section will be further explored in Chapter 2.

At the time, Washburne was the president of PEA, which had become an NEF/LIEN section in 1932, as mentioned above. However, his ties to NEF/LIEN date back to the 1920s. In his writings, he explains that he became aware of the organization during a study mission in Europe between 1922 and 1923 and that he relied on Ferrière's book, *L'École Active*, to plan his visits to European schools. On a new trip to Europe in 1931, he gathered information to plan his journey based on NEF/LIEN and the International Institute.⁵⁴

Carleton Washburne's travels and the networks he established, much like Anísio Teixeira, highlight the intersections of trajectories and the multiple affiliations of key figures, revealing connections between institutions such as TC, PEA, NEF/LIEN, IJJR, IEDF, and INEP.

1.2 IJJR, BIE, and BIEN: Overlapping Acronyms in the Circulation of Ideas and Practices Associated with New Education

Across the Atlantic Ocean, another institution with international ambitions and a commitment to educational renewal was expanding its reach and attracting foreign students. In 1912, Edouard Claparède founded Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau (IJJR) with the dual purpose of providing future teachers with solid knowledge on in psychology and pedagogy while also serving as a research institute to develop a new science of education and conceived as a grand laboratory. According to Fernando Vidal, IJJR embodied both a conviction and a program.⁵⁵ He states: "Em épigraphe de son article fondateur, Claparède met une frase de Rousseau: 'Commencez donc par étudier vos

⁵⁴ Rabelo, "The New Education Fellowship;" Rafaela Silva Rabelo and Diana Gonçalves Vidal, "A Seção Brasileira da New Education Fellowship: (Des)encontros e (Des)conexões," in *Movimento Internacional da Educação Nova*, ed. by Rafaela Silva Rabelo and Diana Gonçalves Vidal, p. 26 (Fino Traço, 2020).

⁵⁵ Vidal, "L'éducation nouvelle," 85.

élèves, car très assurément vous ne les connaissez point.' Si l'école échoue, c'est que les éducateurs ignorent l'enfance'."⁵⁶

As Rita Hofstetter points out, the four purposes Claparède defined as IJJR goals manifested such commitment.⁵⁷ They were:

- The Institute as a school allows educators to orient themselves, to be documented, but also to collaborate in the construction of pedagogical science and to train themselves in the scientific method.
- The Institute as a research centre conducts research necessary for the development of educational science, including students who also contribute.
- The Institute as an information centre collects psychopedagogical studies making them accessible via a journal and a library.
- The Institute is also a pedagogical reform centre urging respect for children's rights.⁵⁸

The decision to establish the Institute of Educational Sciences as a private institution rather than affiliating it with a public university stemmed from the difficulties Claparède faced in introducing his pedagogical ideas within academia through "courses, group psychological study of the child, teacher seminars on psychopedagogy which integrated different academic faculties such as science, arts and pedagogy, and medicine."⁵⁹ Hofstetter presents two additional reasons: greater freedom to maintain synergy between disciplines and the sociocultural and political context of Geneva, which encouraged patronage from well-established Protestant families in support of educational and scientific initiatives.⁶⁰ It is important to consider that both Claparède and Pierre Bovet, who served as director of the IJJR until 1944, came from the Swiss Protestant aristocracy,⁶¹ which undoubtedly facilitated the activation of social networks in support of the endeavor. Daniel Hameline⁶² added a fourth reason: the faculty's ability to engage students more freely in research and encourage their initiative. However, it is inaccurate to claim that IJJR lacked strong ties to the university, both through its programs and the participation of university faculty.

World War I temporarily halted IJJR's international expansion, and subsequent events—such as the Spanish flu and the 1918 general strike—triggered a severe financial crisis.

⁵⁶ Fernando Vidal, "L'éducation nouvelle," 85.

⁵⁷ Rita Hofstetter, "The Construction of a New Science by Means of an Institute and Its Communication Media: The Institute of Educational Sciences in Geneva (1912–1948)," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 5-6 (2004): 657-683.

⁵⁸ Hofstetter, "The Construction of a New Science," 663.

⁵⁹ Hofstetter, "The Construction of a New Science," 665.

⁶⁰ Hofstetter, "The Construction of a New Science," 665.

⁶¹ Vidal, "L'éducation nouvelle," 85.

⁶² Daniel Hameline, *L'Éducation dans le Miroir du Temps* (Société Coopérative des Editions des Sentiers, 2002), 253.

The institution was rescued through the support of the Société des Amis de l'Institut, composed of francophone Swiss professors.⁶³ In 1925, both its scientific engagements and international reputation allowed IJJR to secure financial support from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund, creating an opportunity for the foundation of the Bureau International d'Éducation (BIE). For Hofstetter et al.,⁶⁴ educational activism put the institutionalization of education as a discipline at risk and threatened to weaken IJJR. In the clash between local and international interests, the integration of IJJR into the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Geneva in 1929 simultaneously marked a commitment to the movement that established education as a university investment and the end of the private endeavor.

Numerous initiatives were undertaken in this initial phase of IJJR, between 1912 and 1929, as highlighted by Rita Hofstetter.⁶⁵ Two are particularly relevant here: the establishment of the Maison des Petits in 1913–1914, which became a pedagogical pilgrimage site for educators during the interwar period,⁶⁶ and the aforementioned BIE in 1925, aimed at fostering intellectual cooperation, international solidarity, and educational renewal. From 1926 onward, BIE, working in close collaboration with IJJR, amassed substantial documentation on educational initiatives worldwide and organized various international events, such as the NEF/LIEN Congress in Locarno in 1927.⁶⁷

The Maison des Petits serves as a key example of the hybridization of theories and pedagogical practices characteristic of the New Education Movement. Daniel Hameline⁶⁸ structured its early history around two episodes. The first was Montessorian in nature, while the second stemmed from the work of Mina Audemars and Louise Lafendel, the two principals of the school, and was defined by what Hameline termed *écletisme raisonné*, explicitly rejecting its classification as *claparédie*. The first episode, though brief, was central to Maison foundation. It resulted from Pierre Bovet's invitation to Teresina Bontempi and Jeanne Barrère to teach a course at IJJR on the Montessori method. For one month, each morning, a group of about a dozen children aged three to seven—including Claparède's and Bovet's—gathered for demonstration purposes. At the end of the experiment, at the request of several parents, educators decided to maintain the small class. The children were then entrusted to three IJJR students—Helena Antipoff, Marguerite Eugster, and Marguerite Gagnebin—who remained in charge until 1914.

⁶³ Hameline, *L'Éducation*.

⁶⁴ Rita Hofstetter et al., "Genève dans le Contexte International," in *Passion, Fusion, Tension: New Education and Educational Sciences*, eds. Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly (Peter Lang, 2006), 107-142.

⁶⁵ Hofstetter, "The Construction of a New Science," 666.

⁶⁶ Daniel Hameline, "Aux Origins de la Maison des Petits," in *Une École où Les Enfants Veulent ce qu'ils Font: La Maison des Petits Hier et Aujourd'hui*, org. Christiane Perregaux et al., 17-62 (Société Coopérative des Editions des Sentiers, 1996).

⁶⁷ Hofstetter, "The Construction of a New Science," 667.

⁶⁸ Hameline, "Aux Origins," 19.

The second episode began in 1914 and lasted until 1945 with the hiring of Mina Audemars and Louise Lafendel. Both had backgrounds in the Fröbelian method, as interpreted in Geneva.⁶⁹ According to Hameline, they developed at the Maison a strategy they had been formulating since 1910, which consisted of four imperatives: “ne pas hésiter à bricoler le matériel éducatif, prendre son bien là où on le trouve, mettre les idées et les instruments à l’épreuve d’une pratique à la fois ingénieuse et réfléchie, disposer d’une conception globale de ‘enfance qui serve de credo sans engendrer de raideur dogmatique.”⁷⁰ With this *bricoleur* spirit, the educators wove together elements from Fröbel, Montessori, and Decroly, embracing the experimental method without subordinating themselves to the prestige of any single figure.⁷¹ However, Hameline argues that the apparent lack of a firm doctrine was a defining trait of the New Education Movement as a whole, not just of IJJR, as previously noted.

Hameline also retraces the history of the BIE, identifying three key dates—1923, 1925, and 1929—that, within just six years, signaled major transformations in the organization’s scope. The first, although preceding its official establishment, already linked BIE to NEF/LIEN and the League of Nations. The second NEF/LIEN Congress, held in Montreux, sent a motion to Henri Bergson, then president of the League of Nations’ Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, recommending “l’établissement à Genève d’un Bureau international d’éducation, bureau d’informations et d’études scientifiques dont le besoin se fait universellement sentir.”⁷²

Following World War I, numerous institutions and associations emerged to promote solidarity among nations, intellectual cooperation, and pacifist and internationalist education. Geneva gained international prominence as the chosen site for several such organizations, including the League of Nations and the Bureau International du Travail, making it fertile ground for the creation of BIE. In this context, according to Hofstetter et al.,⁷³ that Adolphe Ferrière emerges as a key figure at IJJR in advocating for the global educational movement aimed at reforming humankind through education, primarily through three initiatives: his participation in the founding of NEF/LIEN in Calais in 1921; the success of his book *L’École Active*, published in 1922; and the opportunity in 1923 to propose what would become BIE, linked to the Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles (BIEN), which he had founded in 1899 and had single-handedly managed until then.⁷⁴

Notably, 1925, the second date highlighted by Hameline, marks the formal establishment of BIE as a cosmopolitan entity⁷⁵ linked to IJJR, shaped by the joint efforts of Ferrière,

⁶⁹ Hameline, *L’Éducation*, 25.

⁷⁰ Hameline, *L’Éducation*, 25-26.

⁷¹ Hameline, *L’Éducation*, 27.

⁷² Hameline, *L’Éducation*, 196.

⁷³ Hofstetter et al., “Genève dans le Contexte International,” 125.

⁷⁴ Hofstetter et al., “Genève dans le Contexte International,” 127.

⁷⁵ Hameline, *L’Éducation*, 197.

Claparède, and Bovet, who assumed the role of director, with Ferrière as deputy director.⁷⁶ In its bylaws, BIE declared its commitment to national, political, religious, and philosophical neutrality, presenting itself as a documentation and research body imbued with a strictly scientific and objective spirit. Among its objectives was the promotion of an internationalist spirit among youth and the coordination of associations supporting the League of Nations. By remaining independent from state control, BIE positioned itself to act on behalf of specific interests while maintaining a commitment to the common good.⁷⁷ It was during this phase that BIE organized the NEF/LIEN Congress in Locarno in 1927.

In 1929, with the integration of IJJR into the University of Geneva and the growing nationalist fervor infiltrating educational debates—foreshadowing World War II—BIE underwent a transformation, becoming a neutral intergovernmental body, as noted by Hameline, following an agreement signed between Poland, Peru, Geneva, and IJJR. Despite upholding its commitment to peace, BIE saw its comparative role strengthened.⁷⁸ Jean Piaget and Pedro Rosseló took over its leadership.⁷⁹ For nearly forty years, Piaget spearheaded the Bureau, enhancing its scientific credibility—though sometimes at the expense of political neutrality in extreme contexts.

IJJR, alongside the Maison des Petits and BIE, became a key institution, shaping a significant number of educators worldwide and serving as an important hub for international intellectual exchange. As was the case with TC, Brazil was not excluded from this network. Two examples from Brazilian educational historiography illustrate this connection. The first concerns Laura Jacobina Lacombe, a Catholic educator born in 1897 in Rio de Janeiro, who traveled to Europe in 1925 to attend courses at IJJR.⁸⁰ She later participated in the NEF/LIEN Congress in Locarno in 1927 as a delegate of the Brazilian Education Association (ABE).

Upon returning to Brazil in 1927, Laura Lacombe represented BIE at the First National Education Conference, organized by ABE, presenting a report on the Bureau, which was read during the plenary session. According to Marta Carvalho,⁸¹ the reading “would even have led to numerous new affiliations with the Swiss institution through its then Brazilian correspondent, Lourenço Filho.” Nevertheless, Lacombe’s travel report submitted to ABE’s board of directors expressed some reservations. According to her,

The principles of the “active school,” so thoroughly studied by Prof. Ferrière in his books, deserve further exploration to be adopted in our country, following Austria’s

⁷⁶ Vidal, “L’éducation nouvelle,” 86.

⁷⁷ Hameline, *L’Éducation*, 199.

⁷⁸ Hameline, *L’Éducation*, 200.

⁷⁹ Vidal, “L’éducation nouvelle,” 87.

⁸⁰ Ana Chrystina Mignot, “Eternizando travessia: memórias de formação em álbum de viagem,” *Revista Brasileira de Pesquisa (Auto)Biográfica* 2, no. 5 (2017): 330-342.

⁸¹ Marta Carvalho, “A Bordo do Navio, Lendo Notícias do Brasil: O Relato de Viagem de Adolphe Ferrière,” in *Viagens Pedagógicas*, ed. Ana Chrystina Mignot and José Gondra, (Cortez, 2007), 289.

example. [...] The truth is that these methods need to be adapted to our race to be effective; otherwise, if not properly applied, they may even be harmful. If not carefully measured, freedom leads to anarchy, which might be worse than the old discipline.⁸²

In 1930, it was Claparède's turn to visit Brazil and meet with Lacombe in Rio de Janeiro. The planned trips, in the words of Ana Christina Mignot,⁸³ were part of the strategies of the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute to strengthen ties, share experiences, and establish new connections, thus legitimizing itself as a "reference center," a "research center," an "information center," and a "propaganda center." The visit reinforced the bonds of friendship established during the Brazilian educator's stay at IJJR and maintained through years of correspondence with Claparède, his wife, and Bovet.

Instead of originating in Brazil, the second example arrives to the country. It refers to the Russian educator Helena Antipoff, "a student and assistant of Claparède at Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Geneva, who was later invited to establish the Psychology Laboratory at the Escola de Aperfeiçoamento [Refinement School] and to initiate the study and research in educational psychology within the scope of the educational reform"⁸⁴ carried out in Minas Gerais in 1929.

Helena Antipoff's trajectory adds further detail to the intricate network of international circulation of educational figures during the time. Born in Grodno in 1892, she interned at the Psychology Laboratory of the University of Paris between 1909 and 1912, participating in the standardization trials of children's mental level tests then being developed by Alfred Binet and Théodore Simon. From 1912 to 1916, she was part of IJJR, serving in 1913 as one of the three teachers in the initial phase of the Maison des Petits, as previously mentioned. Between 1916 and 1924, she returned to Russia and, in 1921, worked as a scientific collaborator at the Petersburg Experimental Psychology Laboratory, founded by Netschaieff. She settled in Geneva in 1925, becoming an assistant to Édouard Claparède at the Psychology Laboratory of the University of Geneva and once again teaching at the Maison des Petits. She traveled to Brazil in 1929 at the invitation of local authorities and remained in the country until she died in 1974. Throughout her journey, she blended theories and mobilized practices to develop an original proposal for rural education for socially excluded children, implemented at Fazenda do Rosário in 1940. According to Regina Helena Campos,

Antipoff's experience—living, observing, and working in different cultures—demonstrates that, in every situation, the scientific attitude served as her *lingua*

⁸² Cited by Ana Chrystina Mignot, "Claparède, mestre e amigo: memórias de travessias," *Revista Interinstitucional Artes de Educar* 2, special no. (2016): 263.

⁸³ Mignot, "Claparède, mestre e amigo," 261.

⁸⁴ Antipoff's biographical summary presented in this work is primarily drawn from the article by Regina Helena de Freitas Campos, "Helena Antipoff: razão e sensibilidade na psicologia e na educação," *Estudos Avançados* 17, no. 49 (2003): 209.

franca for accessing new symbolic universes. Faced with the need to adapt to diverse contexts, scientific curiosity always emerged as her gateway—the condition for understanding the unfamiliar and making herself understood.⁸⁵

Laura Lacombe and Helena Antipoff join the other travelers explored in this text, such as Anísio Teixeira and Washburne—*passeurs*, as Serge Gruzinski⁸⁶ refers to those who navigate between cultures and foster hybridizations. Through their journeys, they established personal connections and continuously repositioned points of contact, promoting the international circulation of knowledge and educational practices within networks while acting as agents in the construction of multiple and unexpected histories.

1.3 Final Comments

Two key questions emerge from this mapping. The first corresponds to the understanding that the 1920s shaped the core of an epistemology still present in the educational field, reinforcing proposals such as children's protagonism, the project method, centers of interest, the teacher as a mediator, and education for democracy, among others, as they were fundamental to the emergence of the academic discipline within universities. They were cornerstones of the international movement for New Education and remain operative in pedagogies that present themselves as innovative, most of which are unaware of their roots in NEF/LIEN and the other hubs mentioned. By addressing these connections, our goal was to highlight the fractures within this movement. Other gaps, however, remain untouched, such as the ambiguous status attributed to educators often associated with New Education—figures like John Dewey or Anísio Teixeira—who, as World War II approached, were labeled communists by certain sectors.

The conservative wave that swept through pedagogical debates on the eve of and during the armed conflict—particularly regarding the use of schools to heighten patriotism and secure youth support for war efforts—clashed with the pacifist ideals, emphasis on individual initiative, and criticism of traditional education promoted by the New Education Movement. As part of the wartime machinery, schools were also called upon to align with the new order. One of the earliest signs of this shift was the disappearance of the journal *Das Werdende Zeitalter*. The closure of PEA in 1955 and the discontinuation of *Progressive Education* in 1957 can also be attributed to the decline of the movement in the educational landscape.⁸⁷

The second key question lies in recognizing that certain national historiographies of education have created obstacles to perceiving the contours of the international movement for the dissemination of New Education. Anglophone researchers refer to NEF, while

⁸⁵ Freitas Campos, "Helena Antipoff," 228.

⁸⁶ Gruzinski, "Os mundos misturados."

⁸⁷ Caroline J. Conner and Chara H. Bohan, "The Second World War's Impact on the Progressive Educational Movement: Assessing Its Role," *The Journal of Social Studies Research* 38, no. 2 (2014): 91-102.

Francophone and Latin American scholars reference LIEN. Both entities emerge as distinct in a significant share of the narratives. The lack of homology between their designations undoubtedly reinforced this dissociation. However, when examining the accounts of the creation of NEF and LIEN, the identity of the events reaffirms the unity of the acronyms; what sustains their distinction is the body of texts produced by national historiographies of education in interpreting the phenomenon. This is yet another example of how, over time, ideas have taken on a life of their own, drifting away from their origin. Once again, Hameline⁸⁸ reminds us that NEF and LIEN are merely different names for the same movement.

In the next chapter, our focus shifts to the creation of the Brazilian section of NEF/LIEN within the temporal and spatial framework outlined here.

⁸⁸ Hameline, *L'Éducation*, 159.

2. The Brazilian Section of the New Education Fellowship⁸⁹

In an activity report of the New Education Fellowship (NEF) addressed to the Executive Board, dated August 1943 and written by International Secretary Clare Soper, the “New Sections” topic included an item on the situation in South America. The topic started stating:

According to the Constitution of the N.E.F., new Sections must be approved by the Executive Board. In 1942 Dr. Carleton Washburne (then President of the N.E.F. in U.S.A.)⁹⁰ visited South America and on our behalf formed Sections of the N.E.F. in the following places [...]⁹¹

Then, the report listed the five countries where sections had been established, along with their designated presidents and secretaries. In Brazil, President Lourenço Filho, Director of the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (INEP), Ministry of Education, Rio de Janeiro, and Secretary Celina Nina; in Colombia, President Daniel Samper Ortega, Gimnasio Moderno, Bogotá, and Secretary Ana Restrepo, Ministry of Education, Bogotá; in Ecuador, President Julio C. Larrea, Pedagogical Institute, Quito, and Secretary Lucia Baquero, Director of the “Jose Luis Roman” Kindergarten, Quito; in Chile, President Irma Salas, Director of the Liceo Experimental de Salas, Santiago, and Secretary Alfonso Aguirre, Director of the Institute of Psychopedagogical Research, Ministry of Education, Santiago; in Paraguay, President Ramon Indalecio Cardozo, Asunción, Vice President Prof. Adolfo Avalos, Director-General of Education, Ministry of Education, Asunción, and Secretary M. Felicidad Gonzales, Asunción.

⁸⁹ A first version of this text was published in Portuguese as a chapter in Rabelo and Vidal, “A Seção Brasileira.” It was fomented by FAPESP, Brazil, Case no. 2018/26699-4.

⁹⁰ During his trip to South America, Washburne was president of the Progressive Education Association, which had been the NEF section in the United States since 1932.

⁹¹ “Document 68. To Members of the Executive Board. A brief review of Headquarters activities since the war,” *World Education Fellowship Papers* (August, 1943).

Concluding the section on the newly established sections in South America, Clare Soper made the following remarks:

Dr. Washburne was able to renew many of the links made with South American educationalists at the N.E.F.'s conferences at Ann Arbor and found great eagerness among them for co-operation in an international movement.

Please let me know if you agree to the recognition of these Sections on the recommendation of Dr. Washburne.⁹²

The establishment of these sections was approved and subsequently included in the list of associated countries published by *The New Era* journal. Notably, among the countries Soper mentioned, Brazil was the only one where an NEF section was created for the first time. All the others had previously hosted sections or groups in the 1930s. Argentina, Peru, and Bolivia—countries not included in Washburne's travel itinerary—had sections or groups established in 1928, 1930, and 1936, respectively, as noted in the previous chapter.⁹³

Why was Brazil the last among this group of South American countries to establish a section? This leads us to explore remnants of NEF's presence in Brazil and evidence of the connections established between Brazilian educators and Fellowship members since the 1920s, in order to understand this late section and its developments.

2.1 New Education Fellowship Initiatives in South America

The formal network structure established by NEF was based on national cells, generally built upon preexisting organizations that brought together educators and laypeople in each country. These groups shared a common belief in the power of a new education capable of developing students' potential and shaping a new society. Such national cells were responsible for organizing congresses, maintaining periodicals, and disseminating information on the state of education in each country. This explains NEF's strong interest and investment in expanding the number of sections.

According to Joseph Coquoz, as early as 1921, a strategic plan had been developed, outlining the areas of action for the three main founders of NEF. Ferrière was responsible

⁹² "Document 68. To Members of the Executive Board".

⁹³ According to NEF reports, the creation dates for sections or groups were as follows: Argentina (1928); Paraguay (1930); Ecuador (1930); Peru (1930); Uruguay (1931). There are some discrepancies in these dates, likely because certain groups were later elevated to full section status. This was the case with Bolivia, where a section was officially created in 1936, though references to a group exist as early as 1932. The same applies to Colombia and Chile, in which groups are mentioned as early as 1929 and 1932, respectively. World Education Fellowship Collection, "WEF/A/I/34; WEF/A/II/43; WEF/A/II/44" (The Newsam Library and Archive, University College London). On the South American sections of NEF, see Diana Gonçalves Vidal et al., "A New Education Fellowship e a América do Sul: um panorama da constituição de redes," *Cadernos de História da Educação* 22 (2023): 1-19.

for spreading the Fellowship among Latin countries; Beatrice Ensor oversaw the Anglophone countries; and Elisabeth Rotten handled the German-speaking regions.⁹⁴

References to South American sections were first seen in *The New Era* in 1927, with publications in Argentina (*Nueva Era*, edited by J. Rezzano) and Chile (*La Nueva Era*, edited by Armando Hamel) being provisionally affiliated.⁹⁵ Such mentions seem to be related to both the 1927 Locarno Congress and Ferrière's mediation. Such mediation was particularly necessary given the limited presence of Latin countries at international events. According to Coquoz, Ferrière lamented the lack of participation from Latin educators at the Locarno (1927) and Elsinore (1929) Congresses. At the latter, for example, Ferrière noted the absence of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese delegates, while the French delegation was significantly smaller compared to those from England, Germany, or the U.S.⁹⁶

The journal *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle*, founded by Ferrière, played a key role in promoting NEF activities in Latin countries and disseminating news about education and innovative experiences in these regions. Even before the affiliation of Argentine and Chilean journals with NEF—announced in *The New Era* in 1927—*Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* served as a platform for sharing pedagogical experiences, such as Agustín Nieto Caballero's work at Gimnasio Moderno in Colombia⁹⁷ and Ovide Decroly's visit to the country in 1925.⁹⁸ Reports on educational experiences in South American countries were frequently published, including reviews of journals and books.

The duty and desire to promote the Active School and publicize NEF's activities motivated the Genevan educator to tour South America between 1929 and 1930. This initiative was seemingly successful. In 1930, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Peru joined NEF. The following year, Uruguay did the same, and Bolivia became a member in 1936. Brazil, however, remained outside this network.

In discussing Ferrière's journey, Marta Carvalho highlights his connections with Brazilian educators and the interest in establishing a Brazilian section of the Ligue internationale pour l'éducation nouvelle in 1930. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this was the name adopted by NEF in Romance-language countries. According to the author, Brazil was part of the

⁹⁴ Coquoz, "Le Home 'Chez Nous,'" 43

⁹⁵ *The New Era* 8, no. 32 (1927).

⁹⁶ Coquoz, "Le Home 'Chez Nous'."

⁹⁷ Adolphe Ferrière, "Écoles expérimentales en Europe et en Amérique," *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* 4, no. 16 (1925): 9.

⁹⁸ References to Decroly's trip to Colombia in *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* appear in: Adolphe Ferrière, "Écoles expérimentales," *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* 5, no. 18 (1926): 6; Ovide Decroly, "Une école nouvelle en Amérique du Sud. Le Gymnase moderne Bogota (Colombie)," *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* 5, no. 19 (1926): 25-28; Ovide Decroly, "Une école nouvelle en Amérique du Sud. Le Gymnase moderne de Bogota (Colombie)," *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* 5, no. 20 (1926): 48-52. On the trip to Colombia, see also Marc Depaepe et al., *Ovide Decroly (1871-1932): Un Approche Atypique?* (The Theory and History of Education Monograph Series, 2022).

itinerary, and Ferrière scheduled to visit five Brazilian cities.⁹⁹ However, due to the outbreak of the 1930 Revolution, Ferrière spent only one day in Rio de Janeiro, where he met Celina Padilha, Laura Lacombe, among other Brazilian educators.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the inability to stay longer in Brazil may not have been the only reason for the initiative's failure. Disputes between Brazilian educators also played a role in the outcome.

2.2 Early Steps Toward Establishing a Brazilian Section

Tracing the developments leading up to Ferrière's trip to South America reveals the formation of networks that would eventually contribute to the creation of a Brazilian section. His planned visit to Brazil was facilitated by the Catholic educator Laura Jacobina Lacombe. Ahead of his trip, Ferrière corresponded with Laura, requesting assistance in securing financial resources for his stay in Brazil to cover travel expenses and daily costs, while also offering to deliver lectures on various topics. He proposed to "work with the relevant authorities on revising school legislation concerning curricula and methods, adapting the demands of modern science to the country's specific needs."¹⁰¹

Lacombe's role in fostering ties between Brazil and NEF had begun to take shape as early as 1925. That year, she traveled to Europe to attend courses at the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau, where she met Bovet, Claparède, and Ferrière. The trip, suggested by Carneiro Leão, aimed to prepare her to assist her mother, Isabel Jacobina Lacombe, in managing Colégio Jacobina [Jacobina College].¹⁰² It is likely that during her stay in Switzerland, Laura Lacombe learned about NEF's activities, possibly through Ferrière himself. That same year, the Bureau International d'Éducation (BIE) was founded.

As previously mentioned, Laura Lacombe returned to Europe in 1927 to attend the NEF Congress in Locarno as part of the Brazilian delegation. This was, in fact, the first known official participation of Brazil in the event. The information about the congress published in NEF's official journals confirms that Lacombe represented the Brazilian government and the Brazilian Education Association (ABE).¹⁰³ They also provide details of her presentation, which included a film screening on the educational reform in Rio de Janeiro led by Carneiro Leão.¹⁰⁴ Antônio Carneiro Leão, who had served as Director of Public Instruction of the

⁹⁹ Carvalho, "A Bordo do Navio," 277-293; Raquel Lopes Pires, "Escritas Itinerantes: a Reforma da Instrução Pública do Distrito Federal na Revista *Pour l'Ère Nouvelle*, and the *Boletim de Educação Pública* (1927-1931)" (Master's Dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2021).

¹⁰⁰ Lopes Pires, "Escritas Itinerantes."

¹⁰¹ Mignot, "Eternizando travessia," 339.

¹⁰² Mignot, "Eternizando travessia," 336.

¹⁰³ *The New Era* 8, no. 32, 116.

¹⁰⁴ Laura Lacombe, "L'enseignement public a Rio de Janeiro," *Pour L'Ere Nouvelle* 6, no. 31 (1927): 218-219.

Federal District (Rio de Janeiro) from 1922 to 1926, had left the position in November.¹⁰⁵ If Laura Lacombe attended as a representative of the Brazilian government—besides her role with ABE, as reported by *The New Era*—it is possible that the Brazilian delegation was sent by Fernando de Azevedo, who took over as Director of Public Instruction in January 1927, perhaps through ABE's mediation. However, Lacombe's precise role as a "representative of the Brazilian government" and what that truly entailed remains unclear.

In a letter sent to Carneiro Leão on August 24, 1927—shortly after the Locarno congress concluded on August 15—Adolphe Ferrière praised Laura Lacombe's presentation. He seemed to interpret the presence of the Brazilian delegation at the congress as an opportunity to establish a Brazilian section of NEF. In the same letter, he put forth the idea:

Ne croyez-vous pas qu'il serait temps de créer une section brésilienne de la Ligue Internationale pour l'Education nouvelle? Je vous envoie les conditions à remplir pour cela. Vous verrez s'il est possible aussi de créer une revue de langue portugaise qui servirait de noyau à cette section. A mon envoi, je joins le Journal de Genève du 20 août avec un article sur le Congrès de Locarno, ainsi qu'un appel sur lequel je me permets d'attirer votre attention.¹⁰⁶

Carneiro Leão's response remains unknown, but this exchange, much like Lacombe's trajectory, had begun years earlier. In 1924, Carneiro Leão initiated correspondence with Ferrière. A letter from Ferrière dated March 28, 1924, was a reply to a message from Carneiro Leão sent in February.¹⁰⁷ Likely inspired by *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle*, Carneiro Leão wrote to the journal's founder and editor, discussing education in Rio de Janeiro. Ferrière made his first reference to Brazil in the April issue of *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle*, mentioning Carneiro Leão's correspondence.¹⁰⁸ Coincidentally or not, ABE was founded in October of that year, with both Carneiro Leão and Laura Lacombe among its members. Thus, the networks that would later be mobilized in 1942 to establish the Brazilian section of NEF began to take shape.

The ABE minutes,¹⁰⁹ although lacking details on the discussions held in the meetings, enable us to trace how NEF's agendas permeated the group and to identify what might have later hindered the creation of a section in the 1920s and 1930s. After returning from the Locarno Congress, the minutes mention that Laura Lacombe presented a report on the event. It was decided that Laura would serve as liaison with BIE, a responsibility

¹⁰⁵ Maria Cristina de Albuquerque Araújo, "Antônio de Arruda Carneiro Leão," in *Dicionário de Educadores no Brasil: Da Colônia aos Dias Atuais*, 2nd ed, org. Maria de Lourdes de Albuquerque Fávero and Jäder de Medeiros Britto, p. 115 (Editora da UFRJ, 2002), 114-122.

¹⁰⁶ Adolphe Ferrière to Carneiro Leão, August 24, 1927.

¹⁰⁷ Adolphe Ferrière to Carneiro Leão, March 28, 1924.

¹⁰⁸ Adolphe. Ferrière, "Progrès actuels du Mouvement en faveur de l'Education nouvelle," *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* 3, no. 10 (1924): 23.

¹⁰⁹ All ABE meeting minutes cited in this chapter are available on the website of Museu da Educação.

apparently shared with Everardo Backheuser.¹¹⁰ Curiously, the meeting minutes after Lacombe's return reference BIE rather than NEF. Was NEF being deliberately overlooked in favor of strengthening ties with BIE? This hypothesis is supported by ABE's stated intent to associate with BIE.¹¹¹ It is worth noting that mentions of BIE appeared in the minutes as early as November 1926, when ABE was registered with the Bureau.¹¹²

Looking back, several factors seem to have contributed to undermining the potential establishment of a Brazilian section of NEF. Among them, we can highlight Ferrière's unsuccessful stay in Brazil, NEF's advocacy of coeducation and its connections to theosophy, the involvement of Laura Lacombe and Everardo Backheuser—both Catholic educators—in affairs linked to BIE, and internal disputes within ABE, which culminated in 1932 with the exodus of Lacombe and Backheuser.¹¹³

Internal disagreements within ABE regarding the project to create a federation of state departments, led by Vicente Licínio Cardoso from January 1929, along with the organization of the 3^o Conference on Education held in São Paulo that same year, resulted in the creation of the Federação Nacional das Sociedades de Educação [National Federation of Education Societies – FNSE].¹¹⁴

According to André Paulilo:

Founded on the initiative of Vicente Licínio Cardoso and presided over by José Augusto—editor of one of the publications Ferrière encountered during his visit to Brazil—it brought together some of the most prominent signatories of the Manifesto [of the Pioneers of New Education]. In the Federal District, Frota Pessoa, then deputy administrative director of the school reform led by Fernando de Azevedo, personally oversaw its organization. The São Paulo group included Sampaio Dória and Lourenço Filho, who, alongside Vicente Licínio Cardoso, participated in the Federation project with Fernando de Azevedo, Anísio Teixeira, and Venâncio Filho.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Associação Brasileira de Educação, "Ata da 50^a Sessão do Conselho Diretor da ABE," November 1927; Associação Brasileira de Educação, "Ata da 54^a Sessão do Conselho Diretor da ABE," December 5, 1927; Associação Brasileira de Educação, "Ata da 66^a Sessão do Conselho Diretor da ABE," April 23, 1928; Associação Brasileira de Educação, "Ata da 75^a Sessão do Conselho Diretor da ABE," June 25, 1928.

¹¹¹ Associação Brasileira de Educação, "Ata da 67^a Sessão do Conselho Diretor da ABE," April 30, 1928; Associação Brasileira de Educação, "Ata da 83^a Sessão do Conselho Diretor da ABE," August 20, 1928.

¹¹² Associação Brasileira de Educação, "Ata da 11^a Sessão do Conselho Diretor da ABE," November 18, 1926.

¹¹³ Marta Carvalho, *Molde Nacional e Fôrma Cívica: Higiene, Moral e Trabalho no Projeto da Associação Brasileira de Educação (1924-1931)* (Edusf, 1998).

¹¹⁴ Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery, *A Sociedade de Educação de São Paulo: Embates no Campo Educacional (1922-1931)* (Editora Unesp, 2009), 194.

¹¹⁵ André Luiz Paulilo, "A estratégia como invenção as políticas públicas de educação na cidade do Rio de Janeiro entre 1922 e 1935" (PhD dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2007), 22.

According to Marta Carvalho, evidence suggests that Ferrière acted as an intermediary in linking the Brazilian section to FNSE through Celina Padilha, FNSE's secretary-general. The author hypothesizes that Vicente Licínio, who assumed the presidency of FNSE, may have contacted the Ligue internationale pour l'éducation nouvelle during a trip to Europe in January 1930, possibly initiating discussions to establish a Brazilian section.¹¹⁶ If such plans existed, then Licínio's death in 1931 undoubtedly interrupted the negotiations.

Carvalho also asserts that the group of Catholic educators who controlled ABE from 1929 to 1931 showed no interest in affiliating with NEF due to religious considerations.¹¹⁷ This was likely influenced by the Fellowship's membership, which included individuals associated with theosophy. It was only after the Nice Congress in 1932 that NEF was fully embraced by professional educators.¹¹⁸ These tensions are evident in letters exchanged between Laura Lacombe and Ferrière before the latter's trip to South America. Lacombe stated that she had received "the printed materials sent by the Groupe Français d'Éducation Nouvelle; I regret to say that there are references to religious education: to avoid any misunderstanding, it would be preferable not to address this topic."¹¹⁹ Ferrière replied he could not identify any religious content in the materials that might concern Lacombe and asked her to specify which aspects she found problematic. He further added that it would be advisable

[...] to distinguish, in relation to our Ligue's fundamental principle, between the triumph of the spirit and the materialist doctrines often associated with far-left propaganda. Our Ligue's stance is clearly in favor of the triumph of the spirit. If preparing children for this self-mastery in the name of the spirit is considered religious, then, without a doubt, we acknowledge the primacy of this form of religion. However, it is universal and transcends all particular religious beliefs, including Buddhism and Confucianism, without merging with any of them.¹²⁰

Lourenço Filho was part of the same network that included Carneiro Leão and Laura Lacombe. In 1929, Ferrière's book *A Lei Biogenética e a Escola Activa* [Biogenetic Law and the Active School] was published by Editora Melhoramentos, translated by Noemy Rudolfer. With a preface by Lourenço Filho, the book was part of the *Bibliotheca de Educação* series, which he coordinated for the publishing house. Negotiations for its translation began in late 1928, as indicated in a letter from Ferrière to Lourenço Filho dated February 5, 1929, in which he authorized the Portuguese edition.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Carvalho, "A Bordo do Navio."

¹¹⁷ Carvalho, "A Bordo do Navio."

¹¹⁸ Brehony, "A New Education for a New Era."

¹¹⁹ Mignot, "Eternizando travessia," 340.

¹²⁰ Mignot, "Eternizando travessia," 340.

¹²¹ Letter from Adolphe Ferrière to Lourenço Filho, Geneva, February 5, 1929.

It is likely that Lourenço Filho was aware of Ferrière's efforts to establish a Brazilian section of NEF, given that he was part of FNSE's founding group in 1929 and had been affiliated with ABE since July 1928.¹²² However, Lourenço Filho also represented BIE, which once again placed NEF and BIE in competition for influence within the same circles in Brazil.

Ferrière's unsuccessful trip to Brazil in 1930 did not mark the end of Brazil's interactions with NEF. In a letter to South American educators, Beatrice Ensor reported that Heloise Brainerd, from the Pan American Union, had provided the names and addresses she used to promote the international congress set to take place in Nice in 1932.¹²³ The June issue of *The New Era* announced the registrations which had already been received, including that of Lourenço Filho.¹²⁴ Likewise, the June issue of *Pour l'Ère Nouvelle* listed the registered participants and their respective sections. In the section "Éducation générale et éducation professionnelle," one participant from Brazil was identified only as "Filho." Marta Carvalho believes this refers to Lourenço Filho but questions whether he actually attended the congress.¹²⁵ A series of clues—or the lack thereof—suggests a negative answer to this matter.

In the Nice congress program, Lourenço Filho appears on the general list of delegates but is not listed as a speaker in any session.¹²⁶ His name is also absent from the complete report, which provides a more detailed schedule of the event.¹²⁷ The 1932 minutes of the ABE Board of Directors help piece together this puzzle. In April, the minutes recorded that the association had received an invitation to participate in the congress in Nice. Álvaro Osório de Almeida and Lourenço Filho were nominated and approved to represent the association at the event. The minutes will resume talk on the congress only in June, when Osório de Almeida announced his inability to attend the event, and no further references to representatives or possible reports from the event were found up until September of that year.¹²⁸

However, it is through the Brazilian press that we learn of a possible unfolding. Anísio Teixeira, then Director of Public Instruction, sent journalist and professor Carlos Alberto

¹²² Associação Brasileira de Educação, "Ata da 78ª Sessão do Conselho Diretor da ABE," July 16, 1928.

¹²³ Beatrice Ensor to South American educators, likely 1932.

¹²⁴ *The New Era* 13, no. 6 (1932).

¹²⁵ "Nouvelles du Congrès de Nice," *Pour l'Ère Nouvelle* 2, no. 78 (1932): 131; Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho, "O Manifesto e a Liga Internacional pela Educação Nova," in *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação: Um Legado Educacional em Debate*, org. Maria do Carmo Xavier, p. 159 (Editora FGV, 2004), 147-181.

¹²⁶ "The Sixth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship, Nice. Programme" (The Newsam Library and Archives, University College London).

¹²⁷ New Education Fellowship Sixth World Conference, Nice, 1932, Full Report (The Newsam Library and Archives, University College London).

¹²⁸ Associação Brasileira de Educação, "Ata da 221ª Sessão Ordinária do Conselho Diretor da ABE," April 4, 1932; Associação Brasileira de Educação, "Ata da 231ª Sessão Ordinária do Conselho Diretor da ABE," June 13, 1932.

Nóbrega da Cunha to represent the Federal District of Brazil at the congress. The newspaper *O Jornal* reported that Cunha was tasked with “promoting the convening of the 7th World Education Congress in Rio de Janeiro, to be held in 1933, at the Nice Conference.”¹²⁹ Comparing this information with the report from NEF Executive Board meeting held on August 8, 1932, during the Nice Congress, the journalist-professor’s mission becomes clear. One of the topics discussed at the meeting was the offers submitted by countries to host the international congress following Nice, which was theoretically scheduled for 1934. Among the candidates was Brazil, with Rio de Janeiro proposed as the host city.¹³⁰ It is difficult to determine how seriously NEF’s Executive Board took Brazil’s proposal. The fact is that the next international congress was held only in 1936 in Cheltenham, England—a country that had not even been among the candidates mentioned in the report.

Why would Anísio Teixeira appoint Cunha to represent the government at the Nice congress when Lourenço Filho, who worked under his administration, had already been designated by ABE in a meeting that Anísio himself presided over? The mention of Lourenço Filho’s name in the ABE meeting minutes suggests that he was present at the sessions when the congress was taking place, reinforcing Marta Carvalho’s suspicion that he did not attend the event. Cunha likely took his place.

When Ferrière visited Brazil in 1930, he may not have fully grasped the disputes that complicated relations between the two Brazilian educators’ associations—ABE and FNSE. Had he been aware, he would have realized that the Revolution was not the only factor that thwarted his efforts to establish an NEF section in Brazil. It would take another twelve years for a Brazilian section of NEF to be created—and not through its Francophone branch, but via the United States.

2.3 Carleton Washburne’s Visit to Brazil

A new opportunity to establish a Brazilian section arose with the eighth NEF international congress. For the first time, an international conference of the Fellowship was held in the Americas, providing the perfect opportunity to encourage Latin American participation, which had been minimal until then. Following some setbacks, including the beginning of World War II, the congress took place in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July 1941, with significant Latin American representation. From South America, the program featured Giselle Shaw (Argentina), Agustín Nieto Caballero (Colombia), Luis Padrino (Venezuela), Gustavo Adolfo Otero and Marina Núñez del Prado (Bolivia), Paz Dávila, Carlos Dávila, and Cora

¹²⁹ *O Radical*, (August 2, 1932): 16; *O Jornal*, (July 28, 1932): 14.

¹³⁰ New Education Fellowship, “At a Meeting of the Members of the Executive Board of the New Education Fellowship, Held at The Lycée Du Parc Imperial, Nice, on Monday, August 8th, 1932” (The Newsam Library and Archives, University College London).

B. de Sigren (Chile), and Julio Larrea (Ecuador). Among the Brazilian participants were Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer and Ceição Barros Barreto.¹³¹

The program booklet indicates that Noemy Rudolfer (Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil) presented “What is Happening to Parents and Children in Brazil?” as part of the “Parents and Education in the Western Hemisphere” session. It was presided over by Mr. Edward Lancaster, while Giselle Shaw (National Council of Women, Argentina), and William Blatz (University of Toronto) attended the same session. Ceição Barros participated in the working group “Toward the Understanding of Latin America,” alongside Maria Capdevilla (Cuba), Carlos Davila (Chile), Nieto Caballero (Colombia), Marina Nunez del Prado (Bolivia), Salvador Salazar Arrue (El Salvador), and Cora B. de Sigren (Chile). Both Noemy Rudolfer’s and Ceição Barros’s participation were reported in Brazilian newspapers. According to the Brazilian press, Rudolfer was designated as Brazil’s representative at the congress and was also appointed by the Ministry of Education to carry out observations and studies on children’s recreation during her trip. It was also reported that he gave a lecture at New York University on the educational organization in Brazil, during a visit attended by ten other Latin American educators.¹³²

A note published in the *Diário de Notícias* newspaper on May 4, 1941, states that Lourenço Filho was invited to represent Brazil at that year’s NEF congress and, after the event, visit various American universities.¹³³ No further mentions of his participation were found, and his name is not registered in the congress program. Perhaps, unable to accept the invitation, he suggested the name of Noemy Rudolfer, his collaborator since the 1920s. A detail in the letter Rudolfer wrote to Arthur Ramos, mentioning that she was invited by the “Progressive Education Fellowship” [sic] to attend the congress in Michigan, reinforces this hypothesis.¹³⁴ The letter was dated June 6, approximately a month after the note about Lourenço Filho’s invitation was published. The time elapsed would have been sufficient for Lourenço Filho to decline the invitation and for the congress organizers to reach out to Noemy.

The newspaper *Jornal do Commercio* issue of May 8, 1941, reports that Ceição Barros, a professor at the Escola Nacional de Música da Universidade do Brasil [National School of Music of University of Brazil], was invited by the National Federation of Music Clubs to attend a congress in Los Angeles in June—one month before the NEF congress. It also

¹³¹Although the names of the South American educators cited appear in the program, it is not possible to confirm that all of them actually attended (Eighth International Conference, New Education Fellowship, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1941, Programme). Julio Larrea is not listed in the program, but a news report from *A Manhã* on August 19, 1945, confirms his presence at the event.

¹³² *Correio Paulistano*, (June 17, 1941): 13; *Correio da Manhã*, (July 30, 1941): 11.

¹³³ “Conferência de Educação Nova,” *Diário de Notícias*, (May 4, 1941): 8.

¹³⁴In the letter, Noemy Rudolfer appears to merge the names of the two associations, the New Education Fellowship and the Progressive Education Association, referring to the event’s organizing body as the Progressive Education Fellowship. This misunderstanding is understandable, given that both entities were involved in organizing the event. Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer to Arthur Ramos, São Paulo, June 6, 1941.

states that the Ministry of Education instructed her to research music education during her trip by visiting universities, conservatories, and research centers in the United States. Her participation in the Los Angeles congress received extensive media coverage, and reports on her studies in music were published in a series of articles in the *Diário de Notícias* music column. In one of these reports, she described her participation in the NEF congress.¹³⁵

During the Michigan congress and interactions with various South American educators, it is likely that Washburne had already begun outlining his travel itinerary for the following year. In 1942, after visiting Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, and Paraguay, he arrived in Foz do Iguaçu on July 26, en route to Rio de Janeiro.¹³⁶ During his stay in Brazil, Washburne followed a packed schedule of visits to educational institutions, lectures, and meetings with authorities and educators in at least five Brazilian states. On September 6, he boarded a flight in Belém, Pará, returning to the United States.¹³⁷

Washburne's visit to Brazil was reported in several newspapers, though details about the nature of his trip were scarce. Overall, the press focused on informing readers that the American professor was conducting a study tour of South America, having visited multiple countries as part of a mission for the U.S. Department of State. Reports indicated that he spent several weeks in Brazil, visiting educational institutions in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, Bahia, and Belém. In addition to meeting with Secretaries of Education in places like Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte, his interactions with the INEP were frequently highlighted.¹³⁸

It is worth recalling that on January 22, 1942, Brazil severed diplomatic relations with the Axis powers, but it was only on August 31 of that year—just six days before Washburne returned to the U.S.—that the country declared war against Germany and Italy. During this seven-month interregnum, nineteen Brazilian merchant ships were torpedoed, resulting in hundreds of deaths.¹³⁹ The same newspapers that reported on Washburne's travels in Brazil featured war coverage and news of attacks on Brazilian ships on their front pages. Reviewing the pages of these newspapers reveals news items, with varying degrees of prominence, about several American authorities visiting Brazil, including Nelson Rockefeller.

¹³⁵ *Jornal do Commercio*, (May 8, 1941): 5; *Diário de Notícias* (August 22, 1941): 9.

¹³⁶ Carleton Wolsey Washburne to friends and family, Brazil, July 26, 1942.

¹³⁷ Immigration records available in "Family Search." Accessed February 18, 2025.
<https://www.familysearch.org/pt/>.

¹³⁸ *Diário Carioca*, (1942, August 13): 2; *Jornal do Commercio*, (June 7, 1942): 8; *O Estado de São Paulo*, (August 28, 1942): 2.

¹³⁹ Accessed February 23, 2025, <https://web.archive.org/web/20220121111904/http://cpdoc.fgv.br/producao/dossies/AEraVargas1/anos37-45/OBrasilNaGuerra>

Although NEF reports indicate that the Brazilian section was created during Washburne's visit, no references to this event have been found in Brazilian newspapers.¹⁴⁰ Likewise, neither the trip nor the establishment of the sections were reported in *The New Era* or in *Progressive Education* journals, which Washburne presided at the time. Even more surprising is the absence of references to the section in the *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, INEP's publication launched in 1944 under the direction of Lourenço Filho. This last example reinforces the hypothesis that the section was not active and that its creation was driven more by Washburne's direct encouragement—facilitated by the growing ties between Brazil and the United States—than by any initiative from Brazilian educators. Even if the group that formed the Brazilian section at its inception included NEF enthusiasts, which does not seem to have been enough to sustain it.

Washburne's presence in Brazil, his direct engagement, and the authority he wielded as chairman of PEA and an active NEF representative were undoubtedly decisive in establishing the Brazilian section. After all, how could a proposal be refused in person, especially from an internationally renowned educator who arrived in Brazil on a mission commissioned by the Department of State? Given the wartime context and the closer ties between the U.S. and Brazil, the conditions seemed favorable for establishing the NEF section through a PEA representative. However, subsequent events proved otherwise. The section seemingly never became active, nor was its creation publicized.

2.4 Developments of the Brazilian Section of the NEF

In a letter to Washburne, Clare Soper mentioned that she had received “a few letters from Brazil with a photo of Lorenzo [sic] Filho on the cover above the caption ‘Presidente de la seccion Brasilena de la New Education Fellowship.’”¹⁴¹ No Brazilian journals matching this description have been found. Given the Spanish-language caption and the spelling of *Lourenço* as Lorenzo, as transcribed by Soper, it is plausible that the journal was published by one of the other sections established by Washburne and that Soper mistakenly attributed it to Brazil because Lourenço Filho was on the cover. For instance, several issues of the Ecuadorian journal *Nueva Era*, edited by Julio Larrea in the 1940s, indicate that dedicating the cover to a Latin American educator was a common practice.

Beyond the national section under Lourenço Filho's presidency, a manuscript from the World Education Fellowship (WEF) collection, detailing the history of sections in various countries, reveals plans to establish a group in São Paulo under Noemy Rudolfer's leadership.¹⁴² The same document lists Ceição de Barros Barreto as an NEF member, further reinforcing the connection between the international congress in Michigan and Washburne's trip to Brazil. According to press reports, Rudolfer met with Washburne

¹⁴⁰ The collection of the Hemeroteca Digital da Biblioteca Nacional was consulted.

¹⁴¹ Fragment of an unsigned letter (likely by Clare Soper) to Carleton Washburne, estimated date: 1943 (The Newsam Library and Archive, University College London).

¹⁴² World Education Fellowship.

during his visit to São Paulo,¹⁴³ likely discussing the intention to form a group. The absence of further references to the São Paulo group suggests that this initiative did not progress.

The same WEF document states that Carneiro Leão assumed as deputy chairman of the Brazilian section. Thus, the connection with NEF, first initiated by the educator through correspondence with Ferrière in 1924, was finally formalized in 1942. In a letter sent in 1943, thanking Carneiro Leão for sending the books *Tendências e Diretrizes da Escola Secundária* [Secondary School Trends and Guidelines] and *Planejar e Agir* [Plan and Act], Washburne briefly mentions his visit to Brazil and their meeting.

I am sorry that I did not have more opportunity to talk with you during my stay in Brazil. You have so much wisdom in your field and have represented such leadership in secondary education that I would have benefited greatly by longer contact with you. I am glad, however, that we did have a short visit together and I am glad that you are taking an active part in the New Education Fellowship group. How is that group getting along? Are you issuing a little bulletin to notify the other South American groups of your activities? If so, I have not yet received a copy.¹⁴⁴

The letter reflects a recurring concern within NEF, frequently mentioned in correspondence and reports related to Latin America—namely, the need for updates on the initiatives undertaken by its various sections, in this case, the Brazilian one.

On February 17, 1950, NEF's international secretary wrote to Susana Matilde Giqueaux regarding her interest in supporting the establishment of an NEF section in Argentina:

In the past we did have a small group in the Argentine, but it has now ceased, and I think an entirely new beginning would be useful. At one time – in 1928 – Dr. Rezzano was our representative, and we have also had groups in Brazil, Chile and Ecuador, but they have all more or less disappeared.¹⁴⁵

By 1947, Brazil was no longer listed among NEF sections,¹⁴⁶ likely a decision made by the Executive Council that same year. The last mention of Brazil as an active section can be found in the November 1946 issue of *The New Era*.¹⁴⁷ However, there was typically a delay between a section ceasing its activities and NEF's official acknowledgment of its dissolution, suggesting that the Brazilian section had become inactive even before its final appearance in the journal in 1946.

¹⁴³ "Que é Nova Educação," *O Estado de S. Paulo* (August 20, 1942): 6.

¹⁴⁴ Carleton Washburne to Carneiro Leão, January 13, 1943.

¹⁴⁵ Although the letter is unsigned, given the date, it is likely that the international secretary in question was J. B. Annand. In the same folder, there is a card identifying Susana Matilde Giqueaux as a professor at the École Normale de C. del Uruguay in Argentina. NEF International Secretary to S. M. Giqueaux Feb. 17, 1950.

¹⁴⁶ *The New Era* 28, no. 8 (1947).

¹⁴⁷ Not all issues of *The New Era* included a full list of sections, making it impossible to determine the exact month in which Brazil was officially removed from NEF's records.

In the news section of the July 1946 issue of *The New Era*, updates on activities in Colombia and Ecuador are reported. In the note from Ecuador, Professor Julio Larrea, then chairman of the Ecuadorian section, reports having spent two months in Brazil giving lectures and speaking to Lourenço Filho about ways to strengthen connections between the South American sections of NEF.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, the Rio de Janeiro newspaper *A Manhã* documents Larrea's trip, noting his passage through the city on August 19, 1945. The article refers to Lourenço Filho as the president of the Brazilian section of the NEF.¹⁴⁹ Thus, as of 1945, the section was still active.

However, it is curious that no reports on Brazil's activities were ever published in *The New Era*. Had *Pour l'Ère Nouvelle* been in circulation at the time, there might have been more information about the sections established in 1942 and their activities.

A NEF booklet detailing initiatives from 1920 to 1952 includes a brief section on Latin America, spanning approximately half a page. Contributors to this section include Nieto Caballero and Amélie Hamaïde. Caballero summarizes South America's relationship with NEF as follows:

My personal impression is that the N.E.F.'s influence on the countries of South America has been preponderant. This fact became clear to me during the three tours I undertook in Latin America. It is of no importance that in many places no branches of the N.E.F. exist. The fact is that the ideas of new education are gaining ground everywhere in spite of the resistance of tradition and routine.¹⁵⁰

What Nieto Caballero's perspective suggests is that the circulation of ideas, individuals, and objects (in the form of methods and theories, study missions, and printed materials) was regarded as more significant than formal affiliation with an association. In this sense, we can only assume that Brazilian educators were less engaged in establishing and maintaining an NEF section than in accessing the discussions and agendas circulating within the New Education Movement. Even in the absence of formal sections, elements related to NEF can be identified within the Institutes of Education in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, founded in 1932 and 1933, respectively—especially in the bibliographies used in teaching programs and the titles available in their libraries, a topic revisited in Chapter 4.¹⁵¹

Pedagogical trips also played a role in forging connections. The presence of NEF members in South America was a recurring phenomenon, as seen in Decroly's visit to Colombia in 1925 and Peter Petersen's trip to Chile in 1929, both reported by *Pour l'Ère*

¹⁴⁸ *The New Era* 27, no. 7 (1946): 184.

¹⁴⁹ "A educação no Brasil e nos países americanos de língua castelhana," *A Manhã*, (August 10, 1945): 9.

¹⁵⁰ New Education Fellowship, *Changing ideas and relationships in education. Diary of the New Education Fellowship, 1920-1952*, (WEF/A/III/193), The Newsam Library and Archives, University College London.

¹⁵¹ Vidal and Rabelo, "A criação de Institutos de Educação."

Nouvelle,¹⁵² or Maria Montessori's presence in Argentina in 1926, widely covered by the Argentine journal *Nueva Era*, a supplement of *La Obra*.¹⁵³ Or even the travels of Amelie Hamaïde to Uruguay (1929) and Helena Antipoff and Claparède to Brazil (1929 and 1930). Several studies individually address these travels, but a broader understanding of the networks connecting these individuals and places is still lacking.

On the other hand, Nieto Caballero's explanation can also be seen as an attempt to justify Latin America's limited participation in NEF, whether due to the region's absence from international congresses or the failure to submit activity reports from its sections—issues he was likely questioned about repeatedly over the decades he maintained contact with NEF. Notably, only two countries had active NEF sections, despite the booklet's section titled "Latin America." They were Colombia and Ecuador. This remained the case until at least 1956, when the last reference to Ecuador's section appeared in *The New Era*. In the 1958 list published by the journal, only the Colombian section, presided over by Nieto Caballero, remained—the last South American representative from the 1920s.¹⁵⁴

We must consider that the establishment of the Brazilian section occurred amidst a turbulent international context, while Brazil faced internal tensions that, if not the direct cause of its premature decline, at the very least hindered its development. When Washburne visited Brazil, between July 26 and September 6, 1942, the country was experiencing an intense campaign—led by various organizations, including the newly institutionalized Brazilian National Union of Students—advocating for the country's entry into the war. On August 22, the government declared a "state of belligerence" and, nine days later, a state of war against Germany and Italy. Newspaper headlines were fully focused on the war effort, with articles detailing the economic plan, diplomatic relations with countries like Czechoslovakia, naval mobilization preparations, and the start of daytime alert drills, among other topics. Amid this context, with both public opinion and the Brazilian government focused on the war, the Brazilian section of the NEF struggled to find a favorable environment for promoting its initiatives. As events unfolded, the section has seemingly lapsed into inaction.

If Washburne's mediation through the U.S. was a key factor in establishing the Brazilian section, there are also indications of why a stronger dialogue between NEF and the Brazilian section did not materialize. Shortly after returning from his trip to South America in the summer of 1943, Washburne was invited by the U.S. Army to travel to Italy to work on their educational reform, an assignment that lasted three years. Later, he was appointed by the State Department to return to Italy, where he remained until 1948.¹⁵⁵ Thus, serving as an intermediary between the South American sections was certainly no longer among his responsibilities or priorities.

¹⁵² *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* 5, no. 19 (1926); *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* 8, no. 48 (1929).

¹⁵³ *Nueva Era*, no. 4-7 (1926).

¹⁵⁴ *The New Era* 39, no. 7 (1958).

¹⁵⁵ Graham, "Carleton Wolsey Washburne."

Moreover, there was little clarity about NEF among Brazilian educators. A striking example is Lourenço Filho, who would take on the presidency of the Brazilian section in 1942. In his book *Introdução aos Estudos da Escola Nova* [Introduction to the New School Studies], originally published in 1930, Lourenço Filho outlines the origins of the movement and its experiences in different countries. Interestingly, NEF is mentioned only in a few passages, referred to as the “League.” The Brazilian educator appears to confuse the Ligue internationale pour l’éducation nouvelle—the French name for NEF—with the Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles (BIEN), even attributing the Calais congress to BIEN. This confusion is understandable, considering that Ferrière was the founder of BIEN and also took part in establishing both NEF and BIE, with the latter two sharing several members. The source consulted by Lourenço Filho may have contributed to this ambiguity. In a footnote, he references the April 1925 issue of the journal *Pour l’Ère Nouvelle* as his source. Based on this issue, Lourenço Filho reproduces the key characteristics of a new school.¹⁵⁶ If we examine that particular issue, the table of contents, located just below the journal’s title on the cover, indicates the theme of that edition: “L’Ecole nouvelle et le Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles.” On the second page, at the top: “Ligue Internationale pour L’Éducation Nouvelle. Fondée au Congrès de Calais le 6 Aout 1921, et rattachée au Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles, crée a Genève em 1899.”¹⁵⁷ If the journal is taken as a sole source, it is easy to associate the League with BIEN and reduce both to Ferrière’s influence, disregarding the other founders (Beatrice Ensor and Elizabeth Rotten) or the prominent role of its London headquarters.

In 1961, *Introdução aos Estudos da Escola Nova* reached its seventh edition. Given that this was a revised edition, it is even more surprising that the omission of NEF persisted and that no mention was added regarding the Brazilian section established in 1942.¹⁵⁸ “New Education Fellowship” is mentioned a single time, being treated as a distinct entity from the “Ligue internationale pour l’éducation nouvelle,” which is mentioned in the same paragraph. The latter is described as an “expansion of the former Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles,” meaning Lourenço Filho continued to associate the League with BIEN and, consequently, with Ferrière. This interpretation is reinforced by the addition of a footnote attributing the League’s international congresses to BIEN.

2.5 Final Comments

Brazil’s relationship with NEF is marked by a series of misalignments and a complex network of connections involving actors who are not always obvious or easy to identify, spanning several decades. The premature dissolution of the Brazilian section in 1946 did not end Brazil’s interactions with NEF. Documents from the 1950s and 1960s in WEF’s collection contain correspondence from Brazilian educators expressing interest in

¹⁵⁶ Manuel Bergström Lourenço Filho, *Introdução aos Estudos da Escola Nova* (Melhoramentos, 1930).

¹⁵⁷ *Pour l’Ère Nouvelle* 4, no. 15 (1925).

¹⁵⁸ Manuel Bergström Lourenço Filho, *Introdução ao estudo...*, 7a ed (Editora, 1971).

establishing a new section. Lists of potential members for South American sections also include Brazilian names. Whether a new Brazilian section emerged after the 1950s is beyond the scope of this discussion and falls within a later phase of NEF, marked by its collaboration with and eventual incorporation into UNESCO, as well as its name change to World Education Fellowship.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ NEF was officially renamed the World Education Fellowship in 1966. Its partnership with UNESCO began in 1948, eventually leading to its incorporation into the organization.

Part II:

Subjects

3: Isaac Kandel and the Establishment of Networks Between Brazil and the United States¹⁶⁰

In September 1925, the *Pan America*, a ship arriving from the United States, docked in Rio de Janeiro. Among its passengers was Isaac Kandel, a professor at Teachers College (TC), Columbia University. He was embarking on a yearlong study tour across South America, traveling through Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Brazil on behalf of TC's International Institute.

After all, what was the purpose of this journey? What was his itinerary, and who were his interlocutors in Brazil? And what impact did this trip have on Brazilian educators? This chapter reverses a common approach in Brazilian educational historiography, which typically focuses on Brazilian educators, examining their travels abroad and how these experiences shaped the appropriation and circulation of ideas upon their return. Instead, this chapter follows the opposite trajectory by selecting an educator from the United States—Isaac Kandel—during his visit to Brazil.

The goal is twofold: 1) to explore Kandel's presence in Brazil and the connections he established, providing insights for studies on U.S.–Brazil relations in the field of Education; and 2) to demonstrate that investigating the presence of U.S. educators in Brazil allows for retracing the formation of networks and understanding their impact in both countries.

The choice of Kandel is justified by his role in the International Institute, the international prominence of TC, and the increasing presence of Brazilian students at TC during the early twentieth century. Focusing on the presence of foreign educators in Brazil to examine educational exchange is not a new theme, but it has received less attention than studies investigating the prominence of Brazilians abroad. One possible explanation is the scarcity or difficulty of accessing sources, as researching foreign educators in Brazil often requires consulting archives in other countries for travel reports and correspondence. Thus, this chapter seeks to bring greater visibility to this category of travel.

¹⁶⁰A preliminary version of this chapter was published in Rabelo, "Isaac Kandel." It was supported by FAPESP, Brazil, under grant No. 2016/07024-0.

To develop the discussion, the analysis is primarily based on the notion of networks from a historical perspective.¹⁶¹ By examining the processes of network formation, the concepts of circulation, appropriation, and hybridization are mobilized, uncovering links that are not always obvious in connected histories.¹⁶² The sources used include Kandel's publications, reports from his South American trip, correspondence, and newspapers available in the collection of the *Hemeroteca Digital da Biblioteca Nacional Brasileira* [Brazilian Digital Newspaper Archive].

Initially, the chapter outlines the panorama of educational exchanges between Brazil and the United States. Afterwards, it reconstructs Kandel's travel itinerary in South America and his interlocutors in Brazil. Finally, it highlights the networks formed around Kandel and some of their particularities. The conclusion points to unsolved issues.

3.1 Pedagogical Trips Between Brazil and the United States

Pedagogical trips are a recurring theme in Brazilian educational historiography, either as a central subject of study or as a guiding thread to discuss the international circulation of ideas. Regarding the relations between Brazil and the U.S., numerous studies examine Brazilian pedagogical travelers, exploring their itineraries to understand their educational background and track the way how their acquired knowledge was disseminated upon their return to Brazil to help explain, at least in part, the processes of circulation and appropriation of international ideas and models. Anísio Teixeira is one of the most frequently cited examples of this exchange with the U.S. in the early twentieth century, but other equally important figures have been studied to varying extents. There are also those virtually unknown in Brazilian educational historiography, underscoring that the topic remains far from exhausted.¹⁶³

Cultural exchanges between Brazil and the U.S. intensified in the late nineteenth century. Specifically in the field of education, the U.S. came to be regarded as “the country with one of the most solid and widely accessible education systems, which is why it was being identified as a reference for education in Brazil,” in a process of “displacement (though not erasure) of France from its prestigious position among part of the Brazilian elite.”¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Fuchs, “Networks and the History of Education,” 187.

¹⁶² On circulation, see Roger Chartier, *A História ou a Leitura do Tempo* (Autêntica, 2009); Serge Gruzinski, *O Pensamento Mestiço* (Companhia das Letras, 2001), and Gruzinski, “Os mundos misturados”. On the notions of appropriation and hybridization, see Peter Burke, *Hibridismo Cultural* (Unisinos, 2003) and Roger Chartier, *A Mão do Autor e a Mente do Editor* (Editora Unesp, 2014).

¹⁶³ An appendix listing Brazilian students who attended the Teachers College at Columbia University, between the 1920s and 1960s—including many still unrecognized in educational historiography—can be found in Rafaela Silva Rabelo's dissertation, “Destinos e Trajetos: Edward Lee Thorndike e John Dewey na Formação Matemática do Professor Primário no Brasil (1920-1960)” (PhD dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2016).

¹⁶⁴ Carla Simone Chamon and Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho, “A educação como problema, a América como destino: a experiência de Maria Guilhermina,” in *Viagens Pedagógicas*, ed. Ana Christina Mignot and José Gondra, p. 46-47 (Cortez, 2007), 39-64.

Europe—particularly France and Switzerland—remained a destination for study missions, but the U.S. definitively rose to prominence as an educational reference.

In the context of the educational reforms that took place in Brazil during the 1920s and 1930s, influenced by the New Education Movement, reformers were committed to seeking abroad the most advanced pedagogical experiences.

Among other initiatives, this led to the dissemination of foreign publications—visible in book procurement lists for school libraries—and the dispatch of teaching missions abroad to observe educational systems or promote Brazilian reformers' initiatives. In this drive to engage with what was perceived as new, different, and advanced, numerous foreign educators were also brought to Brazil.¹⁶⁵

In this context, ABE played a key role in organizing conferences, lectures, courses, and publishing journals. During the same time, Brazilian educators frequently engaged in establishing publishing houses, book series, and courses, as well as publishing in newspapers and journals to disseminate international discussions.¹⁶⁶ It was also common for the Brazilian government or organizations like ABE to sponsor teachers' travel to the U.S. These international trips were not solely intended to study foreign education systems and methods; at times, they also aimed to showcase developments in Brazilian education, whether through study missions or at international congresses. One such example will be explored in the next chapter, focusing on Maria Reis Campos's visit to U.S. schools.

In the U.S., TC at Columbia University became one of the most sought-after destinations from the 1920s onward—though not the only one—emerging as a key international reference in educational research and teacher training in the early twentieth century. TC's international character dates back to its origins. Foreign students, whose presence was encouraged, began arriving around the turn of the century. Their growing numbers led to the creation of the International Institute in 1923. As mentioned in Chapter 1, there were 265 students from forty-two countries in 1923, a figure that rose to 457 between 1926 and 1927. The International Institute was established thanks to a donation from the General Education Board, founded by John D. Rockefeller. Paul Monroe was appointed director, William F. Russell became deputy director, and three additional associate professors joined the team: Isaac Kandel, Lester M. Wilson, and Stephen P. Duggan. In 1925, the team welcomed professors Thomas Alexander and Milton C. Del Manzo.¹⁶⁷

One result of the Institute's extensive research program was the development of the International Education Library, one of the best collections of its kind in the world. Another was the annual publication of the Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, edited by Professor Kandel and containing current information on the progress of education in various parts of the world. There were also numerous reports on

¹⁶⁵ Ana Christina Mignot and José Gondra, *Viagens Pedagógicas* (Cortez, 2007), 8.

¹⁶⁶ Mignot and Gondra, *Viagens Pedagógicas*.

¹⁶⁷ Cremin et al., *A History of Teachers College*.

investigations carried out by members of the staff in foreign countries. As a matter of fact, this survey and investigative activity proved to be one of the Institute's greatest contributions.¹⁶⁸

According to TC's records, the first Brazilian students arrived in the 1920s. Approximately 120 Brazilians attended the institution between 1920 and 1960. A document titled *Students from Latin American Countries Registered in the Teachers College at Columbia University, 1920-1940* lists twenty-nine Brazilian students:¹⁶⁹ eleven completed their courses in the 1920s, thirteen in the 1930s, and five in the 1940s.¹⁷⁰

While the presence of Brazilian educators in the U.S. is frequently cited in Brazil's educational historiography, the reverse—American educators in Brazil—was also common, though far less explored. Isaac Kandel is one such example of this U.S.-to-Brazil trajectory, and an especially intriguing case, as it challenges several conventional perspectives.

3.2 Tracing the Reverse Path: Isaac Kandel in Brazil

In its October 1927 issue, *The New Era* provided information on the fourth conference of the New Education Fellowship (NEF), held in Locarno, Switzerland, in August 1927. In the journal section titled "Group Reports," participants of the event shared accounts of various activities carried out in their countries, including an extensive report by M. C. Del Manzo on the activities of TC's International Institute, in which he was an associate professor. The report begins with two paragraphs describing the mission of the International Institute:

The Institute exists primarily to help foreign students who come to Teachers' College to study. Its secondary purpose is to make available in English, as completely as possible, all information in regard to the educational situation throughout the world.

The Institute is primarily concerned with the training of foreign students, but it has also a deeper purpose. It is occupied also with question of democracy and education, especially since the world war, and it is always interested in the problems of public education.¹⁷¹

The second part of the report, titled "Foreign Studies," describes the activities carried out by the Institute's members abroad, first noting that "During the past year several members

¹⁶⁸ Cremin et al., *A History of Teachers College*, 74.

¹⁶⁹ Students who took only a few courses for a short period are not included in the document but appear in other enrollment records.

¹⁷⁰ There are two versions of the document, differing in length and total number of students. The 15-page version listing twenty-nine Brazilian students was analyzed in Rabelo's "Destinos e Trajetos." The 19-page version, listing thirty Brazilian students, was examined in Rafaela Silva Rabelo, "A transnational history of intellectual exchanges with the United States in the shaping of Latin American education," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education* (2023).

¹⁷¹ *The New Era* 8, no. 32, 172.

of the staff conducted investigations in foreign lands. Dr. Kandel spent the entire year in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay making an investigation of secondary schools [...].”¹⁷²

Affiliated with an international organization, *The New Era* reflected a commitment to informing readers about educational initiatives in different countries, both through international reports and by publishing articles from authors worldwide. The mission and influence of the International Institute account for how frequently its activities were mentioned in the journal. Another contributing factor was that the International Institute regularly had a staff member participating in NEF events, as evidenced by records of its activities between 1923 and 1939.¹⁷³

Kandel had been part of the International Institute’s team since its founding in 1923, joining through the mediation of Paul Monroe. After a long thirteen-year wait, he secured a position as an associate professor at TC. Kandel was the first Jewish scholar to hold such a position at TC. Born in Romania to a Jewish family, Isaac Leon Kandel (1881–1965) grew up in Manchester, England, where he completed his education up to his master’s degree. During his graduate studies at the University of Manchester, he studied under J. J. Findlay and Michael Sadler, the latter a prominent figure in comparative education studies. He moved to New York in 1908, where he began his doctoral studies at TC under the supervision of Paul Monroe, completing his PhD in 1910. Although he only attained the position of associate professor at TC in 1923, he remained connected to the institution, continuing to teach and collaborate with Paul Monroe after earning his doctorate.¹⁷⁴

The 1925 trip to South America took place just over two years after the establishment of the International Institute and was supported by additional funding from the International Education Board to conduct a study on the educational systems of Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile between 1925 and 1926. The “Survey of Latin American Countries” had a budget of \$32,075.¹⁷⁵

The study was entrusted to Isaac Kandel and James Doster. James Jarvis Doster (1873–1942) served as dean of the School of Education at the University of Alabama from 1911 until 1928, when it was elevated to the College of Education, a position he held until 1942.¹⁷⁶ At the time of the trip, Doster was thus affiliated with the University of Alabama. Although he was listed as an associate of the International Institute between 1925 and

¹⁷² *The New Era* 8, no. 32, 172.

¹⁷³ For more on the connections between the New Education Fellowship, the Teachers College, and the Institutes of Education in Brazil, see Vidal and Rabelo “A criação de Institutos de Educação.” See also Teachers College. International Institute, *Report on the International Institute of Teachers College to the Rockefeller Foundation* (Gottesman Libraries, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939).

¹⁷⁴ J. Wesley Null, *Peerless Educator: The Life and Work of Isaac Leon Kandel* (Peter Lang, 2007).

¹⁷⁵ Rocha, “Experiências Norte-Americanas,” 66.

¹⁷⁶ The University Of Alabama, *James J. and Mabel Cowart Doster Papers* (University Libraries Special Collections, 2017). Accessed February 18, 2025. <https://archives.lib.ua.edu/repositories/3/resources/4295>.

1926,¹⁷⁷ his exact affiliation with TC remains unclear. One hypothesis is that he was acting as a visiting professor.

Given that Kandel had only assumed the position of associate professor in 1923 with the creation of the International Institute and that the *Educational Yearbook*, in which he worked as the editor, was first published in 1925,¹⁷⁸ it can be inferred that his name was not widely recognized when he arrived in Brazil. Based on references found in the Brazilian Digital Newspaper Archive, there was little publicity surrounding his trip—aside from a brief note published in the newspaper *Correio Paulistano* in 1926¹⁷⁹—generally limited to mentions of his name among passengers arriving in Brazil by ship. His name does not even appear in one of the identified notes, with only Doster's¹⁸⁰ presence being mentioned, despite other newspapers confirming that Kandel was aboard the same vessel.¹⁸¹

The September 25 issue of the newspaper *O Jornal* reported that the previous day, the *Pan America* ship had arrived in Rio de Janeiro directly from New York. Among the disembarking passengers were Karl Bickel, Director of United Press; A. D. Jameson and Donald Makgill, representatives of the Boy Scouts International Bureau in London; Jorge Mercado, chargé d'affaires of Colombia; Professor George Knight; and chemist Thomas Bulter. Continuing on to the *Río de la Plata* region were diplomats Jorge Zalkes from Bolivia and Alfredo Sordelli from Argentina; physician John Elder; scientist Charles Perrine; and professors James Doster and Isaac Kandel.¹⁸² Examining the names included in the report provides insight into whom the newspaper considered noteworthy. Based on the article, it is evident that Kandel and Doster did not begin their study trip in Brazil. By analyzing the dates on the travel reports, one can infer that the order of countries visited was Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, and finally Brazil. The Uruguay report was dated 1925, and the Chile report 1926, while Brazil was the last country visited. The Argentine report was the only one lacking a date.¹⁸³

Their passage through Brazil on their way back was also reported. Newspapers *O Paiz* and *O Jornal* noted the arrival of the American ship *Southern Cross*, coming from Buenos

¹⁷⁷ Columbia University, "Catalogue, 1925-1926," *Columbia University in the City of New York* (1926), accessed February 18, 2025, at <https://archive.org/details/catalogue1925colu>.

¹⁷⁸ The International Institute closed in 1938. The *Educational Yearbook* continued publication for another six years. Correia, "The Right Kind of Education."

¹⁷⁹ "Hospedes Illustres," *Correio Paulistano* (July 17, 1926): 6. Accessed February 18, 2025. http://memoria.bn.gov.br/DocReader/090972_07/22030.

¹⁸⁰ "O 'Southern Cross' de passagem pela Guanabara," *O Paiz* (June 24, 1926): 2. Accessed February 18, 2025. http://memoria.bn.gov.br/DocReader/178691_05/25762.

¹⁸¹ "A bordo do 'Southern Cross'," *O Jornal* (June 24, 1926): 8. Accessed February 18, 2025. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/110523_02/26263.

¹⁸² "Está no porto o 'Pan America'," *O Jornal* (September 25, 1925): 8. Accessed February 18, 2025. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/110523_02/22587.

¹⁸³ Isaac Kandel and James Doster, *Education in South America: Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay* (Gottesman Libraries, 1926).

Aires with stops along the way, and docking in Guanabara the previous day.¹⁸⁴ Among the listed passengers were the American educator Isaac Kandel and his family, as well as Professor James Doster.¹⁸⁵

Limited information is available regarding their itinerary in Brazil. Admittedly, besides the capital Rio de Janeiro, they also visited the cities of Campinas and São Paulo. According to *Correio Paulistano*, in São Paulo, they were accompanied by inspectors-general João Toledo and Cesar Martinez, assigned to them by the Director-General of Public Instruction. They visited Escola Normal da Praça da República [Republica Square Normal School], the Ginásio do Estado [São Paulo Gymnasium], Escola Politécnica [Polytechnic School], the Rodrigues Alves and Marechal Deodoro Graded Schools, the Men's and Women's Vocational Schools, and the Escola Isolada do Butantan [Butantan Primary School].

Among all the institutions they observed, the distinguished visitors were particularly impressed by the Men's Vocational School, ranking it as the best among those they had seen in the countries they visited. Regarding our capital, they expressed admiration for its progress, calling it the leading city in Latin America and comparing it to Chicago. They also highlighted the modern and well-equipped facilities of the Escola Politécnica, describing it as exemplary.¹⁸⁶

It is difficult to determine how accurately these reported impressions reflect the professors' actual opinions. Cross-referencing with other sources, such as travel diaries or correspondence with educators and family members in the U.S., would be necessary.

In addition to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, references were found indicating Kandel's presence in Belo Horizonte. However, there is little detail about his visit to Minas Gerais or when it took place.¹⁸⁷ Doster and his family departed from Rio de Janeiro aboard the *Pan America* on July 21, heading to New York.¹⁸⁸ Kandel stayed in Rio for another month, returning with his family to New York aboard the *American Legion* on August 18.¹⁸⁹

Kandel's visit to Rio de Janeiro is documented in a photograph taken during the inauguration of Escola Estados Unidos [U.S. School]. This image was reproduced in at

¹⁸⁴ "O 'Southern Cross' de passagem pela Guanabara," *O Paiz*; "A bordo do 'Southern Cross'," *O Jornal*.

¹⁸⁵ Upon returning to the U.S., both Kandel and Doster traveled with their families, as confirmed by American immigration records. However, it is unclear whether their families accompanied them throughout their entire journey across the visited countries.

¹⁸⁶ "Hospedes Illustres," *Correio Paulistano*.

¹⁸⁷ References were found mentioning Kandel's time in Minas Gerais and his contact with Ignácia Guimarães in 1927. However, cross-referencing with other sources, such as correspondence, confirms that his visit to Brazil actually took place in 1926. Fonseca, "Alda Lodi, entre Belo Horizonte e Nova York," 73.

¹⁸⁸ "New York Passenger and Crew Lists, 1909, 1925-1957. James Jarvis Doster" (1926). Accessed February 18, 2025. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KXMD-MVH>.

¹⁸⁹ "New York Passenger and Crew Lists, 1909, 1925-1957. Isaac Kandel" (1926), accessed February 18, 2025, at <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KXMX-HKV>.

least two books by Antônio Carneiro Leão: *O Ensino na Capital do Brasil* [Teaching at Brazil' Capital City], published in 1926¹⁹⁰ and *Educação nos Estados Unidos: Da Chegada do Mayflower aos Dias Presentes* [Education in the U.S.: From the Mayflower to the Present], published in 1940.¹⁹¹ The caption in the 1926 book does not identify the authorities present, a detail only included in the 1940 publication.

In the photograph (Figure 1), Kandel is seen seated on the left, holding a cane. Beside him are Chermont de Brito (School Inspector), Dr. Cesário (Legislative Representative), Mr. Edwin Morgan (U.S. Ambassador to Brazil), Carneiro Leão (Director-General of Public Instruction), and Miss Lamar (Headmaster of Bennett School).¹⁹² Beyond the photograph, Carneiro Leão also includes in his book a letter that Kandel wrote before leaving Rio de Janeiro.¹⁹³

The inauguration of Escola Estados Unidos was covered in the press, highlighting the presence of dignitaries such as U.S. Ambassador Edwin Morgan. However, no mention of Kandel was found in the pre-event announcements or in post-event reports detailing speeches and attendees.¹⁹⁴ As previously noted, this absence suggests that Kandel was not yet widely recognized at that time.

As a result of the trip, it is possible to affirm that Kandel produced at least one set of reports on the state of education in each country he visited. Under the title “Education in South America: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay,” authored by Kandel and Doster, a bound volume containing the set of reports was found in TC’s library. The consulted copy lacks pre-textual elements or any bibliographic information indicating that it was published and distributed by a publishing house.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ Antônio Carneiro Leão, *O Ensino na Capital do Brasil* (Typ. do Jornal do Commercio, 1926), 255.

¹⁹¹ Antônio Carneiro Leão, *A educação nos Estados Unidos: Da Chegada do Mayflower aos Dias Presentes* (Typ. do Jornal do Commercio, 1940).

¹⁹² Leão, *A Educação nos Estados Unidos*.

¹⁹³ Leão, *O Ensino na Capital do Brasil*, 255.

¹⁹⁴ See, “A inauguração da Escola Estados Unidos”, *O Brasil* (1926, July 16): 4. Accessed February 18, 2025. <http://memoria.bn.br/docreader/028002/10244>; “Escola Estados Unidos da América do Norte,” *O Paiz* (1926, July 16): 4. Accessed February 18, 2025. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/178691_05/26030; “A inauguração da Escola ‘Estados Unidos’,” *O Jornal* (1926, July 17): 2. Accessed February 18, 2025. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/110523_02/26543.

¹⁹⁵ A similar bound copy of the typewritten reports was also located in the Rockefeller Archive Center collection.



Figure 1 – The panel presiding over the official inauguration ceremony of Escola Estados Unidos, Rio de Janeiro, 1926. Source: Carneiro Leão (1926), collection of the Library of the College of Education, Universidade de São Paulo (FEUSP).

The specimen shows a significantly deteriorated cover and some brittle pages. The only identifying feature on the binding is the title embossed on the spine. The first recorded page contains the title of the volume and the names of the authors. There is no introduction or explanatory text regarding the nature of the compiled material. Although there is no table of contents, some reports include their own specific table of contents. The pages are not sequentially numbered. It appears that the report corresponding to each country's visit was written immediately afterward. It is also possible that Kandel and Doster split the work and wrote their sections separately, which could explain the independent numbering of each report.

The volume is divided into five sections, some featuring contributions from Doster, not all of which indicate the year, in the following sequence:

- Report on Secondary Education in Argentina by I. L. Kandel and J. J. Doster (no year mentioned, no table of contents).
- Report on Secondary Education in Brazil by I. L. Kandel. Rio de Janeiro, 1926 (with table of contents).
- Report on Secondary Education in Chile by I. L. Kandel and J. J. Doster. Valparaiso, 1926 (with table of contents).
- Report on Secondary Education in Uruguay by I. L. Kandel and James J. Doster. 1925 (no table of contents).

- Secondary Education in Argentine, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay. General Conclusions, by I. L. Kandel. New York, 1926 (with table of contents).

The reports were arranged alphabetically rather than following the order in which the countries were visited. Doster did not contribute to the report on Brazil, likely because he returned to the United States before Kandel, who remained in Rio de Janeiro for another month. He also did not participate in drafting the general conclusions. Were these reports ever published? No evidence has been found, and the bibliographic survey conducted by Null¹⁹⁶ also makes no references to publications on South America.¹⁹⁷

The only identified publication that appears to be explicitly based on the trip to South America is the book *Essays in Comparative Education*, published in 1930, which compiles a series of lectures and articles on education from a comparative perspective. Two chapters reference the countries visited. One chapter, titled “Education in Latin-American Countries,” consists of a lecture originally presented at the University of Pennsylvania and published in the *Fourteenth Annual Schoolmen’s Week Proceedings*.¹⁹⁸ The other, titled “Aspects of Secondary Education,” comprises four lectures originally delivered in Spanish at the University of Mexico in 1927 and later published by the Ministry of Public Instruction under the title “Conferencias sobre la educación secundaria.”¹⁹⁹

Based on the bibliographic survey of Kandel’s work conducted by Null,²⁰⁰ the following articles on Latin America can be identified: “Education in Latin American Countries;” “The Latin Americans Have Still to Be Heard From;” and “Education in Latin America,” all published in the 1940s. Kandel also edited the 1942 *Educational Yearbook*, titled *Education in the Latin American Countries*, which was also released in Spanish: *La Educación en los Países de América Latina*. It is noteworthy that the dates of both the articles and the thematic issue of the *Educational Yearbook* on Latin America coincide with the period of increasing U.S. engagement with Latin American countries, which intensified in the late 1930s and took on new dimensions in the early 1940s with Brazil’s alignment with the Allies during World War II. The U.S. Department of State and the Office of Inter-

¹⁹⁶ Null, *Peerless Educator*.

¹⁹⁷ Beyond the bibliography compiled by J. Wesley Null, additional searches were conducted in online catalogs and databases, including the Teachers College Library (The Gottesman Libraries), the Library of Congress, JSTOR, HathiTrust, and the New York Public Library. Ana Cristina Rocha mentions the publication of two books resulting from the trip, titled *Education in South America: Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay* e *Secondary Education in Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay*, the source of this information is unclear, suggesting that she may actually be referring to the reports. Rocha, “Experiências Norte-Americanas,” 66.

¹⁹⁸ Isaac Kandel, *Essays in Comparative Education* (Columbia University, 1930), 155.

¹⁹⁹ Kandel, *Essays in Comparative Education*, 172.

²⁰⁰ Null, *Peerless Educator*.

American Affairs played a fundamental role in the process of U.S.–Brazil rapprochement.²⁰¹

3.3 Connections Between Brazil and the United States: The Formation of Educators Networks

When planning his year-long trip through South America, Kandel undoubtedly established prior contacts to determine the itinerary, the places to visit, the people to meet, and the documents to review. It is reasonable to assume that his role as editor of the *Educational Yearbook* facilitated these connections. Among them was Antônio Carneiro Leão, likely his main interlocutor in Brazil, with whom he maintained contact over the years.²⁰² Carneiro Leão had a cosmopolitan profile, traveling extensively, especially throughout Europe and the United States, and had a strong interest in education systems abroad. His international connections emerge in many chapters of this book, attesting to the important role he had in intertwining Brazilian educators in educational networks worldwide. He also taught comparative education, among other subjects.²⁰³ His shared interests with Kandel likely fostered their connection—two pedagogical travelers or, as Serge Gruzinski²⁰⁴ might describe them, two *passeurs* moving between worlds and facilitating cultural exchanges. The second volume of the *Educational Yearbook*, corresponding to 1925 and published in 1926, included an article on Brazil penned by Carneiro Leão. The same issue also featured texts on Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay—the countries visited in 1925–1926. Carneiro Leão’s position as Director-General of Public Instruction of the Rio de Janeiro at the time likely influenced his selection as a contributing author for the section on Brazil. However, this was not his only contribution; he also wrote for six other editions of the *Educational Yearbook*: 1935, 1936, 1938, 1939, 1940, and 1942.

In a study on the International Institute in which Warde²⁰⁵ focused primarily on the *Educational Yearbook*, it becomes evident that Carneiro Leão—and, consequently, the space allocated to Brazil—stands out in relation to other Latin American countries. Based on the author’s survey of how frequently countries appear in the publication articles, categorized as high, intermediate, or low frequency, there were seven articles on Brazil²⁰⁶—classified as intermediate frequency—ranking ahead of Chile and Mexico, which

²⁰¹ For more on the connections between the Department of State, the Office of Inter-American Affairs, and Latin American education, see Rabelo, “The New Education Fellowship.”

²⁰² Carneiro Leão’s collection, held at the National Library, includes correspondence exchanged with Kandel spanning from 1925 to 1946.

²⁰³ Araújo, “Antônio de Arruda Carneiro Leão.”

²⁰⁴ Gruzinski, “*O Pensamento Mestiço*” and “O mundo misturado.”

²⁰⁵ Mirian Jorge Warde, “O International Institute do Teachers College, Columbia University, como epicentro da internacionalização do campo educacional,” *Cadernos de História da Educação* 15, no. 1 (2016): 190–221, accessed 18 February, 2025, at <http://www.seer.ufu.br/index.php/che/article/view/34632/18367>.

²⁰⁶ Argentina is mentioned in at least eight articles, addressing various topics in each edition of the yearbook. Warde, “O International Institute.”

each have five. Among the authors with two or more contributions, Carneiro Leão is the sole author of all seven Brazilian articles, placing him among the six most frequently published contributors in the yearbook.

Did Kandel and Carneiro Leão first establish contact due to the latter's contribution to the 1925 edition of the *Educational Yearbook*? It can be confirmed that Carneiro Leão frequently traveled to the U.S. from the 1920s²⁰⁷ onward and had a sister, Silvia Carneiro Leão, who ran a school in Richmond, Virginia, as evidenced by correspondence with Anísio Teixeira²⁰⁸ and Teixeira's book on education in the United States.²⁰⁹ The collaboration between Carneiro Leão and Kandel extended beyond the *Yearbook*. Kandel wrote the preface of Carneiro Leão's book *Tendências e Diretrizes da Escola Secundária*, mentioned in Chapter 2.²¹⁰

One direct outcome of Kandel's visit to Brazil was the departure of a group of teachers from Minas Gerais to the TC between 1927 and 1929, following a scholarship offer extended to Ignácia Ferreira Guimarães, then a professor at the Escola Normal Modelo in Minas Gerais. Upon receiving Kandel's scholarship offer,²¹¹ she approached Francisco Campos—then Secretary of the Interior of Minas Gerais—requesting paid leave. Campos granted the leave and considered covering her travel expenses on the condition that Ignácia assemble a delegation of teachers. The group was composed of: Alda Lodi, Amelia de Castro Monteiro, Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro, and Lúcia Schmidt Monteiro de Castro.²¹² Ignácia was not officially part of the mission; she merely accompanied the young teachers, remaining in the U.S. for as long as they stayed.²¹³

This was not Ignácia Guimarães' first time in the U.S., which may explain Kandel's offer. According to Carlos Sá, in a 1929 article published in *O Jornal*,²¹⁴ she had previously lived

²⁰⁷ Miriam Jorge Warde, "O itinerário de formação de Lourenço Filho por descomparação," *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* 3, no. 5 (2003): 125-167.

²⁰⁸ Sylvia Carneiro Leão to Anísio Teixeira. Rio de Janeiro, August 3, 1927. Anísio Teixeira to Sylvia Carneiro Leão. New York, October 28, 1927.

²⁰⁹ Anísio Teixeira, *Aspectos Americanos de Educação* (Tip. de São Francisco, 1928).

²¹⁰ The source guide compiled by Chaguri and Machado helped identify additional collaborations between Kandel and Carneiro Leão. Jonathas De Paula Chaguri and Maria Cristina Machado, *Guia de Fontes da Bibliografia de e sobre Carneiro Leão* (Navegando Publicações, 2017).

²¹¹ Fonseca, "Alda Lodi, entre Belo Horizonte e Nova York."

²¹² For more on the journey to the U.S. and the trajectories of these teachers, see Francisca Maciel, "Lucia Casasanta e o método global de contos: uma contribuição à história da educação em Minas Gerais" (PhD dissertation, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2001); Melo Araújo, "Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro (1905-1989)," Fonseca, "Alda Lodi, entre Belo Horizonte e Nova York;" Rabelo, "Destinos e Trajetos;" Silmara de Fatima Cardoso, "Narrativas e representações de um percurso educacional e de um ideário educativo estrangeiro nas cartas de uma educadora," *Revista HISTEDBR* 60 (2014): 246-259.

²¹³ Melo Araújo, "Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro (1905-1989)," Fonseca, "Alda Lodi, entre Belo Horizonte e Nova York."

²¹⁴ Carlos Sá, "Minas no Collegio de Professores da Universidade de Columbia," *O Jornal* (March 2, 1929): 1. Accessed February 18, 2025. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/110523_02/41979.

in the U.S. from 1922 to 1924 to pursue a master's degree at the George Peabody College in Tennessee, an initiative she undertook on her own. References to this experience also appear in her correspondence with Anísio Teixeira.²¹⁵

Isaac Kandel was responsible for assisting the teachers of the Minas Gerais delegation in selecting their courses upon arrival, as explained in a letter by Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro:

The day before yesterday, we went to the Teachers College and filled out some papers to enroll as special students (undergraduate). We have not yet chosen our courses, as we are waiting for Dr. Kandel, who is traveling. Dr. Kandel is a professor at the Teachers College; he was the one who arranged the Macy scholarship for Ignácia. He has traveled extensively across South America and is one of the members of the International Institute (presided by Dr. Paul Monroe).²¹⁶

Another Brazilian educator whose path intersected with Kandel's was Anísio Teixeira. His first trip to the U.S. in 1927 lasted seven months and was commissioned by the Bahian state government. During this visit, Teixeira enrolled in summer courses at the TC and, between August and November 1927, participated in educational excursions organized by the International Institute, visiting several U.S. states. On his second visit, from 1928 to 1929, he pursued a master's degree at TC with a Macy Student Fund scholarship from the International Institute, staying there for ten months.²¹⁷

In a letter to Anísio Teixeira, Belfort Saraiva de Magalhães recounts a conversation he had with Del Manzo and Kandel, in which he mentions the possibility of Teixeira spending a year at Columbia University. Kandel then expresses his desire to offer a scholarship to a Brazilian student and specifically mentions Ignácia Guimarães:

[He] mentioned the name of Miss Guimarães whom you know. Here, I asked him if he was giving his preference to a woman, and his reply was – “no I prefer a man.” Hence, your name loomed up again and as an excellent candidate for the scholarship. He then handed me the application blank for you to fill in and submit it not later than March first [...].²¹⁸

Teixeira traveled to the U.S. that same year, but not with the scholarship offered by Kandel. Instead, he went on a study trip commissioned by the Bahia state government, during which he attended courses at TC, as previously mentioned. Correspondence between

²¹⁵ Inácia Guimarães to Anísio Teixeira. November 25, 1932.

²¹⁶ Excerpt from a letter by Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro, written in 1927. Melo Araújo, “Benedicta Valladares Ribeiro (1905-1989).”

²¹⁷ Clarice Nunes, “Anísio Teixeira na América (1927-1929): democracia, diversidade cultural e políticas públicas de educação,” in *Viagens Pedagógicas*, ed. by Ana Christina Mignot and José Gondra, 150-151 (Cortez, 2007) 143-162.

²¹⁸ Belfort Saraiva Magalhães to Anísio Teixeira. New York, January 6, 1927.

Kandel and Heloise Brainerd, head of the educational division of the Pan-American Union,²¹⁹ reveals the arrangements for Teixeira to attend summer courses at TC.²²⁰

Upon returning to Brazil, Teixeira kept in contact with Kandel. In a letter dated August 18, 1928, addressed to Kandel, he acknowledges receipt of a pamphlet.

Let me thank you for your booklet about secondary education, which has just reached me. It is so good a resumé of the present ideas on secondary education, that I had thought about translating it into Portuguese. Will you be so kind as to give us permission to make an official edition of your pamphlet? As we had not the privilege which was afforded to Mexico, of hearing you, we will have the opportunity of reading your interesting piece of work.²²¹

The pamphlet on secondary education most likely refers to the set of four lectures given in Mexico, which were later published in the book *Essays in Comparative Education* in 1930, as previously mentioned.

During his second stay in the U.S., this time with a Macy scholarship for his master's, Teixeira attended, among other courses, the one taught by Kandel on European Education.²²² Many other Brazilians likely attended Kandel's courses, though it is difficult to determine precisely due to restricted access to student records from TC. Isaías Alves, for instance, did not enroll in a formal course with Kandel. However, as indicated in his travel report, he was familiar with Kandel's work and referenced it in a chapter on secondary education.²²³ In *Estudos Objetivos de Educação* [Objective Studies on Education], Isaías mentions a comparative education lecture given by Kandel in 1931. In the book, he also refers to conversations he had with the professor.²²⁴ Notably, Isaías Alves seemed to hold Kandel in higher regard than Dewey, whom he harshly criticized in several of his works.

It is at least possible to get an idea of who attended Kandel's courses or was certainly exposed to his writings. In the document *Students from Latin American Countries Registered in Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920–1940*, at least six Brazilians studied comparative education. Iracema Castro de França Campos (1939-1940), Fernando Tude de Souza (1936-1937), Emília Dobel (1935-37), Joaquim Faria Goes

²¹⁹ For more on Heloise Brainerd's role in Teixeira's trip and the Brazil–U.S. exchange, see Nunes, *Anísio Teixeira*; Rocha, "Experiências Norte-Americanas."

²²⁰ Isaac Kandel to Heloise Brainerd. New York, May 19, 1927.

²²¹ Anísio Teixeira to Isaac Kandel. Bahia, Brazil, August 18, 1928.

²²² Warde, "O itinerário de formação."

²²³ Isaías Alves, *Da Educação nos Estados Unidos* (Imprensa Nacional, 1933).

²²⁴ Isaías Alves, *Estudos Objetivos de Educação* (Companhia Editora Nacional, 1941).

(1935-1936), Octavio Augusto Lins Martins (1939-1940), and Deocoeli Alencar Silva Reis (1937-1938).²²⁵

Moving forward in time, Manoel Bergström Lourenço Filho met with Kandel during his study trip to the U.S. between December 1934 and March 1935. He traveled on behalf of the Rio de Janeiro Department of Education, accompanied by Delgado de Carvalho and Antônio Carneiro Leão.²²⁶ In letters exchanged between Lourenço Filho and Anísio Teixeira, the former details their activities. In one letter, he recounts being received by Duggan and Kandel and names several professors he met, including Kilpatrick, Counts, Bagley, Del Manzo, Thorndike, Gates, and Rugg.²²⁷ In response, Teixeira offers comments on some of these professors:

[...] Kandel clearly harbors a complex against America and the science of education. Europe progresses without it. Regarding culture there is nothing more to do than replicate Europe. Therefore, all educational science and technique are mere bluff. Kilpatrick has extensive studies on supervision. The Department of Elementary Teachers trains supervisors. However, Kandel does not believe in American supervision, only in English inspection, having convinced them that there were no supervisors to be seen. In America, one must be very cautious with the preconceived and cold-minded man. It is far better to listen to the enthusiast and later tone down their enthusiasm. Kandel is the opposite—sophisticated, malevolent, critical. He plays the devil's advocate in America. It is good to listen to him but terrible to accept him. Bagley is a narrow, profound, and puritanical American type, already showcasing some characteristic virtues of the U.S. Counts, on the other hand, has a bit of a critical air. Rugg, like others, is excessively enamored by Europe. Russell aligns with them but lacks a certain philosophical perspective; they come back from Europe captivated.²²⁸

Warde expresses his surprise in this regard:

Curiously, Anísio's remark about I. Kandel stands out, given that Kandel was a European (a Romanian who pursued studies in England) who, through comparative studies, helped project American education onto the global stage.²²⁹

This reaction is understandable, considering Kandel's multicultural background and the role he held at the International Institute. The key question may not be whether Kandel

²²⁵ Some names in the document have been misspelled or there were surname inversions, requiring cross-referencing with other Teachers College student lists, as well as Brazilian press reports, to determine the correct names.

²²⁶ Carlos Monarcha, *Lourenço Filho* (Editora Massangana, 2010); Warde, "O itinerário de formação."

²²⁷ Manoel Lourenço Filho to Anísio Teixeira. New York, January 30, 1935.

²²⁸ Excerpt from a letter by Anísio Teixeira, available at Silmara de Fátima Cardoso, "Viajar é Ser Autor de Muitas Histórias: Experiências de Formação e Narrativas Educacionais de Professores Brasileiros em Viagem aos Estados Unidos (1929-1935)" (PhD dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2015), 194-195.

²²⁹ Warde, "O itinerário de formação," 134.

was truly the “virulent European”²³⁰ that Anísio Teixeira described, but rather what Teixeira observed or what accounts he had encountered that led him to form this impression of Kandel.

Still regarding the impressions Teixeira shared with Lourenço Filho in their correspondence, Warde notes:

The harsh criticism directed at Kandel and other Teachers College professors was not entirely justified, except under specific circumstances. Teixeira’s relationship with them was more political than intellectual; within this context, it would have been unwise to voice his objections publicly.²³¹

Notably, in 1959, Anísio Teixeira wrote the foreword to the Brazilian edition of Kandel’s book *The New Era in Education* [Uma Nova Era em Educação].²³² Moreover, four articles by Kandel were published in the 1950s in the journal *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* (RBEP) of INEP, as discussed in Chapter 7.

Teixeira’s impression of Kandel may have been shaped by the latter’s outspoken criticisms of progressive education. Kandel is often remembered as a strong critic of the movement, but as Null points out,²³³ his stance evolved over time. During the 1920s, his criticisms were more restrained—perhaps because he lacked a stable position at the TC that would have allowed him to speak more freely. From the 1930s onward, however, he increasingly clashed with several of his TC colleagues, many of whom were the targets of his critiques, including William Kilpatrick. As for Dewey, Kandel’s remarks varied: at times, he directly criticized the philosopher’s writings, while at others, he attributed the shortcomings of progressive education to the misinterpretations of Dewey’s followers.

Although Kandel did not shy away from criticizing progressive education, he acknowledged the merit of some of its proposals.²³⁴ However, Wesley Null’s biography of Kandel does not mention his involvement in the commission that, in the 1930s, discussed establishing a U.S. section of the NEF.²³⁵ Nor does it address his participation as a speaker at the NEF conference in Australia in 1937, despite noting his presence in the country. In fact, Kandel’s lecture at the conference seems to have stirred some controversy. The U.S. commission included Harold Rugg, Edmund de Schweinitz Brunner, and Isaac Kandel from TC, along with Frank William Hart from the University of California. The unease surrounding Kandel’s presence at a New Education conference is captured in the following comparison:

²³⁰ Warde, “O itinerário de formação,” 133.

²³¹ Warde, “O itinerário de formação,” 138.

²³² Isaac Kandel, *Uma Nova Era em Educação: Estudo Comparativo* (Fundo de Cultura, 1960).

²³³ Null, *Peerless Educator*.

²³⁴ Null, *Peerless Educator*.

²³⁵ “Document XV – To members of consultative committee of the New Education Fellowship”, *World Education Fellowship Collection* (1932).

Rugg and Kandel were complete contrasts. Rugg a thorough, practical, mid-Western American was a leader of the progressive movement whose contributions to curriculum reform and to the rethinking of the American democratic tradition were radical, exciting, and presented with conviction. Kandel, born in Rumania and educated in England and Germany, was a scholar of considerable reputation, who still retained a conservative leaning towards European traditions even after 30 years in America; he was somewhat out of place in an NEF gathering.²³⁶

To complete the picture, a Canadian representative, Arthur Lismer, created two caricatures depicting the final night of the event, when Kandel delivered his lecture “The Strife of Tongues,” in which he criticized progressive education. The caricatures convey both the tone of Kandel’s speech and the impression it left on the audience.

One called ‘The Tongue of Strife’ showed Kandel in academic dress putting an extinguisher over a lighted candle labeled NEF; the other was a picture of Kandel himself about to disappear under a large candle extinguisher with the caption ‘Out Brief Kandel’. The cartoons drolly expressed Lismer’s view of Kandel’s incongruity and of the end of the Melbourne session of the conference.²³⁷

Given these events, Kandel’s agreement with certain aspects of progressive education does not fully explain his engagement with NEF. Despite the persistent defense that Wesley Null offers of Kandel²³⁸—as evidenced by the various episodes recounted by the author and the impression Kandel made at the NEF conference²³⁹—it is clear that, regardless of the conflicts and controversies his opinions might have sparked, he never hesitated to take a stand. This did not win him many allies, either among his colleagues at TC or, judging by Anísio Teixeira’s impressions, among the students.

3.4 By Means of Conclusion: Some Possibilities

By tracing Kandel’s travels in South America, this study not only partially reconstructs his itinerary but also identifies signs of network formation in the exchange (of individuals and ideas) between Brazil and the United States. However, these connections are often asymmetrically reciprocal, meaning they vary in intensity, density, and duration. Regardless of the nature of these networks, Kandel’s visit to Brazil paved the way for numerous Brazilians to travel in the following years, fostering experiences that, in turn, opened doors for others.

Many questions remain to be explored, and several sources still require examination. For instance, significant gaps persist regarding Kandel’s stay in Brazil. Which places did he

²³⁶ William Fraser Connell, *The Australian Council for Educational Research, 1930-80* (ACER, 1980), 108.

²³⁷ Connell, *The Australian Council*, 108-109.

²³⁸ Null, *Peerless Educator*.

²³⁹ Connell, *The Australian Council*.

visit? Whom did he meet? What were his impressions of the country's educational landscape?

Considering Isaac Kandel within the context of Brazil–U.S. exchanges and network formation challenges conventional frameworks and raises questions about how this TC professor disrupted existing paradigms. First, exploring his movement across South America transcends geographical boundaries, which is a natural outcome of working with the concepts of networks and circulation. Thus, framing the discussion within the concept of networks allows us to scrutinize this exchange without necessarily confining it to a single direction, considering that the dialogue between two countries also bears traces of others.

Even within the TC, in which numerous progressive educators congregated, Kandel's observations reveal that there were disputes and tensions over educational philosophies. Progressive education was not universally embraced at TC, and even among its progressive educators, views varied. This scenario prompts further inquiry into how authors who did not align with progressive education were received, particularly within the circles of New Education advocates in Brazil. Did they disregard Kandel's critiques of progressive education and adopt only what suited their interests? And what about the critics of the New School Movement? Did they see Kandel as an alternative to Dewey, Kilpatrick, and others? These are pertinent questions, considering that the processes of appropriation follow patterns of choices and rejections that are sometimes difficult to determine, as Peter Burke has pointed out.²⁴⁰

Discussions often revolve around the influence of educators such as Dewey, Thorndike,²⁴¹ and Kilpatrick—internationally renowned figures associated with progressive education—on Brazilian students who attended the TC in the early 20th century and how, upon returning to Brazil, these students helped disseminate the ideas promoted by these scholars. Kandel disrupts this narrative, not only because he criticized the theorists but because he was a critic of progressive education itself. Brazilian educational historiography offers numerous insights into the circulation and appropriation of progressive educators, but what about the reception of theorists who did not fit into this group? Kandel provides an opportunity to explore how non-progressive theorists circulated and influenced educational debates and practices in Brazil, even within the very circles

²⁴⁰ Burke, *Hibridismo Cultural*.

²⁴¹ There is no scholarly consensus on how to classify the various groups within the progressive education movement in the United States, given their diversity and occasional disagreements regarding some subjects. Edward Thorndike's case illustrates this dilemma well. Cremin, for example, initially struggled with whether to include Thorndike—and the scientific movement—as part of American progressivism. Meanwhile, Labaree opted to categorize progressive educators into two groups: *pedagogical progressives*, which included Dewey, and *administrative progressives*, to which Thorndike belonged. See Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (Vintage Books, 1964), 369; David F. Labaree, "Progressivism, schools and schools of education: an American romance," *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 1-2, (2005): 2005; David F. Labaree, "How Dewey lost: The Victory of David Snedden and Social Efficiency in the Reform of American Education," in *Pragmatism and Modernities*, ed. Daniel Trohler et al., 163-188. (Sense Publishers, 2011).

that championed the New School Movement. In this regard, it is worth noting that Brazilian educators often referenced Dewey, Thorndike, and Kilpatrick—despite their differences—within the same discourse, or appropriated a single theorist's ideas in multiple ways. This reinforces Chartier's assertion that appropriation is the production of (new) meanings—a creative process.²⁴² Vidal, for instance, highlights the diverse and sometimes divergent ways in which Anísio Teixeira and Lourenço Filho appropriated Dewey, while Nunes draws attention to their differing interpretations of Thorndike.²⁴³ Where does Kandel fit into this picture?

Beyond the formation of networks, the question remains as to how Kandel was appropriated—whether through the education of Brazilian students at the TC, the incorporation of his texts into teacher training curricula in Brazil, or the circulation of his translated works. There is no lack of possibilities.

²⁴² Chartier, *A Mão do Autor*.

²⁴³ Vidal, *O Exercício Disciplinado do Olhar*; Nunes, Anísio Teixeira.

4. Maria dos Reis Campos and the Modern School: Fragments of the International Dissemination of the New Education in Teacher Training²⁴⁴

In this chapter, we revisit the theme of educational travels, focusing on Maria dos Reis Campos's journey through the United States and how she reported her experiences and integrated the insights gained on the visit into her work in Rio de Janeiro. Her trajectory connects two major educational reforms in Brazil's capital (Federal District, Rio de Janeiro), both shaped by the principles of the New Education Movement. The first reform began in January 1927 and lasted until October 1930, led by Fernando de Azevedo; the second spanned from 1931 to 1935, under the leadership of Anísio Teixeira. She participated in both reforms, initially as a school inspector, then, with the establishment of the Institute of Education of the Federal District in 1932 and its Teacher Training School, she took on the roles of faculty member and head of the Teaching Subjects section.

Although the missions of Brazilian educators abroad have been widely explored in the historiography of education in Brazil, as noted in the previous chapter, this perspective offers valuable insights—not only into the international circulation of individuals but also of ideas and educational practices. She spent five weeks in the United States, traveling through several states and observing classroom practices in various schools. Maria dos Reis Campos was particularly interested in the application of the project method. Upon her return, she published three accounts of her experience.

The first, more informal and structured as a travelogue, appeared in the *Boletim de Educação Pública* under the title “A educação primária nos Estados Unidos” [Primary

²⁴⁴This chapter brings together excerpts from two texts published in Portuguese. They are: Diana Gonçalves Vidal, “Em Viagem: Educadoras Brasileiras Partem aos Estados Unidos da América em 1930,” in *Sujeitos e Artefatos: Territórios de uma História Transnacional da Educação*, ed. Diana Vidal, 75-104 (Fino Traço, 2020); Diana Gonçalves Vidal, “A Biblioteca da Escola de Professores: Movimento do Acervo,” in Diana Gonçalves Vidal, *O Exercício Disciplinado do Olhar: Livros, Leituras e Formação Docente no Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal (1932-1937)*, p 157-200 (Edusf, 2001). The most recent publication was supported by FAPESP, Brazil, under grant No. 2018/26699-4.

Education in the U.S.].²⁴⁵ It was based on a lecture she delivered at the Escola Politécnica [Polytechnic School], organized by the Cruzada Pedagógica pela Escola Nova [Pedagogical Crusade for the New School]. The text had no bibliographic references or citations. However, by aligning herself with the Pedagogical Crusade, Campos positioned her work within a broader set of initiatives in Rio de Janeiro aimed at supporting Azevedo's educational reforms and familiarizing active teachers and intellectuals outside the education sector with the New Education Movement. The second account was an article titled "Método de projectos" [Projects Method] published in *Schola*, the official journal of the Brazilian Education Association (ABE). In the piece, she provided a summary of the report she had submitted to the Association.²⁴⁶

The third account took the shape of the book *Escola Moderna: Conceitos e Práticas* [Modern School: Concepts and Practices], published in 1931 by Livraria Francisco Alves. In the opening pages, Maria dos Reis Campos clarified that the book was an expanded version of the report she had submitted to ABE, in 1929, as an initial requirement for her nomination to receive one of the ten scholarships offered by the Pan American Union for the trip, with support from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.²⁴⁷ Unlike the article, the book reflects the educator's academic commitment to referencing authors and works, offering a rich overview of her readings and intellectual influences. Initially listed as required reading for courses at the Teachers College of the Institute of Education—turned into the School of Education at the University of the Federal District in 1935—the book reveals key aspects of the teacher training project embraced by Reis Campos, as well as by Anísio Teixeira, then Director-General of the Department of Education in Rio de Janeiro, and Manoel Bergström Lourenço Filho, Director-General of the Institute. Both were also faculty members at the Teacher Training School/School of Education.

Both Anísio Teixeira and Lourenço Filho had been to TC, Columbia University, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Teixeira's stay was longer, from 1928 to 1929, earning a Master of Arts degree and allowing him to establish lasting academic networks, which will be revisited in Chapter 5. Lourenço Filho, in turn, traveled to TC in 1935 on an official mission, which he used as an opportunity to acquire a significant number of books for the library of the Institute of Education in Rio de Janeiro. Maria dos Reis Campos's journey was part of this broader network linking educators in the United States and Brazil, particularly the two teacher training institutions. The Teacher Training School, established in Rio de Janeiro in 1932, incorporated many features of TC, including the creation of a Teaching Subjects course, which was entrusted to Reis Campos.

²⁴⁵ Maria Reis Campos, "A educação primária nos Estados Unidos," *Boletim de Educação Pública* 1, no. 3 (1930): 381-393

²⁴⁶ We did not have access to this second text. We are aware of its existence through a review published by Francisco Venâncio Filho, "Método de projectos, pela prof. Maria dos Reis Campos (summary of the report) in *Schola* (body of ABE), July 1930," *Boletim de Educação Pública* 1, no. 4 (1930): 593.

²⁴⁷ Rocha, "Experiências Norte-Americanas," 111.

To narrate these connections, this chapter is structured into three sections. In the first case, it is the five-week stay in the United States that captures our attention. The ten members of the delegation, which included Maria dos Reis Campos, are briefly characterized. We also present the institutions visited, the contacts established, and some of the observations made about the United States. This section draws on information from Reis Campos's article published in the *Boletim de Educação Pública*. The second section examines the book *Modern School*, providing an overview of the Teacher Training School/School of Education at the Institute of Education in Rio de Janeiro, with a focus on curriculum organization and the development of the school library. Finally, the third section explores how Maria dos Reis Campos built her narrative, examining the references she used, the examples she highlighted, and her particular emphasis on the project method. By doing so, we aim to shed light on how the educator appropriated what she read and observed.

4.1 Educators on the Go: Who They Were and Their Experiences

As mentioned, the Pan American Union, with support from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, awarded ten scholarships to Brazilian teachers for a five-week stay in the United States in 1929. The program included visits to educational institutions at various levels and teaching modalities. The scholarship opportunity was secured by Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, then a sociology teacher at Colégio Pedro II and one of the founders of ABE, during his visit to the United States. The process was facilitated by Stephen Duggan, director of the International Institute of Education (IIE) at TC .

Preparations for the trip began with the selection of scholarship recipients. ABE was responsible for nominating seven candidates, while the government of the state of São Paulo selected three others, based on the following criteria: proficiency in English, commitment to education, and the submission of a written report upon their return. Additionally, ABE required its nominees to have sufficient funds to cover their ship fare, as the scholarships only covered expenses incurred in the United States, and to travel alone, i.e., taking no companion.

The delegation comprised three male professors—Othon Henry Leonardos, Décio da Lyra Silva, and Otávio Barbosa de Couto e Silva—three female educators from São Paulo—Carolina Rangel, Eunice Caldas, and Noemy da Silveira—and four female teachers from Rio de Janeiro—Consuelo Pinheiro, Julieta Arruda, Laura Lacombe, and Maria dos Reis Campos. They departed from the port of Rio de Janeiro on January 1, 1930, bound for New York, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston.

Othon Leonardos was a graduate of the Escola Politécnica do Rio de Janeiro [Polytechnic School of Rio de Janeiro], in which he worked as a geology and economics adjunct professor. He pledged his career to the geosciences, specializing in regional geology, paleontology, and Brazilian geology. Until 1925, he conducted expeditions across Brazil as a geologist for the National Department of Mineral Production, including a canoe journey down the Xingu River, which he documented in photographs. Décio Lyra da Silva

taught chemistry and physics at both the Escola Normal de Artes e Ofícios Wenceslau Braz [Arts and Crafts Normal School] and Escola Profissional Souza Aguiar [Technical School]. Couto e Silva was an adjunct professor of Psychology at the Faculdade de Medicina do Rio de Janeiro [School of Medicine of Rio de Janeiro].²⁴⁸

As for the female members of the delegation, Carolina Rangel was a public health educator at the Instituto de Higiene de São Paulo [Public Health Institute of São Paulo]. Eunice Caldas was also a public health educator. She was the sister of the renowned physician and sanitarian Vital Brazil. Caldas had been a teacher at the Cesário de Barros Graded School (Santos, 1902), founded the Liceu Santista, taught at the Butantan Primary School (1908), then established Collegio Eunice Caldas. From 1907 to 1924, she authored books on women's education, history, theater, and poetry. Between 1901 and 1903, she was actively involved in the Associação Beneficente de Instrução [Beneficent Association for Instruction], founded by Anália Franco, having also organized the association O Espírito Feminino [The Feminine Spirit]. Noemy da Silveira, a graduate of the Brás Normal School in São Paulo, had been working with Manoel Bergström Lourenço Filho on a study program covering European and North American psychological theories for the Chair of Psychology and Pedagogy at the Normal School of São Paulo since 1927. She also conducted tests and experiments at the Experimental Psychology Laboratory affiliated with the Chair.²⁴⁹

Among the educators from Rio de Janeiro, Consuelo Pinheiro was a primary school teacher at Manoel Cícero School, where she later served as vice principal and principal. Julieta Arruda taught at Rodrigues Alves School. Laura Lacombe, who worked at Colégio Lacombe—a private Catholic-oriented school founded by her mother—had international experience. She studied at the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Geneva in 1925 and represented Brazil at the NEF Congress in Locarno in 1927, as discussed in Chapter 2. Apart from being a school inspector, Maria dos Reis Campos authored several textbooks and collaborated with Fernando de Azevedo in drafting the education reform for Rio de Janeiro's public school system, implemented in 1927.²⁵⁰

The requirement set by ABE that participants travel unaccompanied may have contributed to a common trait among these women: none was married. Julieta Arruda, who was separated, balanced her teaching career with running a boarding house in the Catete neighborhood, which allowed her to support her three children.²⁵¹ The others remained unmarried, except for Noemy da Silveira, who married four years later. However, her

²⁴⁸ Cardoso, "Viajar é Ser Autor de Muitas Histórias," 104-106.

²⁴⁹ Melissa Caputo, "Eunice Caldas, uma Voz Feminina no Silêncio da História" (Master's dissertation, Universidade Católica de Santos, 2008); Cardoso, "Viajar é Ser Autor de Muitas Histórias"; Miriam Jorge Warde, "Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer" in *Dicionário de Educadores no Brasil*, ed. by Maria de Lurdes Fávero and Jader Britto, 860-866 (EdUFRJ/MEC/INEP, 2002).

²⁵⁰ Cardoso, "Viajar é Ser Autor de Muitas Histórias;" Mignot, "Eternizando travessia."

²⁵¹ Cardoso, "Viajar é Ser Autor de Muitas Histórias," 108.

marriage was short-lived; after eight years, she was widowed and remained so for the rest of her life.

The terms “solteira” [single] and “viúva” [widower] in Portuguese, as well as “spinster” in English, frequently appear in literature from and about this period as common descriptors for primary school teachers. At the time, women dominated the primary education workforce both in Brazil and the United States but “faced two looming and contradictory specters: the idealized image of the gentle, nurturing teacher, and the reality of the cold and confusing work conditions of city schools.”²⁵² As a corollary, until 1950, female teachers in North America were expected to remain single and chaste, according to Sheila Cavanagh²⁵³—a belief shared by some Brazilian educators, such as Benevenuta Ribeiro (1928),²⁵⁴ who argued that female pedagogical celibacy benefited both school and family order. Oswaldo Orico, a professor at the Normal School of Rio de Janeiro, agreed with this view, advising: “The school, the administration, public economy, and even eugenics protest against a teacher’s marriage. Women who engage in intellectual labor are deemed ill-suited for the ‘maternal profession.’”²⁵⁵

However, more than just a social constraint, this expectation may have reflected strategies for professional survival and advancement in the profession. Indeed, in the years that followed, five of these women remained active in the education sector, taking on prominent positions. Between 1931 and 1933, Julieta Arruda and Paschoal Lemme co-founded the Instituto Brasileiro de Educação [Brazilian Institute of Education], based on the principles of active pedagogy. Laura Lacombe succeeded her mother as the director of Collegio Lacombe. Noemy da Silveira became a professor of educational psychology at the Universidade de São Paulo [University of São Paulo]. Consuelo Pinheiro was appointed president of ABE’s Primary Education Section, secretary of the Executive Commission for the Fourth National Education Conference in 1931, and a language instructor at the Teacher Training School of the Institute of Education of the Federal District. Maria dos Reis Campos took over as head of the Teaching Subjects Section at the Teacher Training School and became a member of the Academia de Ciências da Educação [Academy of Educational Sciences] in Rio de Janeiro.

The delegation, led by Décio da Lyra Silva, also received support from the Munson Line Company, which provided discounted fares and special accommodation on their ships. On January 14, the delegation, traveling aboard the *American Legion*, arrived in New York.

²⁵² Kate Rousmaniere, “Losing patience and staying professional: women teachers and the problem of classroom discipline in New York City schools in the 1920s,” *History of Education Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1994):49.

²⁵³ Sheila L. Cavanagh, “Female-Teacher Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Ontario, Canada,” *History of Education Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (2005): 247.

²⁵⁴ Benevenuta Ribeiro, “A ideia do celibato obrigatório para as professoras,” *A Pátria*, February 15, 1928.

²⁵⁵ Oswaldo Orico, “O celibato pedagógico feminino – Os debates travados na Conferência Nacional de Educação em torno de tão interessante assumpto,” *O Globo*, February 2, 1927.

Awaiting them were Lawrence Duggan, director of the Latin American Division of the IIE; Stephen Duggan, director of the IIE; Sebastião Sampaio, the Brazilian consul; and Carlos Delgado de Carvalho.²⁵⁶ Figure 2 depicts the delegation during their visit to Washington.



Figure 2 – Brazilian teachers in the United States of America. Source: *Fernando de Azevedo Collection*, Archive of the Institute of Brazilian Studies, University of São Paulo.

The International Institute of Education organized the group's excursion program in New York on behalf of the Pan American Union. The itinerary included attending lectures at Teachers College, as well as visiting other schools. At TC, the delegation engaged with scholars such as Isaac Kandel, Paul Monroe, William Russell, and Nicholas Murray Butler. Their pedagogical observations took place at the Lincoln School, Horace Mann School, Public School of 15th Street (for girls), Public School of 108th Street (for boys), and Bronxville Public School, in New York, as well as the Spaulding School and Edgemont, in Montclair, New Jersey. These schools were part of the regular training curriculum at the Teachers College School of Practical Arts Education, as documented in the *Announcements* for the years 1928–1929,

In order to supplement instruction in educational aims, curriculum, methods, and procedures, and to cultivate professional skill in meeting actual problems, TC has developed as an integral part of its work in a series of schools. The Horace Mann School

²⁵⁶ Laura Lacombe, "Cinco semanas nos Estados Unidos," *Revista Schola* 1, no. 3 (1930): 90.

and the Horace Mann School for Boys, for observation and experiment; the Speyer School, formerly a school for practice and experiment, but at the present the center of the work of the Institute of Child Welfare Research; and the Lincoln School, an experimental school conducted in cooperation with the General Education Board. The total enrollment in these schools is approximately nineteen hundred. These schools are open for observation to all professional students at the College, and use is freely made of their work in connection with instruction in college courses.²⁵⁷

The Brazilian delegation spent a week in New York, where they stayed the longest. From there, they traveled to Washington, where they were welcomed by Brazilian Ambassador Gurgel do Amaral, who accompanied the group to a meeting with U.S. President Herbert Hoover. In Washington, the program was organized by Dr. Rowe, president of the Pan American Union. It included visits to museums and schools such as the Bryan School, Junior High School, and Brent School.

Next, the delegation traveled to Baltimore, where they visited the Canton Platoon School, the Montebello School, the Vocational for Girls, the Vocational for Boys, and the Normal School, then to Philadelphia's Shipley School, Baldwin School, and Rosemont College. They finally arrived in Cambridge to see the Normal School, Ogden School, School for the Mentally Retarded, Vocational School for Girls, and Girls' High School (an example of the Dalton Plan), Buckingham School, and Shady Hill.

Although they traveled as a group, each educator had specific interests based on their professional background and current role, which led to individualized or paired activities. For Eunice Caldas and Carolina Rangel, the primary focus was health education. For Maria dos Reis Campos, Consuelo Pinheiro, and Laura Lacombe, the project method was the main attraction. Julieta Arruda was particularly interested in sex education and its influence on society. Noemy da Silveira sought to explore initiatives related to vocational guidance.

Thus, while Couto e Silva and Othon Leonardos, who worked in higher education, focused on studying the structure of American universities—visiting institutions such as Columbia, Yale, Harvard—Maria dos Reis Campos, Julieta Arruda, Laura Lacombe, and Consuelo Pinheiro, who were involved in primary education, prioritized visits to schools affiliated with TC in New York: Lincoln School and Horace Mann School, as well as Bronxville Public School, Spalding and Edgemont School in Montclair, Canton Dalton School in Baltimore, and Shady Hill School. In Washington and Baltimore, respectively, Maria dos Reis Campos²⁵⁸ and Noemy da Silveira were also tasked with presenting the Brazilian educational system.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Teachers College, *Announcement of the School of Education* (Teachers College, 1889-1994), 201.

²⁵⁸ The text was published as an article in *School and Society* in May 1930. See authorship note by Francisco Venâncio Filho, "A educação no Brasil, por Maria dos Reis Campos, em *School and Society*, maio, 1930," *Boletim de Educação Pública* 1, no. 3 (1930): 468.

²⁵⁹ Lacombe, "Cinco semanas," 93-94.

In the account written by Maria dos Reis Campos for the *Boletim de Educação Pública* publication about the trip, the American school was described as “essentially joyful,” a “natural extension of home.” The classroom and its furnishings were designed to allow for “mobility instead of the obsolete rigidity of students fixed to their desks.”²⁶⁰ The way lessons were conducted respected students’ freedom, which, in turn, led to deep engagement, with discipline and attentiveness arising naturally. Fixed or animated image projectors and phonographs punctuated the school environment, along with well-ventilated and quiet library rooms. There was no shortage of incentives for the arts and physical education. All these elements supported the implementation of interest centers and dramatizations, which often played a key role in carrying out projects. “At school, children do what they want—either spontaneously or guided by the teacher in a certain direction.”²⁶¹

According to the author, for the greater benefit of education, teachers specialized in arts, sciences, and literature, working in harmony under the coordination of principals and inspectors, carrying out the curriculum. This cooperation “fully expands through the project method,” which emerged as the very representation of the New Education Movement. Based on this approach, children learned by playing. Thus, “the New School, thanks to a better understanding of child psychology, utilizes play and makes it, like nature, the very process of education.”²⁶² The modern elementary school, therefore, was no longer a place of mere instruction but a space where children lived, she concluded.

Although the article was written as a recommendation for teachers in Rio de Janeiro and in support of the educational reform being implemented in Brazil’s capital at the time, Maria dos Reis Campos issued a caution regarding the adoption of these principles in Brazilian schools. According to her, “our men often lack initiative and, on the other hand, frequently struggle with self-control, which leads them towards willfulness and indiscipline [...] we lack a spirit of association and, to a great extent, we lack discipline itself.”²⁶³ In this sense, the freedom observed in American schools should be applied cautiously in our context to prevent undesirable outcomes. This recommendation would later be reiterated in the book *Modern School*.

On March 7, 1930, the *Pan American* arrived at the port of Rio de Janeiro, bringing the delegation back home. However, some members did not come back. According to a report published in the newspaper *Diário Carioca*, Othon Leonardos, Couto e Silva, and Carolina Rangel stayed in the United States to continue their studies and visits.²⁶⁴ Eunice Caldas had returned earlier for reasons that remain unclear. It is known, however, that she was

²⁶⁰ Campos, “A educação primária,” 382.

²⁶¹ Campos, “A educação primária,” 390.

²⁶² Campos, “A educação primária,” 392.

²⁶³ Campos, “A educação primária,” 390.

²⁶⁴ “O ‘Pan Americano’ em viagem ao Prata. O regresso da delegação da Associação Brasileira de Educação – O que disseram ao ‘Diário Carioca’ e seu chefe e a professora Maria Campos,” *Diário Carioca* 3, no. 497 (March 7, 1930).

diagnosed with manic-depressive illness and sent to Bellevue Hospital. From there, she was taken in a straitjacket aboard a ship heading to the Port of Santos. Upon arrival, she was admitted to Pinel Psychiatric Hospital in São Paulo on February 21, 1930, where she remained for 14 years (1930–1944) before being transferred to the Bela Vista Asylum in São Paulo, where she passed away at the age of 88.²⁶⁵

Beyond their pedagogical observations, Laura Lacombe, Julieta Arruda, and Maria dos Reis Campos returned from their trip with keen insights into women's living conditions in the American society and expressed enthusiasm regarding the roles women played there.

In an interview with *Diário Carioca*, Laura Lacombe stated:

I witnessed the true life of a household, perhaps more intense than I had ever seen before, in a town near New York. An educated woman tends to her garden and prepares meals, while her husband, returning from work, helps her place logs in the fireplace! Not a woman serving her husband as master, but a fair cooperation between both in managing the household!²⁶⁶

In an interview with *Correio da Manhã*, Julieta Arruda remarked:

Technological advancements have transformed both the household and the role of women. Women are not a new factor in industry—they are simply a changed factor. They have not lost value; they have merely adapted their contribution to the economic and social world. The public has gained a better understanding of working women, who are no longer regarded as a labor reserve but as a legitimate part of the workforce. I visited a pioneering school in this adaptation of women as an essential part of the industrial era: the Manhattan Trade School in New York. In this school, the trade the girl learns is the focal point of her study, with all other subjects integrated around it. The curriculum includes all professions that can provide financial independence, with the latest additions being those related to aesthetics—pedicure, manicure, hairdressing. Education keeps pace with society.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Melissa Caputo highlights aspects of Eunice Caldas's life that suggest what might have been considered deviant behavior in her case: having broken off two engagements before marriage, against her father's advice, and living in São Paulo with her Portuguese friend Anna Galheto. According to the author, Eunice's selection for the trip to the United States may have been motivated by her family's desire to distance her from Anna Galheto. Eunice herself never spoke about the incident after returning to Brazil. The only accounts on the matter are from Décio da Lyra Silva, Othon Leonardos, and Couto e Silva, who reported that she "had a fit" in New York. According to her colleagues, during the first week, Eunice exhibited unusual excitement, leading to her hospitalization. It is notable that the only available version of the events comes from male professors in higher education, which, beyond a gendered perspective, also raises questions about professional hierarchy. Caputo, "Eunice Caldas," 52-57.

²⁶⁶ "Os novos métodos de ensino americano no Brasil. Fixando impressões das professoras Laura Lacombe e Julieta Arruda." *Diário Carioca* 3, no. 501 (March 12, 1930).

²⁶⁷ "Entrevista com Julieta Arruda," *Correio da Manhã* v, no. 10804 (March 16, 1930)

In the same issue of *Correio da Manhã*, a note was published about a lecture given by Maria dos Reis Campos at the Federação Brasileira para o Progresso Feminino [Brazilian Federation for Women's Progress], in which the educator shared the remarkable impressions she brought from North America, where the aspirations that motivate women in other countries are widely realized. After discussing women's visible participation in all fields of human initiative—from amateur chauffeurs in shorts to the eight female members of the Congress—she summarized her impressions by stating that what most defined the United States, in her view, was the high regard in which women were held in North America.²⁶⁸

4.2 Modern School: The International Circulation of Ideas and Pedagogical Practices

Figure 3 opens the book *Modern School: Concepts and Practices*. It precedes the preface and serves as a reading protocol for the text.²⁶⁹ In it, we see the fifth-grade students at Lincoln School, who, according to the caption, “paint a frieze, representing the ‘Evolution of Land Transportation.’” The bold title reinforces the novelty presented by the photograph, “The New Aspect of the School.” As the only image included in the 313-page book, its meaning expands, symbolically articulating the very content of the work. It highlights “mobility,” one of the characteristics of the classroom that Maria dos Reis Campos extolled in the article published in the *Boletim*.

In the preface, written on December 29, 1931, the author explained that the work had originated from a month-and-a-week-long stay in the United States, facilitated by ABE and IIE, at the beginning of 1930. During that period,

classes were observed exhaustively—sometimes for entire days—where I was able to appreciate in detail not only the practical application of the method I was set to study, but also, more generally, the teaching in American schools; indeed, given the widespread adoption of this method in those schools, studying it, or studying education, is seemingly the same endeavor.²⁷⁰

She added: “I ended up convinced of the advantages of the New School and believed in its perfect applicability to Brazil.”²⁷¹ The book, although based on the report presented to ABE, expanded upon it, addressing other issues in addition to those related to the project method. Hence, the title encompasses Modern School. The author acknowledged,

²⁶⁸ “Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino. O que as delegações brasileiras maria dos reis Campos e Celina Padilha dizem dos Estados Unidos e do Uruguay,” *Correio da Manhã* 29, no. 10804 (March 16, 1930).

²⁶⁹ Roger Chartier, *A História Cultural: Entre Práticas e Representações Memória e Sociedade* (Difel, 1990).

²⁷⁰ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 8.

²⁷¹ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 8.

however, that there were “many and diverse *modern schools*” and committed herself to addressing the “principles, purposes, organization, and methods of either the *New School*



Figure 3. The New Aspect of School. Source: Campos, *Escola Moderna*.

or *modern school*.”²⁷² However, what may seem like a play on words actually enacts a precise distinction. In other words, Reis Campos identified, amidst the schools classified as modern schools, a particular type—the New Schools—the ones she aligned with and which she encountered during her trip to the U.S.

To better understand this distinction, it is necessary to first examine the book’s structure before addressing the circulation of pedagogical ideas and practices it evokes—the focus of this section—and then delve into the issue of pedagogical innovation underlying the expression “New School” advocated by the author or what she considers the “new aspect of the school” in the next section.

The book is organized into nine chapters, covering the “evolution of elementary schooling” (Chapter 1), the forerunners and founders of modern school (Chapter 2), aspects of child psychology (Chapter 3), the objectives and principles of modern school (Chapter 4), its organization (Chapter 5), the method (Chapter 6), the teacher (Chapter 7), teaching aids (Chapter 8), and modern school in Brazil (Chapter 9).

²⁷² Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 7.

Chapter 6 discusses centers of interest, referencing Decroly and Ferrière; work and practical life activities, with mentions of the *arbeitsschule* and Kerschensteiner; dramatization; and scientific pedagogy, drawing from Maria Montessori's reflections. However, the project method encompasses the largest portion of the chapter (forty out of its seventy-one pages), featuring examples of practical application alongside a detailed breakdown of pedagogical steps. The ideas of William Kilpatrick and John Dewey, both professors at TC, and John Alford Stevenson, from the Carnegie Institute of Technology (Pittsburgh), emerge as theoretical foundation.

The treatment directed at the three authors, however, differs significantly. Stevenson appears within the text for his "study of the method," though his book title is not cited, nor is he listed in the bibliography. Kilpatrick, in contrast, is mentioned in a footnote as a professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, and as the author of *The Project Method*. His work *Education for a Changing Civilization* is also listed in the bibliography. Dewey, on the other hand, is given an entire section of the book. Seven pages are dedicated to Dewey's biography, his works and initiatives, including the Laboratory School attached to the University of Chicago, which operated between 1896 and 1903 and benefited from the contributions of "a pleiad of dedicated individuals, among them Mrs. Dewey herself."²⁷³

The text also references Dewey's commentators, such as the Spanish scholar Domingo Barnès in his preface to the translation of *The School and Society*, the Brazilian M. B. Lourenço Filho in *Introdução aos Estudos da Escola Nova* [Introduction to the New School Studies], and the American Jesse Newlon, who authored the article "A Influência de John Dewey nas Escolas" [The Influence of John Dewey in Schools], published in the *Boletim da União Panamericana*. The bibliography lists four of Dewey's books in their original English editions: *Democracy and Education*, *Psychology and Social Practice*, *The Child and the Curriculum*, and *The School and Society*, as well as three translations: *La Escuela y la Sociedad* (translated by Barnès), *Comment nous Pensons* (translated by Decroly), and *Les Écoles de Demain* (translated by R. Duthil).

It is likely that both Kilpatrick's and Dewey's writings were part of Maria dos Reis Campos's personal library and that the books in English accompanied her back to Brazil in March 1930. In fact, the first Portuguese translation of Dewey's work was published that same year by Anísio Teixeira. Titled *Vida e Educação* [Life and Education], it included translations of *The Child and the Curriculum* and *Interest and Effort in Education*, along with a preliminary study by Teixeira discussing Dewey's and Kilpatrick's ideas.²⁷⁴ The translation became Volume XII of *Bibliotheca de Educação* [Library of Education], a collection edited by M. B. Lourenço Filho and published by Editora Melhoramentos.

²⁷³ Maria Reis Campos, *Escola Moderna: Conceitos e Práticas* (Francisco Alves, 1931), 216.

²⁷⁴ For further details on this publication, see Maria Rita de Almeida Toledo and Marta Carvalho's article "A tradução de John Dewey na coleção autoral biblioteca da educação," *Educação & Sociedade* 38, no. 141 (2017): 999-1015.

As part of the same collection, *Education for Changing Civilization* was later published in Portuguese in the 1930s as Volume XVIII, with translation by Noemy Silveira, who had traveled to the U.S. alongside Maria dos Reis Campos. While Kilpatrick's *The Project Method* was never translated into Portuguese, Dewey's *Democracy and Education* received a Portuguese version in 1936 by Companhia Editora Nacional, the same publishing house that had released the translated edition of *How We Think* in 1933.

The differing levels of recognition given to these authors reflect their prestige in the educational field and around the globe, as well as the domestic circulation of their ideas. Thus, while Stevenson remained virtually unknown in Brazil, Kilpatrick and Dewey had a broader impact in the country. The Brazilian edition of *Education for Changing Civilization* reached its sixteenth edition in 1978. That same year, *Vida e Educação* [Life and Education] was in its tenth edition.

Another way to assess the circulation of these authors is by analyzing the curricula of the Teacher Training School/School of Education at the Institute of Education. Among the nine syllabi with bibliographies published in *Arquivos do Instituto de Educação* in 1937,²⁷⁵ seven listed *Como Pensamos* [How We Think] by John Dewey and *Introdução aos Estudos da Escola Nova* by M. B. Lourenço Filho as either required or recommended readings. Dewey's *Vida e Educação* was listed under five syllabi. Kilpatrick's *Educação para uma Civilização em Mudança* [Education for Changing Civilization] and Anísio Teixeira's *Educação Progressiva* [Progressive Education] were recommended in four. Maria Reis Campos's *Escola Moderna* appeared in three syllabi.²⁷⁶

If, in the 1920s and 1930s, IIE had become an important hub for Brazilian educators and a center for the international dissemination of pedagogical innovations linked to New Education, at the local level, the Teacher Training School/School of Education, in the Brazilian capital, also established itself as a center for pedagogical innovation, serving as a model teacher training school for the country. In addition to training teachers—mostly women—for the Rio de Janeiro school system, it offered advanced courses for principals, education supervisors, inspectors, and teachers from other Brazilian states such as Ceará, Maranhão, Espírito Santo, and Bahia.²⁷⁷ The institution also played a role in promoting books and readings.

A defining feature of the library collection, which was incorporated into the Teacher Training School/School of Education in 1935, was the predominance of U.S. publications, a direct result of Lourenço Filho's travels: they accounted for 47% of all entries, surpassing even the number of books in Portuguese. Book purchases and journal signatures were made through Barnes & Noble and The National Education Association. The Mac Call Company also sent journals to the Institute of Education. In March 1935, Lourenço Filho

²⁷⁵ Arquivos do Instituto de Educação 1, no. 3 (1937): 295-359.

²⁷⁶ Vidal, *O Exercício Disciplinado do Olhar*, 193.

²⁷⁷ Vidal, *O Exercício Disciplinado do Olhar*, 85.

spent US\$ 1,111 on books from Barnes & Noble, and in September, he made further payments totaling US\$ 2,189 to various publishing companies: Barnes & Nobles, Macmillan Company, Goldbergs Arts Shop, United States Government Printing Office, The National Education Association of United States, and The Baker & Taylor Company.²⁷⁸

In a letter to Anísio Teixeira, Lourenço Filho described his activities in New York as revolving around Columbia University, including lectures, technical discussions, observations, and annual elementary education meetings. He referred to meetings with Stephen Duggan and Isaac Kandel, as well as Dean Russell, Charles Bagley, and William Kilpatrick, among others.²⁷⁹ He also noted frequent visits to bookstores, orders, and contacts to facilitate book imports.²⁸⁰

The impact of these investments on teacher training at the Teacher Training School/School of Education was evident, particularly in fostering students' ability to read in foreign languages. In 1929, 94.7% of works consulted were in Portuguese, while 4.5% were in French, 0.7% in English, and 0.1% in Spanish. By 1935, 89.4% of borrowed books were in Portuguese, 6.6% in Spanish, 2.3% in French, and 1.4% in English. Spanish had replaced French as the second most-read language among students. Notably, some works by American authors, such as Skinner and Dewey, arrived on the shelves translated into Spanish. In 1936 and 1937, French lost its position as the second most-read language to English. In 1936, 5.2% of consultations were in Spanish, 3.3% in English, and 2.3% in French. In 1937, Spanish accounted for 6.0% of readings, English for 3.4%, and French for 2.6%.

The new teacher-training model embraced by the Teacher Training School/School of Education fueled both national and international book markets. According to Juracy Silveira,

Answering the demand, bookstores prominently displayed the latest arrivals in their windows and on their main counters. Decroly, Ferrière, Claparède, Piaget, Pierón, Kerschensteiner, Kilpatrick, Dewey, and Gates reached the teachers, whether in the original language or in Portuguese or Spanish translations.²⁸¹

Among works by Brazilian authors, Silveira mentions *Introdução à Escola Nova* and *Testes A B C* by Lourenço Filho; *Escola Progressiva* and *Em Marcha para a Democracia* [On the March to Democracy] by Anísio Teixeira; and *Para Novos Fins, Novos Meios* [To New Endings, New Means] by Fernando de Azevedo. She concludes: "these were the 'bestsellers' at the time. There was not a single teacher who did not own them, who did

²⁷⁸ Lourenço Filho Archive, LF/Inst. Educ. II. Fot. 595, 596, 599, 603, 610 e 611.CPDOC/FGV.

²⁷⁹ Warde, "O itinerário de formação," 128.

²⁸⁰ Vidal, *O Exercício Disciplinado do Olhar*, 171-172.

²⁸¹ Juracy Silveira, "A Influência de Lourenço Filho no Distrito Federal," in *Um Educador Brasileiro: Lourenço Filho*, ed. Associação Brasileira de Educação, 75-82 (Melhoramentos, 1958), 76.

not turn to their pages for guidance, solutions to their doubts, and technical resources for their work.”²⁸² *Escola Moderna* by Maria dos Reis Campos was also part of this book circuit, which pushed the introduction of pedagogical innovations in Brazilian schools.

4.3 Pedagogical Innovation and Hybridisms

As previously mentioned, the teaching programs of the Teacher Training School/School of Education referenced works by foreign authors—here, we focus on Dewey and Kilpatrick—as well as their commentators and translators, such as Anísio Teixeira, Lourenço Filho, and Reis Campos. On the one hand, these Brazilian educators helped disseminate internationally emerging ideas and proposals associated with the new school, particularly in connection with TC. On the other hand, they also signaled reinterpretations and adaptations. To further explore this discussion, specifically regarding the project method, we once again turn to the book *Escola Moderna* to examine how Maria dos Reis Campos articulated her observations in writing. In doing so, we revisit the photograph included at the beginning of the previous section, depicting a group of children engaged in a school project at the Lincoln School.

For Reis Campos, the project method was most aligned with the goals of modern schooling, as it allowed school activities to function as a simulation of real life, encouraging children to actively engage in learning. It provided the opportunity to establish a structured plan and execute it with a clear purpose, fostering social cooperation skills and stimulating intellectual growth through concrete actions. She reiterates the opinion previously published in *Boletim*.

Unlike the centers of interest—which the author referred to as the Decroly method, in which activities stemmed “from observations and associations”—the project method was based on a “structured plan in which all studies and observations had a clearly defined goal from the outset, an ultimate purpose which is the supreme justification for all the work that follows.” Such a goal sparked interest and set the method apart as an innovation: “It generates needs, promotes initiative, and directs and motivates the efforts engaged in achieving it.”²⁸³

Reis Campos identified two common objections to the project method: the first concerned the time required for project development, while the second related to the difficulty of aligning the curriculum with project activities. Regarding the first critique, she articulated her understanding of the New School. She said:

As has already been said, the new school does not aim to *teach*; unlike the traditional school, it does not seek to enrich the students’ minds with as many deep and numerous pieces of knowledge as possible. Its purpose is to *educate*, not merely *instruct*. It does instruct, but only as a means to educating. What it aims to

²⁸² Silveira, “A Influência de Lourenço Filho,” 76.

²⁸³ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 200.

do is shape the student's mindset, equipping them with qualities for immediate application in their childhood life and later use in adulthood. The point is not the quantity of knowledge acquired but the sharpening of the mind through that knowledge.²⁸⁴

This passage revealed a threefold association. The most immediate was between the project method and the New School, a connection already present in the 1930 article. This association relied on two others established in the book's preface: the identification of the New School with modern school and the linkage between modern schools and American institutions. This convergence guided the reader back to the photograph of Lincoln School students, encapsulating the book's vision of pedagogical innovation.

As for the second objection, Reis Campos asserted that the challenge of implementing the curriculum within the project framework could be resolved through organization. She emphasized the teacher's autonomy in leveraging project opportunities to realign teaching programs. This emphasis on the teacher's creativity and initiative surfaced at various points in her writing and became the final element she integrated into the book's conclusion.

Following this discussion, she presented practical examples of the method's application, drawing from a 1929 experiment conducted in Rio de Janeiro, predating her visit to the United States. She referenced four projects: "A estação da estrada de ferro" [The Railroad Station], "A viagem" [The Trip], "O trem" [The Train], and "A cidade do Rio de Janeiro" [Rio de Janeiro City]. Thus, while she described the project method as the "quintessential representative of American teaching systems"²⁸⁵ and acknowledged John Dewey as the source of "the basic principles and general ideas that now govern new schools,"²⁸⁶ she remained focused on illustrating its use in Brazil.

This approach, though seemingly contradictory, served three purposes. First, it engaged readers—likely practicing teachers and students in teacher training institutions—by connecting the method to their local reality and fostering an affinity between project-based learning and teaching practices in Rio de Janeiro. Secondly, it conferred legitimacy to the narrative by showcasing the author's expertise in educational matters beyond national borders, positioning her within the international network promoting New Education. Finally, it circumvented concerns about excessive freedom, which had been perceived as problematic in the *Boletim* article and were reiterated in the book, as we will see later.

The understanding that modern education was fundamentally Anglo-Saxon necessitated its adaptation to Brazilian conditions, which, in turn, required a preliminary understanding of the national child and citizen. To define Brazilian characteristics, Reis Campos turned to Gustave Le Bon's *Psicologia da Educação* [Psychology of Education], from which she

²⁸⁴ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 201-202.

²⁸⁵ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 201-202.

²⁸⁶ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 219.

adopted the notion that “Latinos have very little sense of solidarity.” The statement made regarding France was also perceived as valid for Brazil. By intertwining Le Bon’s ideas with those of Dewey in *Psychology and Social Practice*, she concluded that “the modern Brazilian school must, above all, be a school of character,” oriented toward practical life.²⁸⁷ Only under this condition could it prepare citizens to act as agents in a democratic government. The project method, she argued, would serve this purpose.

Let us revisit the argument presented in the book to illustrate how the method was understood. The first finding is that the four projects were structured as articulated proposals. The study of the railroad led to the train project, which, in turn, was linked to the journey and, finally, to the geography of Rio de Janeiro. Being the foundation for the others, the first project was the most detailed. It was structured around motivational lectures, excursions, and hands-on activities, which, for Reis Campos, constituted the core of the learning methodology. Students were invited to build a train station, from designing the blueprint to furnishing and implementing it on-site. The concepts taught included arithmetic, geometry, social education, and hygiene. The project encouraged reading books and magazines, studying construction materials, solving real-world problems, and developing manual skills.

Once the station was completed, the second project—building the train—would begin. This new phase required knowledge of physical and natural sciences as well as arithmetic and geometry, and primarily involved constructing a train. The third project introduced geography and domestic education alongside the previously covered subjects and involved organizing and carrying out a train excursion, either departing from or arriving in Rio de Janeiro. This, in turn, led to the final project: the city of Rio de Janeiro. National history was incorporated as an additional area of study. The activities included not only mapping the city’s layout but also identifying historical monuments and figures, creating opportunities for dramatization exercises. Across all projects, the use of locally available materials, observation of the physical and social environment, and the enhancement of social skills such as solidarity and cooperation were encouraged.

Maria dos Reis Campos pointed out that, as recommendations from the 24th School District Inspectorate, these projects had not emerged spontaneously from student work but were initiated by teachers. They were intended to “integrate the curriculum into the project” and “guide and stimulate students’ interest and, consequently, their spontaneity.”²⁸⁸ However, when implemented in schools, the projects underwent adaptations, which she considered desirable. Notably, as a former school inspector, Reis Campos was reflecting on her own experience.

The idea of adaptation was reiterated in other passages of the book. In Chapter 9, when discussing modern school in Brazil, Maria dos Reis Campos emphasized that this type of

²⁸⁷ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 310.

²⁸⁸ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 205.

school was widespread in the United States, while in Europe, it was implemented to varying degrees. She went on to argue that the modern school is not a “one size fits all” model. On the contrary, it adapted to national particularities, representing the process of tailoring basic principles to “local social, political, racial, and economic conditions.”²⁸⁹

In this regard, the author asserted that the “New School is perfectly adaptable to the Brazilian context.”²⁹⁰ Beyond that, it was the model best suited to national interests. The key issue, then, was learning how to implement it, and for that, she identified three necessary conditions. The first was for teachers to internalize its principles, highlighting the need for reading and access to books on the subject; in short, teacher training. The second involved a gradual adaptation through a transitional phase, allowing for the identification of disadvantages and shortcomings and the necessary adjustments to teaching practices. The third concerned the curriculum, emphasizing the need to instill in Brazilians the values essential to democracy.

Within these general guidelines, the teacher’s observational skills would progressively uncover the most suitable didactic strategies for their work, ultimately leading to the establishment of norms that fully embodied the desired adaptation. This would constitute more than a modern school but a distinctly Brazilian modern school.²⁹¹

Maria dos Reis Campos concluded the book with this final paragraph, encapsulating her commitment to adaptation. However, it is important to recall the premise stated in the book’s preface: while multiple models of modern schools existed, she was referring to a specific one—the New School. Yet, this New School, despite its foundational principles, manifested differently in each country, shaped by the interpretations and practical implementations aligned with each nation’s unique characteristics.

4.4 Final Comments

By examining the travels of educators and the circulation of books, we aim to contribute to a transnational history—one that reinterprets the familiar as otherness and prompts reflections on the national in relation to the international. In other words, we seek to engage with different scales of analysis and navigate between geographic, social, and epistemological territories.

In the first section, we focus on the movement of individuals, analyzing visits, interactions, and readings of society, such as educators’ assessments of women’s roles in the United States. In the second, we explore the circulation of books and authors, centering on two key institutions: TC in New York and the Teacher Training School/School of Education in Rio de Janeiro. Finally, through an in-depth examination of *Escola Moderna* by Maria dos

²⁸⁹ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 290.

²⁹⁰ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 312.

²⁹¹ Campos, *Escola Moderna*, 313.

Reis Campos, we seek to explore how its ideas were appropriated. The project method remained central to the argument, just as it had in her 1930 article.

Through this process, we aim to highlight the networks and connections that shaped the international dissemination of the New Education. Our goal is to uncover the ties between Brazilian and American educators in the formation of transnational circuits of pedagogical innovation.

5. Anísio Teixeira and UNESCO: Fragments of a Long Collaboration²⁹²

In 1946, Anísio Teixeira was invited by Julian Huxley to join the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as an Adviser to the Education Section,²⁹³ which was part of the Preparatory Commission for the First General Assembly, held later that year in Paris. This episode is well known in Brazilian educational historiography and aligns with other references to Teixeira's travels abroad, such as his visit to Europe in 1925, his time in the United States in 1927, his stay at Teachers College, Columbia University between 1928 and 1929—where he earned a Master of Arts degree—and his tenure as a professor at American universities in the 1960s, previously mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4.

These experiences are key elements of his professional trajectory, shedding light on the formation of his educational thought and reinforcing his international prominence, which, in turn, underscores his significance for Brazilian education. Overall, Teixeira's international mobility does not appear within the framework of a transnational history of Education, in which network circuits provide clues to how the educational arena took shape, weaving together national and international initiatives in mutual enrichment.

Based on this perspective, we approach the relationship between Anísio Teixeira and UNESCO, filling a historiographical gap. To do so, we begin by analyzing the circumstances that led to the invitation. Why, among the many Brazilian educators, was Anísio chosen to join UNESCO? What paths brought Teixeira and Julian Huxley together? Next, we aim to detail, as much as possible, the activities he engaged in within the organization from his entry on July 15, 1946, to his departure on February 15, 1947. In the

²⁹²This chapter combines excerpts from two co-authored texts written by Diana Gonçalves Vidal. They are: Maria Rita de Almeida Toledo and Diana Gonçalves Vidal, "Plantar, traduzir, minerar: Anísio Teixeira (1935-1947)," *Educação em Revista* 40 (2024): e51238; Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Bruno Bontempi Júnior, *Faculdade de Educação: Uma História de Compromisso com a Formação Docente na USP* (Edusp, 2024). It was fomented by FAPESP, Brazil, Case No. 2018/26699-4.

²⁹³ Cury, "Anísio Teixeira (1900-1971)."

third section, we explore the repercussions of his UNESCO connections for the initiatives he led upon his return to Brazil.

Biographical immersion is not our goal. Conversely, we propose taking Anísio as a hub, from which we aim to map the configuration of networks, connecting individuals and institutions. As we highlighted in the introduction of this book, in network theory, hubs are “attractive nodes” with the potential to disseminate trends and information, possessing numerous personal contacts and the ability to influence connections. Hubs can refer to individuals, groups, corporations, or any type of collective entity.²⁹⁴ However, in network dynamics, that which is considered a hub may also appear merely as a node, depending on the shift in the analytical perspective. Thus, shifting between the roles of a node and a hub, Anísio Teixeira serves as a focal point in our exploration of interconnections within the educational field.

We draw on previously unpublished sources from the UNESCO Archives in Paris, specifically the Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com) files from 1945–1946, and Anísio Teixeira’s Personal Dossier (DPAT). These are supplemented by documents from the Anísio Teixeira Collection (AT-CPDOC) at the Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, Fundação Getúlio Vargas [Center for Research and Documentation of Contemporary History of Brazil, Getúlio Vargas Foundation – CPDOC-FGV], and the Fernando de Azevedo Collection (FA-IEB) at the Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo [Institute of Brazilian Studies, University of São Paulo – IEB-USP], which holds a valuable collection of letters sent by Teixeira to Azevedo between 1929 and 1971.

5.1 The Invitation

The invitation to join UNESCO came in through a letter written by Julian Huxley in New York, dated June 12, 1946.²⁹⁵ Although Anísio was also in the city that day, Huxley was leaving for London, requiring an in-person meeting to be postponed. Through this letter, we learn that, as executive secretary of UNESCO’s Preparatory Commission, Huxley invited Teixeira to serve as an education advisor and assist the Education Section in drafting the report or agenda for UNESCO’s First Conference. The contract was

²⁹⁴ Barabási, *Linked*.

²⁹⁵ Prep.Com, accessed February 18, 2025, at http://www.bvAnisioteixeira.ufba.br/Visita_Guiada/p5a212.htm. Both the UNESCO Archives’ Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com) collection (1945–1946) and the Anísio Teixeira Personal Dossier remain unorganized. The Prep.Com archives take over nine linear meters of shelving, spanning 15 volumes and 17 boxes, whereas the documents in the Anísio Teixeira Personal Dossier are contained in a single folder. Neither collection follows a specific classification system or chronological order. Thus, references here will be cited as either Prep.Com or DPAT, depending on whether they pertain to the Preparatory Commission or the Anísio Teixeira’s Personal Dossier. For more on the Prep.Com collection refer “Archive Group AG 03 – Preparatory Commission for UNESCO”, UNESCO Archives AtOM Catalogue. Accessed February 18, 2025. <https://atom.archives.unesco.org/ag-3-preparatory-commission-of-unesco-prep-com>.

temporary, starting on July 1 and extending until the end of the year, with the first month serving as a probationary period. Anísio was to work under the supervision of Kuo Yu-Shou, with an annual salary of £1,500, plus a housing allowance of £1.10 per day.²⁹⁶

The following day, Anísio responded by telegram, expressing his astonishment, his readiness to serve UNESCO under Huxley's leadership, and the unexpected nature of the invitation. He requested a few days to consider the proposal, which he accepted in a letter dated June 19. Teixeira officially assumed his position at UNESCO on July 15. Difficulties in purchasing tickets, obtaining travel permits, and securing a visa delayed his arrival in London and his installation at his office on Belgrave Square, No. 46-47. To expedite the process, Howard Wilson, assistant executive secretary, contacted Brazil's ambassador in London, George Alvares Maciel, requesting the Passport Department in Rio de Janeiro to speed up the procedures.²⁹⁷ On July 22, 1946, Anísio, using UNESCO letterhead and signing as an advisor to the Education Section, formally reiterated his acceptance to Huxley.²⁹⁸

What paths led Julian Huxley to consider Anísio Teixeira's name? In the invitation letter, he stated, "Everyone has assured me that you would be the best possible person we could obtain from Latin America for the Education Section."²⁹⁹ To whom was he referring? A carbon copy of a possible telegram from Huxley to [Howard] Wilson read, "no foundation whatever for suggestion de Filho or Dantas. STOP Only Brazilian approached or desired is Teixeira. STOP Most anxious to obtain him."³⁰⁰ The reference to Filho seems to point to M. B. Lourenço Filho. The mention of Dantas is even more uncertain. It might refer to Francisco Clementino San Tiago Dantas, who at the time was a visiting professor at the Faculty of Law of Paris.³⁰¹ The fact that Huxley dismissed two other names and stated that

²⁹⁶ According to *Revista do Empresário* III, no. 14 (1947): 88 (1946), the exchange rate for the pound fluctuated between Cr\$77.33 (on January 3) and Cr\$74.555 (on December 31). During the same period, the dollar ranged Cr\$19.60 to Cr\$18.50. This means that the proposed compensation amounted to approximately Cr\$55,000.00 for six months, plus a daily allowance of about Cr\$83.00, totaling roughly Cr\$11,700.00 per month. For comparison, under Decree-Law No. 5,977 of November 10, 1943, the minimum wage in Brazil was set at Cr\$380.00 per month for a period of three years. In other words, the contract equated to a monthly income of approximately 30 minimum wages. UNESCO Archives, Anísio Teixeira's Personal Dossier. (cf. <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1940-1949/decreto-lei-5977-10-novembro-1943-416056-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html#:~:text=Altera%20a%20tabela%20do%20sal%C3%A1rio%20m%C3%ADnimo%2C%20e%20d%C3%A1%20outras%20provid%C3%AAsncias>. Accessed February 22, 2025.)

²⁹⁷ On September 16, UNESCO's offices were relocated to Paris, with staff housed at the Hotel Majestic on Avenue Kléber, No. 19. UNESCO Archives, Anísio Teixeira's Personal Dossier.

²⁹⁸ UNESCO Archives, Anísio Teixeira's Personal Dossier.

²⁹⁹ UNESCO Archives, Anísio Teixeira's Personal Dossier.

³⁰⁰ UNESCO Archives, Anísio Teixeira's Personal Dossier.

³⁰¹ For more on San Tiago Dantas's trajectory, see "Francisco Clementino de San Tiago Dantas", FGV CPDOC, accessed on February 18, 2025, at <https://www18.fgv.br/CPDOC/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/francisco-clementino-de-san-tiago-dantas>.

“the only Brazilian desired is Teixeira,” adding that he was “most anxious to obtain him,” suggests that the decision was carefully considered.

Five years earlier, in 1941, Huxley’s book *Os Fenômenos da Vida* [Essays in Popular Science] was published by Companhia Editora Nacional as part of the *Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno* [Modern Spirit Library, BEM], with translation by Octávio Domingues.³⁰² At the time, Anísio Teixeira was overseeing the collection at the publishing house. However, the interest in Teixeira does not seem to have stemmed from business relations between the two but rather from an intellectual network in which both were, in some way, involved.

The first thread to pull in the attempt to map this network is Huxley himself. Born in London in 1887, he pursued a career in biology and earned a PhD in sciences from the University of Oxford. His professional path took him to Germany, the United States, the Belgian Congo, and the Soviet Union. He worked at the Rice Institute in Texas (1912–1916); the New College of Oxford (1919–1925); the King’s College (1925–1927); and the Royal Institution (1927–1931). In 1927 and 1929, he stepped away from academia to co-author *The Science of Life* with G. P. and H. G. Wells, originally published in three volumes in 1931, 1934, and 1937 by the Waverley Publishing Company. From 1931 onward, he left the university setting to focus on writing books and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1938. During World War II, he was part of the Brain Trust of the British Broadcasting Corporation.³⁰³

In the fall of 1941, he received an invitation from the Rockefeller Foundation to deliver lectures in the United States. In addition to visiting universities, the proposal included discussing how England did not stop conducting business during times of armed conflict. Initially planned for six weeks, the stay was extended until May 1942 due to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the subsequent entry of the U.S. into the war. As a result, Huxley remained in New York longer than expected.³⁰⁴

In 1944 Ellen Wilkinson, then parliamentary secretary and in 1945 Minister of Education, and John Maud of the newly formed Ministry of Reconstruction persuaded Huxley to become the secretary of CAME, the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, which led to the creation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).³⁰⁵

³⁰² For more on Companhia Editora Nacional and its collections, see Maria Rita de Almeida Toledo, “Coleções autorais, tradução e circulação: ensaios sobre a geografia cultural da edição (1930-1980)” (Associate professorship thesis, Unifesp, 2013).

³⁰³ Chloé Maurel. “Huxley, Sir Julian Sorell”, in *Biographical Dictionary of Secretaries General of International Organizations Nijmegen*, edited by B. Reinalda; Kent Kille; Jaci Eisenberg (Radboud University, 2012). Accessed February 18, 2025; www.ru.nl/fm/iobio.

³⁰⁴ Julian Huxley, *Memories* (Harper & Row Publishers, 1970), 256-261.

³⁰⁵ Chloé Maurel. “Huxley, Sir Julian Sorell (Radboud University, 2012).

In this brief account, the most immediate connection between Teixeira and Huxley appears to be the British writer H. G. Wells. The BEM published no fewer than six of his works: *The Outline of History* (three volumes) (1939); *The Shape of Things to Come* (1939); *The Fate of Homo Sapiens* (1941); and *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind* (1943). *The Fate of Homo Sapiens* and *The Shape of Things to Come* were translated by Monteiro Lobato. However, it was Anísio who translated *The Outline of History* and *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind* into Portuguese. An indication of the connection between Wells, Huxley, and Teixeira emerges in a letter from Anísio to George Counts, in which he mentions being in London in 1946, around the time of Wells's passing on August 13. He recounts hearing from a mutual friend about the British writer's despair in his final months.³⁰⁶ By that time, Teixeira was already working for UNESCO, but the reference to a mutual friend suggests an intertwining of the three figures in our narrative.

Another noteworthy aspect is that the 1941 trip to the U.S. was made at the invitation of the Rockefeller Foundation, and the stay in New York lasted longer than expected. Both circumstances facilitated contact with Columbia University. Even though Huxley did not mention any visits to the university in this excerpt from his memoirs, it is impossible to overlook the friendships he formed during his time at the Rice Institute between 1912 and 1916.³⁰⁷ We must also not downplay the significance of the Rockefeller Foundation in supporting the International Institute of Education at Teachers College from 1923 to 1938, as well as its role in facilitating the exchange of foreign students at the institution.³⁰⁸ Perhaps Huxley met Stephen Duggan, director of the IIE, during this time. In a letter dated April 29, 1946, congratulating Huxley on his appointment as secretary of the Preparatory Commission, Duggan recalled that he "had the privilege of meeting [him] some years prior."³⁰⁹ Lastly, it is worth noting that Anísio was part of the select group of educators who attended Teachers College between 1928 and 1929 with support from IIE (Macy Student Fund). The connections become more fluid here but point to Huxley and Teixeira circulating within the same academic community over a span of 30 years.

Returning to BEM's published titles may provide further clues for identifying this international network. Two elements justify this approach. The first concerns the very purpose of the publishing endeavor. In a letter to Monteiro Lobato dated January 21, 1936, Anísio distinguished his curatorial work at BEM from that of his friend Fernando de Azevedo at the Companhia Editora Nacional, which he considered "very interesting, but somewhat domestic, lacking an international horizon."³¹⁰ The second, as noted by Silvia

³⁰⁶ "Arquivo Anísio Texeira", Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil. Accessed February 20, 2025.
https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&hf=www18.fgv.br&pagfis=9410.

³⁰⁷ Huxley, *Memoirs*, 90-95.

³⁰⁸ Cremin et al., *A History of Teachers College*.

³⁰⁹ UNESCO Archives, Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946.

³¹⁰ "Arquivo Anísio Texeira".

Fonseca,³¹¹ refers to the importance of American literature in the collection, owing to Lobato and Teixeira's appreciation for the United States and their admiration for the country's democratic culture.

The issue takes shape when we analyze the nine titles published in the philosophy series in the first phase between 1939 and 1943. The first three works, *The Story of Philosophy* (1938), *The Mansions of Philosophy* (1938), and *Great Men of Literature* (1939), are written by American William James Durant. From the U.S., we also have James Harvey Robinson, author of *The Mind in the Making* (1940), and William James, *The Philosophy of William James* (1943). Also participating in the series are the Englishmen Bertrand Russell, author of *Education and the Good Life* (1941), and John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (1942). *Humanisme Intégral* [Integral Humanism] (1941) by Jacques Maritain from France and *Espanha – Uma Filosofia de Sua História* [Spain – A Philosophy of Its History] (1943) by Fidelino de Sousa de Figueiredo from Portugal complete the list. It is worth noting, aside from authors' nationalities, that three of these seven authors—Durant, Robinson, and Maritain—were professors at Columbia University. Russell was a professor at the University of California, and Fidelino Figueiredo at Berkley.

The prevalence of American and British authors in the series during this period, as in BEM's publications more broadly, was not merely a reflection of the founders' preferences, as one might assume. Rather, it was influenced by the geopolitical shifts in Europe after 1933 that ultimately led to the outbreak of World War II in 1939. The example of the NEF, discussed in Chapter 1, is particularly relevant. The transformation of the global geopolitical landscape coincided with—and was influenced by—the consolidation of Anglo-Saxon literature in academia, particularly in the field of education. This is closely linked to the role of Teachers College, Columbia University, as a model for teacher training to the Institute of Education in Rio de Janeiro, as explored in Chapter 4.

Both NEF and TC played a role in shaping UNESCO and the networks that emerged around it. According to Joseph Watras,³¹² several groups participated in the organization's creation, with the author particularly highlighting NEF's involvement in UNESCO's fundamental education program by bringing into play figures associated with the TC and the Institute of Education at the University of London, among other institutions, expanding the network of actors in which Julian Huxley and Anísio Teixeira operated.

One final thread to pull is Paulo Carneiro. On March 31, 1947, when it became clear that Anísio would not be returning to UNESCO, Huxley wrote to Carneiro, requesting the recommendation of another “really good Brazilian candidate for a post in the

³¹¹ Silvia Asam da Fonseca, “A Coleção Bibliotheca do Espírito Moderno: Um Projeto para Alimentar Espíritos da Companhia Editora Nacional (1938-1977)” (PhD dissertation, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2010), 37-38.

³¹² Watras, “The New Education Fellowship.”

Organization.”³¹³ The episode corroborates Vianna Filho’s statement³¹⁴ that the invitation to collaborate with the organization came at Carneiro’s suggestion. Trained in industrial chemistry at the Polytechnic School of Rio de Janeiro, Carneiro received a scholarship to pursue his doctorate at the Sorbonne, in Paris. He returned to Brazil in 1932, then went back to France in 1938, where he served as a technical assistant at the Brazilian Office of Propaganda and Commercial Expansion until 1944, later becoming its deputy director.³¹⁵ Following the liberation of France, he returned to Brazil but soon headed back to Paris in 1945 to resume his work. Shortly after, he was invited to join the Brazilian delegation to the United Nations Conference in London. “In 1946, he was chosen as the Brazilian delegate to the first United Nations General Assembly.”³¹⁶ That same year, he was

Invited by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, João Neves Fontoura, to become a permanent delegate of Brazil with UNESCO, a position he held until 1958, later acting as Ambassador until 1965. A year after the coup that ousted João Goulart, Paulo Carneiro was removed from his position at UNESCO. Immediately, UNESCO appointed him to its Executive Board, a role he held for 28 years—the longest tenure of any member—allowing him to continue participating in subsequent General Conferences even after Brazil’s official delegation had been disbanded.³¹⁷

Both Julian Huxley and Paulo Carneiro participated in the early meetings that led to the establishment of UNESCO. According to Danielle Burigo,³¹⁸ it was Carneiro himself who, in conversations with Joseph Needham and Huxley, proposed including the sciences in the new organization’s mandate. It is also worth noting that Paulo Carneiro was among the intellectuals linked to ABE in its early years.³¹⁹ He also stayed in Rio de Janeiro between 1932 and 1938, during the period when Anísio Teixeira led the city’s public education reform (1931–1935) and was actively engaged in ABE’s initiatives. Among the reforms implemented by Teixeira was the establishment of the University of the Federal District in 1935, discussed in Chapter 4. This may have been the catalyst for Anísio’s invitation to take on the work related to higher education in UNESCO’s Education Section.

Fluent in English, having attended TC for two years and spearheaded a significant educational reform in Brazil’s capital, and having held the esteemed position of curator for the Biblioteca Espírito Moderno at Companhia Editora Nacional while promoting a network

³¹³ Luis Vianna Filho. *Anísio Teixeira. A polêmica da educação* (Editora Nova Fronteira, 1990).

³¹⁴ Luis Vianna Filho. *Anísio Teixeira*.

³¹⁵ Marcos Chor Maio, “Biobibliografia: Trajetória e Produção Intelectual de Paulo Carneiro,” in *Ciência, Política e Relações Internacionais: Ensaio sobre Paulo Carneiro*, org. Marcos Chor Maio, 308-321 (Fiocruz, 2004), 312-313.

³¹⁶ Danielli Cristina Burigo, “Paulo Carneiro: Legados de um Brasileiro na UNESCO” (Specialization article, Universidade de Brasília, 2020), 14.

³¹⁷ Burigo, “Paulo Carneiro,” 17.

³¹⁸ Burigo, “Paulo Carneiro,” 17-18.

³¹⁹ “Breve histórico,” Associação Brasileira de Educação. Accessed February 18, 2025. <https://www.abe1924.org.br/quem-somos>.

of translations from English into Portuguese, Anísio Teixeira accumulated numerous credentials that made him well known among the key figures of the new geopolitical axis that emerged following the end of the world war. The United States and its ally, the United Kingdom, were taking on the task of rebuilding the world, an agenda in which education was a cornerstone, addressed through the creation of UNESCO in 1946.

At the same time, the international recognition afforded by Huxley's invitation gave Teixeira the opportunity to return to the Brazilian education scene with great prestige, following his forced departure due to political persecution under Getúlio Vargas's New State dictatorship (1937–1945). A significant expression of support came from the University Council of the University of Brazil, which sent a letter to Huxley on July 12, 1946, in which Dean Ignácio Azevedo do Amaral expressed "the satisfaction and honor" with which the council welcomed the Brazilian's nomination for a position at UNESCO. A similar response came in the form of a telegram from Raul Jobim Bitencourt, president of ABE, congratulating the committee on its selection of Anísio.³²⁰

5.2 The Work

In a handwritten document—a possible draft of the invitation letter sent to Anísio—Huxley indicated that the educator would be responsible for the subject of higher education, joining the work of the Preparatory Commission. This commission included, in addition to Kuo Yu-Shou (China) as senior advisor, Ravnholt (Denmark) for adult education; Elena Torres (Mexico) for primary and mass education; Lawverys (England) as general consultant; and, possibly, Guiton (France) for secondary education.³²¹ Staff Circular No. 60, dated October 30, 1946, outlined the composition of the team: Kuo Yu-Shou, G. Cowan, X. E. Gabriel, M. J. Guiton, H. Holmes, Leonard Kenworthy, Henning Ravnholt, S. Souilly, Anísio Teixeira, and Elena Torres.

The Preparatory Commission's primary tasks were as follows:

[...] to convoke the first session of the General Conference; to prepare the provisional agenda for the first session and prepare documents and recommendations relating to the agenda; to make studies and prepare recommendations concerning the programme and budget; and to provide without delay for immediate action on urgent needs of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries.³²²

The scope of the Education Section was outlined in a lengthy memorandum sent by Howard Wilson to Kuo Yu-Shou on April 1, 1946, detailing its specific objectives, work

³²⁰ UNESCO Archives, Anísio Teixeira's Personal Dossier.

³²¹ UNESCO Archives, Anísio Teixeira's Personal Dossier.

³²² "Preparatory Commission for UNESCO", UNESCO Archives AtoM Catalogue, accessed February 18, 2025, at <https://atom.archives.unesco.org/preparatory-commission-of-unesco>.

schedule, urgent tasks, and the team structure expected. In short, about the first element Wilson said:

To summarize all this: the scope of your section is broad and long, and the programme to be envisioned for the future must be extremely flexible and comprehensive. We cannot afford to ignore any level or aspect or agency of education in conceiving the overall pattern for Unesco. At the same time, we must be highly practical and far-sighting in choosing a few aspects of this total area for immediate attack. These selected aspects should be (a) of immediate and obvious educational consequence, and (b) of importance as affording Unesco opportunity for successful growth in the right direction.³²³

The idea was to embrace education throughout life, or, as Wilson phrased it, “from the cradle to the grave,” across all areas of knowledge. The section was expected to collaborate with other divisions, including: humanities and philosophy; arts; social sciences; natural sciences; museums and libraries; and mass communication media. Rather than establishing a universal minimum standard for education, the goal was to understand how education was practiced in different countries and to provide examples of the best educational practices. Wilson also suggested several action lines: reducing illiteracy and promoting mass education through visual and auditory resources; health and hygiene education; vocational education—not limited to professional training but aimed at bridging the gap between vocation and culture, fostering what he called “liberal education”; and civic education for “the world,” which would include “education for international respect and understanding.”

The document also outlined the section’s specific objectives, which were: (1) drafting a 25- to 30-page outline of UNESCO’s action program, detailing the initiatives to be launched immediately and their expected development over the next five years; and (2) preparing an in-depth discussion of a selected topic—such as illiteracy—for consideration at the First General Assembly. This issue was to be discussed at the Preparatory Commission meeting scheduled for July. The first item was expected to be ready for printing by September. Regarding the second, it was scheduled to be refined during a meeting in August or September and ready by October 1, so it could be released ahead of the First Assembly in November 1946.

Wilson proposed two courses of action to advance these objectives. First, summarize all the suggestions received to date from governments, organizations, and individuals, compiling the most comprehensive list possible. Second, initiating a process of gathering additional input by sending: (1) a questionnaire to the ministers of education; (2) inquiry letters to organizations and agencies; and (3) personal letters to experts from around the world.³²⁴

³²³ UNESCO Archives, Fundo Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946.

³²⁴ All referenced information regarding the memorandum is available in Prep.Com.

Although Howard Wilson insisted on qualifying the terms of the memorandum as his own conception of what the Education Section's program should be—thus subject to modifications based on proposals from Kuo Yu-Shou—the inquiries were effectively carried out. On May 29, an official letter signed by Kuo and Wilson was sent to organizations, inquiring about their characteristics and asking how UNESCO could support their work. It also requested suggestions for the general program of the Education Section. The letter was accompanied by a long list of more than fifty organizations.³²⁵

The subject of literacy was reframed as basic education. On June 12, in a letter addressed to James Yen (China), Margaret Read (United Kingdom), Ismail el Kabbani (United States), R. M. Chetsingh (India), Frank Laubach (United States), B. H. Easter (Jamaica), Thomas Jesse Jones (United States), C. K. Ogden (United Kingdom), Margaret Mead (United States), I. A. Richards (United States), Labouret (France), Rheinallt Jones (South Africa), Lucas Ortiz (Mexico), and Nieto Caballero (Colombia), Kuo requested these specialists' participation in a survey that would serve as the basis for the report to be presented to the Preparatory Commission and, later, published in both English and French. Kuo requested that responses be submitted by July 26 at the latest and offered a compensation of "25 guineas" for the manuscript's copyright.³²⁶ The Prep.Com archives contain the responses sent by the educators, showcasing the extensive circulation of ideas and exchanges among participants.

It was within this network that Anísio established himself, beginning on July 15, 1946, when he joined UNESCO's Education Section. In addition to engaging with institutions and individuals, Teixeira was part of the broad Preparatory Commission which, by October, included a team of 167 members, in addition to representatives from each of the forty-three countries that had signed the instrument adopted by the 1945 London Conference to establish UNESCO.³²⁷

During his six-month tenure at the organization, Teixeira had the opportunity to interact—both in person and through correspondence—with educators from all around the world. On the cover of the dossier tracking folder, Teixeira's name appears among those who handled the "Requests to Educationalists and Educational Organizations Reports" dossier. He was entrusted the folder on August 28, 1946, and kept it until October 10.³²⁸ Another dossier, which he accessed on October 5, 1946, was titled "Education – Soviet Union – Handbook for Entrants to the Higher Educational Establishments of U.S.S.R (1944-45)," and was a publication on the topic.³²⁹ While the latter reference is incidental, the former highlights Teixeira's involvement in the inquiries conducted by the Preparatory

³²⁵ UNESCO Archives, Fundo Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946.

³²⁶ UNESCO Archives, Fundo Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946.

³²⁷ UNESCO Archives, Fundo Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946.

³²⁸ UNESCO Archives, Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946.

³²⁹ UNESCO Archives, Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946.

Commission, which substantiated the proposals presented by the Education Section to the General Assembly.

Finally, between November 20 and December 10, 1946, the First General Conference Assembly took place in Paris. The Education Section submitted the following proposals for discussion:

1. Enquiry concerning education as a means of fostering international understandings;
2. International relations clubs;
3. Reconstruction fields in some devastated countries;
4. Conferences on adult education;
5. Conference on international relations and training for international careers;
6. International education summer courses;
7. Revision of school textbooks;
8. Basic education of the Programme;
9. Liaison committee on education for health;
10. Conference on the problems of selection and orientation;
11. Committee of educational statistics; and studies on disabled children.

He also listed five areas of permanent interest for which no project had yet been formulated, namely: the improvement of educational methods; vocational training and general education; teacher training; science education, and arts education. Regarding the second domain, he noted that collaboration with the International Labour Organization was planned.³³⁰

5.3 Return to Brazil and Continued Contacts

The mandate of the Preparatory Commission expired on December 6, upon the election of the Director-General. However, its staff continued to work as UNESCO's secretaries.³³¹ In this capacity, Anísio left France on January 25, 1947, to enjoy his vacations in Brazil. At the time, he was still reflecting on his future with the organization. His journey included a stop in New York, where he traveled with his wife, Emília Ferreira Teixeira. Anísio expressed his hesitation in a letter dated January 29, 1947, written aboard the *Queen Elizabeth* and addressed to Monteiro Lobato:

UNESCO is both a belated and premature endeavor—this is its fundamental contradiction. It is belated because the world had long called for an intellectual

³³⁰ UNESCO Archives, Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946.

³³¹ UNESCO Archives, Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946.

center to unify its experience and guide its progress. [...] Instead of UNESCO, however, we had nationalistic science and intelligence, taken to the final apoplectic extremes of Hitlerism. [...] But with victory—what irony!—humanity fell back to its old divisions. Within those divisions, UNESCO itself became something highly premature.

Governments took one path, and Huxley another. I am sending you Huxley's introduction to UNESCO's work. It is splendid. But it represents his personal thinking, and the government officials—the ones truly in charge—did not approve of it. They merely allowed its publication as Huxley's personal contribution, not as the official statement of UNESCO's Director-General. If Wells were still alive, I believe he would look down upon the small and feeble UNESCO we are building. [...] It is dreadful to think such thoughts, and even more dreadful to contribute to a doomed enterprise.³³²

Despite his skepticism, Anísio confessed to being inspired by Lobato's enthusiasm in a letter received before his departure from France and stated: "I am returning to UNESCO for a new experience." He had abandoned his plans to continue his journey. He would return to Paris from New York after concluding the SIMEL business that had brought him to the United States. However, he later reconsidered this decision for two reasons: family and financial matters. On February 13, 1947, Anísio wrote to Lobato:

The letter I sent you was written on board. I was in a state of perfect impartiality and had reached those conclusions. In New York, I set foot on land. And I realized my steps were not as light as I had thought while at sea—five 'stone slabs' held me to the ground: my wife and four children. My decisions faltered. I telegraphed UNESCO, informing them that my return was impossible, and now I await their response.

It's a pity. It's sad. But what can I do?³³³

His ventures in cement and plaster were thriving, and he had also embarked on new initiatives involving manganese and chromium research. "It was with these projects in mind that I decided to return to Brazil, resigning from UNESCO," Anísio recalled in a letter to his brother, Nelson Spíndola, dated November 3, 1947.³³⁴ In the same letter, he stated: "Dr. Octávio Mangabeira met me in Belém. I could not resist the call to return to 'civic' life, and my business projects took the toll." Indeed, Teixeira joined the Bahian government as Secretary of Education and Health between 1947 and 1951, remaining only partially involved in SIMEL's business ventures.

³³² Anísio Teixeira para José Bento Monteiro Lobato, January 29, 1947. In the text, the name "Hugley" appears, with an "x" typed over the "g" to correct the spelling.

³³³ Anísio Teixeira to José Bento Monteiro Lobato, February 13, 1947.

³³⁴ Anísio Teixeira to Nelson Spínola Teixeira, November 3, 1947.

Anísio submitted his resignation to UNESCO on February 15. Upon receiving it, in a letter dated February 28, Huxley urged him to reconsider and remain in his position at least until the end of the year, but the educator ruled out any possibility of resuming his duties at UNESCO through a telegram sent on March 17. Huxley responded on April 3, expressing regret over Anísio's decision and stating his intention to maintain contact with him as a (voluntary) consultant, continuing their collaboration.³³⁵ Further attempts were indeed made to formally reintegrate Teixeira into UNESCO.

On May 28, 1948, a telegram offered him the position of Head of the Education Section, with an annual pay of US\$ 7,450, plus a US\$ 2,000 annual housing allowance and full coverage of transportation expenses for both him and his dependents. The missive was sent after Julian Huxley had received a letter from Paulo Carneiro, in which the latter assured him that the Brazilian government welcomed Anísio's nomination for the position.

In a telegram dated June 24, 1948, addressed to Samuel Selsky, the acting head of personnel, Anísio informed that he had been unable to obtain permission from the Government of Bahia to dedicate himself to UNESCO, and requested that his apologies be conveyed to Huxley. That same day, in a letter to Huxley, Paulo Carneiro reported that Teixeira was unable to leave his position at the Bahia State Department of Education and Health, despite having previously announced that the educator would arrive in Paris on July 1 to begin his work with the organization. The exchange of letters and the conflicting information reveal Teixeira's hesitation in considering the new offer.

The proposed salary was significantly higher than that of a consultant. However, commitments to the Bahian government and family obligations weighed heavily on his decision. As he confided to Fernando de Azevedo in a letter dated July 22, 1948, written on official letterhead from the Bahia State Department of Education and Health, Anísio wrote:

I did not return to UNESCO after all. A vague yet profound sense of duty kept me here, perhaps even for self-sacrifice, but I could not overcome it... We owe Brazil, at the very least, our presence [emphasis in the original].³³⁶

In 1953, Teixeira was once again invited to assume the position of Head of the Division of School Education Extension,³³⁷ based in Paris. A month later, on September 21, Anísio wrote to express his gratitude for the invitation and to inform them that he was currently serving as Director of the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (INEP). However, he requested that, should another opportunity arise, they contact him again in March or April 1954.³³⁸ On July 22, 1954, another letter sent to Teixeira offered him the position of

³³⁵ UNESCO Archives, Anísio Teixeira's Personal Dossier.

³³⁶ Diana Gonçalves Vidal, *Na Batalha da Educação: Correspondência entre Anísio Teixeira e Fernando de Azevedo (1929-1971)* (Edusf, 2000), 37.

³³⁷ B.W. Pringle, Office of Personnel and Administration, dated August 21, 1953, PEM/APS/IA/1222. DPAT.

³³⁸ UNESCO Archives, Anísio Teixeira's Personal Dossier.

Associate Head of the Regional Office for the Western Hemisphere in Havana, with the responsibility of significantly expanding UNESCO's program in Latin America and the Caribbean.³³⁹ Once again, the educator declined the offer. By late 1953, he had organized the Centro de Documentação Pedagógica [Pedagogical Documentation Center], which would later lead to the creation of the Centros Brasileiro e Regionais de Pesquisas Educacionais [Brazilian and Regional Educational Research Centers] in December 1955.³⁴⁰

Although Teixeira never again held an official position at UNESCO, he maintained a strong relationship with the organization. According to Marcos Cezar de Freitas,³⁴¹ UNESCO played a “fundamental role in the reformulation of social sciences and educational research in Brazil.” He identified two key moments: the first in 1949, under Arthur Ramos, and the second beginning in 1952, when Teixeira—now leading INEP—strengthened ties with UNESCO specialists, particularly Charles Wagley, Jacques Lambert, Otto Klineberg, Andrew Pearse, and Bertram Hutchinson. It implied the continuation of collaborations already initiated during Teixeira's tenure at the Secretaria Geral da Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Ciência [General Department for the Development of Science] in Bahia, as Teixeira stated in a letter to Fernando de Azevedo, dated May 18, 1951, that he had “an ongoing social research on communities under the direction of Prof. Charles Wagley of Columbia, [...] [as well as] an inquiry into interracial relations, in partnership with UNESCO.”³⁴²

Indeed, William Beatty, director of UNESCO's Department of Education, visited Brazil in September 1952 to assess the feasibility of establishing a Latin American center for “training rural educators and specialists in basic education.”³⁴³ Finding no institution suited to host such an initiative, he accepted Anísio Teixeira's proposal to conduct a large-scale survey on the country's educational landscape, carried out in collaboration between Brazilian and UNESCO experts. Among the contributors were Paulo Carneiro, Charles Wagley, and Carlos Delgado de Carvalho.

According to Marcia Ferreira, by 1953, the proposal had evolved into “the creation of a permanent institution, provisionally named ‘Centro de Altos Estudos Educacionais’ [Center for Advanced Educational Studies].” In 1954, William Carter, head of UNESCO's Exchange of Persons Programme, traveled to Brazil “to coordinate the arrival of foreign

³³⁹ B.W. Pringle, Office of Personnel and Administration, dated July 22, 1954, PEM/APS/IA/1818. DPAT.

³⁴⁰ Marcia dos Santos Ferreira, “O Centro Regional de Pesquisas Educacionais de São Paulo (1956-1961)” (Master's degree thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2001), 20.

³⁴¹ Marcos C. de Freitas. Da idéia de regional no projeto do Centro Regional de Pesquisas educacionais de São Paulo. Itinerários intelectuais e outros ensaios (Post-doctoral research report, São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo, 1999), 24-24.

³⁴² Vidal, *Na Batalha da Educação*, 45.

³⁴³ Marcia dos Santos Ferreira, “O Centro Regional de Pesquisas Educacionais de São Paulo (1956-1961)” (Master's dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2001), 20.

experts,” at which point Teixeira “presented him with an initial formulation of the objectives and purposes of the future center, which would serve as the basis for recruiting the team members UNESCO would send to the country.”³⁴⁴ By 1955, it was time for Otto Klineberg to visit Rio de Janeiro. The report he drafted recommended renaming the institution “Centro de Pesquisas Educacionais” [Center for Educational Research] and proposed the development of both a “cultural” and an “educational map” of Brazil.³⁴⁵ Shortly thereafter, Charles Wagley followed with a visit, and alongside João Roberto Moreira, initiated the establishment of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research, defining its “headquarters, initial research projects, and recruitment of the first scientists.”³⁴⁶

The process was also advancing in São Paulo. In a letter to Fernando de Azevedo dated June 20, 1955, Anísio wrote:

My dear Fernando,

As I telegraphed to you and in view of your letter and our mutual understandings, I am sending you the draft agreement with the University. I have forwarded the original draft to our dean, Prof. Alípio Correia Neto. I ask that you, together with our director, Prof. Simões de Paula, discuss further amendments and details with him.

Everything is outlined with sufficient breadth to accommodate the program that we shall later develop. In any case, this is only a draft. Feel free to make any changes necessary.

This year we have a budget of 4 million, but I believe it can be increased to around 8 million next year.

Prof. Charles Wagley is with us now, and I hope to develop the plans for the National Center with him. I am not sure if you already have a copy of the program that Prof. Otto Klineberg sketched out, so I am sending it with this letter. It is an outline of the objectives and organization of the local Center, with the São Paulo Center serving as its primary unit. Always yours, and looking forward to your prompt response,

Anísio Teixeira³⁴⁷

The agreement was officially signed between the Ministry of Education (MEC), INEP, and the USP Rector’s Office on July 19, with the transfer of the building that hosted their Instituto do Professor Primário [Primary Teacher Institute], located in the University City, to the Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences, where the Centro Regional de Aperfeiçoamento do Magistério [Regional Center for Teachers Development] would be

³⁴⁴ Ferreira, “O Centro Regional de Pesquisas,” 20.

³⁴⁵ Ferreira, “O Centro Regional de Pesquisas,” 21.

³⁴⁶ Ferreira, “O Centro Regional de Pesquisas,” 22.

³⁴⁷ Vidal, *Na Batalha da Educação*, 51.

established. According to Niuventus Paoli, the choice of the name “Teachers Development” was most likely a political strategy—on the one hand, to make the center’s other functions more palatable; on the other, because the funding source was listed under “Maintenance of a National Center and the Establishment of Regional Centers for the Improvement of Basic and Normal Teaching,”³⁴⁸ which would facilitate the granting of funds. Thus, the Regional Center for Educational Research of São Paulo was established.

However, Anísio’s decision to remain in Brazil in 1947—even after Huxley’s insistence to return to UNESCO—has been probably influenced by another factor: that same year, the new Brazilian Constitution, promulgated on September 18, granted the federal government the authority to establish the guidelines and foundations of national education.³⁴⁹ Clemente Mariani had taken office as Minister of Education, a development that Teixeira had been monitoring through correspondence exchanged between the two, even before leaving Paris headed to Brazil.³⁵⁰

In accordance with the constitutional provisions, Mariani convened a commission chaired by M. B. Lourenço Filho—then Director of the National Department of Education—with Antonio Almeida Jr.³⁵¹ serving as rapporteur, to draft the preliminary project to be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. In 1948, the Bill was submitted to the Congress, initiating a process that lasted until 1961, when Law No. 4,024/1961³⁵² was finally enacted. The lengthy deliberation and the challenges encountered during this period have been extensively explored in the historiography of Education. The opposition of Gustavo Capanema, rapporteur of the Comissão Mista de Leis Complementares [Joint Commission on Complementary Laws]—who issued an unfavorable opinion on the project—led to the proposal being shelved, being only resumed and forwarded to the Education and Culture Commission of the Chamber of Deputies at late 1951. At the same time, Anísio Teixeira assumed the position of Secretary General of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES).

Thus, at the dawn of 1952, Teixeira was working simultaneously at CAPES and INEP and had been invited by the Chamber of Deputies, along with Fernando de Azevedo, Lourenço Filho, and Almeida Jr., to discuss the guidelines and foundations of national education. The debate was framed around the opposition between the states’ autonomy in organizing

³⁴⁸ Niuvenius Junqueira Paoli, “As Relações Entre Ciências Sociais e Educação nos Anos 50/60 a Partir das Histórias e Produções Intelectuais de Quatro Personagens: Josildeth Gomes Consorte, Aparecida Joly Gouveia, Juarez Brandão Lopes, and Oracy Nogueira” (PhD dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 1995), 53.

³⁴⁹ “Constituição dos Estados Unidos do Brasil (September 18, 1946),” *Diário Oficial da União*, Article 5, item XV, letter d (September 18, 1946).

³⁵⁰ Letter from Clemente Mariani Bittencourt to Anísio, dated November 16, 1946.

³⁵¹ The other members of the commission were Pedro Calmon, Cesário de Andrade, Mário de Brito, Leonel França, Levi Carneiro, A. Amoroso Lima, Arthur Filho, J. Farias Góis, Maria J. Schmidt, A. Carneiro Leão, M. A. Teixeira de Freitas, Agrícola Bethlem, and Celso Kelly.

³⁵² <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/lei/1960-1969/lei-4024-20-dezembro-1961-353722-publicacaooriginal-1-pl.html>. Accessed February 22, 2025.

their educational systems and the centralization of the federal government. The original draft favored autonomy, while Capanema's opinion supported centralization. The disputes between supporters of either centralizing or decentralizing principles continued until 1958, when Carlos Lacerda's replacement redirected the issue toward "freedom of education."

Deeply embedded in the conflicts surrounding the first *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação* [Law of Lines of Direction and Bases of the Education], Anísio carried on with the routine tasks of administrative and teaching work and witnessed—with no small measure of apprehension—a rapid succession of names at the Ministry of Education. After Clemente Mariani stepped out, the following ministers assumed office: Eduardo Rios Filho (May 15, 1950–August 4, 1950); Pedro Calmon (August 4, 1950–January 31, 1951); Ernesto Simões Filho (January 31, 1951–May 25, 1953); Péricles Madureira de Pinho (May 26, 1953–June 24, 1953); Antonio Balbino (June 25, 1953–July 2, 1954); Edgar Santos (July 6, 1954–September 2, 1954); Candido Mota Filho (September 2, 1954–November 17, 1955), and Abgar Renault (November 24, 1955–January 31, 1956). In the subsequent government under Juscelino Kubitschek, there were no fewer than eight changes in the Ministry of Education.³⁵³

Meanwhile, Teixeira attended UNESCO meetings in Lima, Peru, in 1956.³⁵⁴ In the following year, he began a new collaboration with the organization to establish a course for training educational specialists at the Regional Center for Educational Research in São Paulo.³⁵⁵ The course, inaugurated in 1958, featured Malcolm Adiseshiah, UNESCO's Deputy Director-General,³⁵⁶ among its participants. For nine consecutive years, the Regional Center was funded by UNESCO, which not only covered the costs of two foreign professors but also awarded around 30 scholarships to students, with 20 allocated to Brazilians and 10 to Latin Americans. Educators from Amazonas, Bahia, Ceará, Espírito Santo, Goiás, Maranhão, Minas Gerais, Pará, Paraíba, Paraná, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Norte, Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro, Sergipe, and São Paulo attended the course. Foreign students came from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.³⁵⁷

Teixeira's contacts with UNESCO continued into the 1960s. Samira Chahin demonstrates how his stay at TC and his activities at UNESCO intertwined in the development of a city occupation plan by the school, which was initially tested in Bahia in 1950 and later

³⁵³ "Galeria de Ministros", Ministry of Education. Accessed February 20, 2025. https://www.gov.br/mec/pt-br/aceso-a-informacao/institucional/galeria-de-ministros?b_start:int=40.

³⁵⁴ "Representações no exterior", Arquivo Anísio Teixeira. Accessed February 20, 2025. https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_DocPes&pesq=unesco&hf=docvirt.com&pagfis=88.

³⁵⁵ Vidal, *Na Batalha da Educação*, 62.

³⁵⁶ Vidal, *Na Batalha da Educação*, 73.

³⁵⁷ Ferreira, "O Centro Regional de Pesquisas," 36.

extended to the construction of Brazil's new capital in Brasília in 1960.³⁵⁸ These developments indicate that the networks established during his brief tenure as an advisor for Higher Education were solid enough to support new projects, whether initiated by UNESCO or by Brazilian entities.

5.4 Final Comments

Our intention in this chapter was to explore the extensive reach of the networks woven by Anísio Teixeira. While we gave greater prominence to the moment of his invitation to work at UNESCO and the subsequent years, we have not forgotten that it was the contacts established prior to that period which created the conditions for the educator to join the organization, as discussed in Chapter 3.

By considering Anísio Teixeira as a node, we intended to examine the connections he established by interweaving territories and cultures in the formation of initiatives and in fostering educational research that not only remained within Brazil but also expanded its scope to Latin America. After all, although in 1954 Anísio declined the position of Associate Head of the Regional Office for the Western Hemisphere in Havana, with the responsibility of developing UNESCO's program in Latin America and the Caribbean, he was still key to the creation of the specialist course at Regional Center for Educational Research of São Paulo, which brought together Latin American educators and members of the organization for nine consecutive years starting in 1958.

Along the way, we aimed to demonstrate that studying networks allows us to move beyond center-periphery analyses, encouraging a transnational approach by attracting participants from various parts of the world and generating effects that transcend national borders. Thus, it fosters a focus on the involvement of key actors, leading to interpretations that interweave micro- and macro-analyses and invite the exploration of trajectories, journeys, and exchanges.

³⁵⁸ Samira Bueno Chahin, "Cidade Nova, Escolas Novas? Anísio Teixeira, Arquitetura e Educação em Brasília" (PhD dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2018).

Part III

Printed Materials

6. The Circulation of Printed Materials from the New Education International Movement in the *Boletim de Educação Pública*³⁵⁹

In January 1927, Fernando de Azevedo assumed the position of General Director of Public Instruction in Rio de Janeiro, initiating an educational reform in the Brazilian capital that would last until October 1930. At that time, the educator was more refrained when referring to New Education, preferring instead to use the term “modern school”, as we saw in Chapter 4, regarding the analyses of Maria dos Reis Campos’s book, to articulate his proposals for educational change. While involved in the process of approving the preliminary reform project, which began in earnest in October 1927, Azevedo did not emphasize linking his ideas to New Education, but rather focused on the active school.

However, after the approval of the text, he changed his strategy. The arduous battle in the legislative branch and the press underscored the need to intensify the campaign in favor of educational reform to secure the implementation of its provisions. The initiatives were directed in various ways. Conferences, campaigns, and publications were mobilized, along with repeated actions in Rio de Janeiro’s newspapers, aiming to influence teachers’ and the public’s opinion. Gradually, the association between the reform and the expression New School, rather than New Education, began to assume a key role in the educator’s discourse, increasing the administration’s investments.

On April 17, 1928, the newspaper *O Globo* announced that the General Board would hold a lecture series titled “A Escola Nova e a Reforma de Ensino” [The New School and Educational Reform]. The purpose of the activity was “to disseminate modern pedagogical models based on the “new school” among municipal teachers.”³⁶⁰ A cursory glance at the

³⁵⁹ This work was carried out with support from FAPESP, Brazil, under grant numbers 2018/26699-4; 2016/07024-0, and 2015/06456-1.

³⁶⁰ The event consisted of 14 sessions held on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays at the Brazilian Geographical Society (Sociedade Brasileira de Geografia). Vicente Licínio Cardoso opened the event with the conference “Origem e evolução da escola moderna” (Origin and Evolution of the Modern School) He was followed by Everardo Backheuser, who was responsible for four sessions: “O triplice fundamento da escola ativa” (The Triple Foundation of the Active School); “O mecanismo pedagógico e psicológico do ensino conjunto e da chamada prática da impressão e da expressão” (The Pedagogical and Psychological

conference titles reveals the wide range of meanings attributed to the new school: active school, work school, center of interest, and a counterpoint to object lessons. This choice for the label occurred alongside its international consolidation. The First International Convention of Teachers, held in Buenos Aires in January 1928, confirmed the adherence of primary school teachers from Latin America to the New Education platform as a horizon for educational reforms. It was through the assembly of distinct groups of educators that the formula evidenced its importance, as discussed in the introduction of this book.

In October 1928, Everardo Backheuser and his wife, Alcina Moreira de Souza Backheuser, launched the *Cruzada Pedagógica pela Escola Nova* [Pedagogical Crusade for the New School]. The movement aimed to study, implement, and promote the New School through conferences, the establishment of a library at Deodoro School, as well as visits to public schools. Founded and sustained by educators themselves, the Crusade served as a center for study and professional development, aiming to prepare teachers to embrace the new proposals of educational reform.

Under the auspices of public administration, the Crusade sought to organize the Brazilian Congress for the New School from September 21 to 28, 1930. Everardo Backheuser presided over the organizing committee, collaborating with Zélia Braune, Joaquina Daltro, Juracy Silveira, Ormindia Marques, Edgard S. de Mendonça, and Alcina Backheuser. The competition aimed to feature an exhibition of both students' and teachers' works, being open to all public schools, "intended to showcase the practice of the new educational approach in Brazil," as stated in the announcement published in the issue of *O Jornal do Brasil* of July 22.³⁶¹ However, the Congress never took place, as it was halted by the 1930 Revolution.

The push for educational reform also involved the production of specialized pedagogical literature. Beginning in 1929, school inspector Paulo Maranhão sent the newly established *Coleção Pedagógica* [Pedagogical Collection] to Casa F. Briguiet & Cia, which published *A Escola Nova* [The New School], by Jonathas Serrano, and *Aritmética na Escola Nova* [Arithmetic in the New School], by Everardo Backheuser, among other works. This

Mechanism of Integrated Teaching and the So-Called Practice of Imprinting and Expression); "Os centros de interesse no seu tríplice aspecto" (Centers of Interest in Their Triple Aspect); and "O valor essencial do ensino de geografia racional no desenvolvimento da escola ativa" (The Essential Value of Rational Geography Education in the Development of the Active School). M. B. Lourenço Filho was responsible for two lectures: "A escola nova" (The New School) and "Testes mentais e sua aplicação na escola" (Mind tests and their application at school). Edgard S. de Mendonça led three sessions: "O desenho espontâneo" (Spontaneous Drawing); "Regionalismo como método e como finalidade" (Regionalism as both Method and Purpose); and "Lição de fatos e não lição de coisas" (Lessons on Facts, Instead of Object Lessons). Frota Pessoa and Álvaro Rodrigues each delivered a single lecture: Respectively, "A reforma de ensino: suas características fundamentais" (The Teaching Reform: Fundamental Characteristics); and "A escola do trabalho" (Work School). The cycle concluded with two presentations by Jonathas Serrano: "A Escola Normal, a formação do professor e as novas diretrizes" (The normal school, Teacher Education, and New Guidelines); and "A Escola Normal, centro de pesquisas pedagógicas e de irradiação educativa" (Normal School as a Center for Pedagogical Research and Educational Outreach).

³⁶¹ "Edital". *O Jornal do Brasil*, 22 de julho de 1930.

initiative was not unprecedented. In São Paulo, starting in 1927, Lourenço Filho published translations of authors associated with the New Education International Movement through the *Bibliotheca de Educação* collection, which he directed at the publishing house Melhoramentos, as previously mentioned. In 1930, Lourenço Filho himself published *Introdução aos Estudos da Nova Escola* [Introduction to the New School Studies], in which he covered the principles, authors, and methods associated with the approach.

As part of these editorial strategies and to strengthen a new professional teaching culture, *Boletim de Educação Pública* (BEP), the official publication of the General Board of Public Instruction, was created in Rio de Janeiro. By analyzing BEP, it is possible to identify the international circuit of printed materials available to Brazilian educators, shaping an intellectual map of the diffusion of New Education in Brazil's capital. Of particular interest are the sections "Across Journals" and "Bibliography," which review articles and publications, introducing international literature on the subject. BEP is the subject we will explore in the following sections, beginning with an overview of its life cycle.

6.1 The Life Cycle of the *Boletim de Educação Pública*

The BEP circulated in Rio de Janeiro in 1930 and again from 1932 to 1935, aligning with the tenures of Fernando de Azevedo (1927–1930) and Anísio Teixeira (1931–1935) in the General Board of Public Instruction of Rio de Janeiro. A total of eighteen issues were published: four quarterly editions in 1930, followed by fourteen issues distributed across seven semiannual volumes in the subsequent years. The hiatus in 1931, slight modifications in content and section arrangement, and the resumption of issue numbering in 1932 led to the identification of two distinct publishing phases: the first under Azevedo's administration and the second under Teixeira's. However, the fundamental nature of BEP remained unchanged, staying true to the principles that had driven its creation. This is affirmed in the "Explanatory Note" that introduces the first issue of what is now referred to as its second phase:

It reemerges with unwavering fidelity to the purposes that necessitated its creation, even maintaining its original material format, to serve as the foremost voice of the guiding thought behind the Federal District of Rio de Janeiro's vast school system. It seeks to report on its plans and accomplishments while disseminating, to the benefit of Brazil and Brazilians alike, global developments in education—whether in the realm of ideas and doctrine or the field of action, achievements, new experiments, methods, processes, and techniques.³⁶²

BEP's volumes did not include editorials, except for the first issues of each distinct phase, which opened with an "Introduction" and an "Explanatory Note," respectively. These unsigned texts served to broadly define BEP, outlining its target audience, objectives, and

³⁶² "Nota explicativa" II, no. 1-2 (1932).

guiding principles. Thus, these “prefaces” provide insight into the reformers’ intentions in composing and editing the journal.

According to its “Introduction,” BEP aimed to: “Disseminate original technical works, research, guidance, and cultural articles, as well as full or summarized versions of lectures from the summer course, along with any other original and valuable scholarly contributions.” It was not intended as an official bulletin for governmental acts or a repository of themes and exercises for classroom use. Instead, it sought to analyze the major issues brought to the forefront by the education reform.³⁶³

BEP was assigned a formative role, aligned with the discourse of progressive educators who saw themselves as leading the renewal of a national education system they regarded as steeped in what they called traditional thinking. While this mission could be framed as a purely technical endeavor, the journal also functioned as a tool for disseminating the ideas and initiatives of public administration. This effort, particularly led by Fernando de Azevedo, was fundamentally political, aiming to enlist teachers in the cause of educational reform.

Thus, BEP was tasked with conveying reformist thought and, most importantly, persuading educators of the necessity of the educational reform and the suitability of the means employed to implement it. However, assuming that the circulation of the BEP was limited to Rio de Janeiro is disregarding the intentions expressed in its “Prefaces.” A closer reading of the “Introduction” reveals that its intended audience extended beyond the teaching staff of the Federal District. BEP sought to reach a national and international readership, including the United States and Europe, pledging itself as an offer in exchange for similar publications from both domestic and foreign institutions. This aspiration for national and international exchange was reaffirmed through its “Explanatory Note.”

Such a vision aligned with one of the defining traits of the New School Movement—and with “cosmopolitanism,” the very historical moment in which it was inserted. In the aftermath of World War I, conflicts that had once been local took a global scale. The rise of radio broadcasting further reinforced this perception of a shrinking world, enabling news to spread rapidly and fostering interest in events across different countries. An analysis of BEP reveals that national and international correspondence exchanges³⁶⁴ were actively encouraged, that teachers frequently traveled to the United States for professional development courses,³⁶⁵ and that foreign periodicals arrived in Brazil contemporaneously with their publication—topics that will be explored in the following sections.

Driven by this cosmopolitan ideal and aware of the journal’s value for the intellectual development of teachers and the dissemination of educational reform efforts, Anísio

³⁶³ Boletim de Educação Pública I, no. 1 (1930): 5.

³⁶⁴ It contains numerous reports on academic exchanges and various proposals for the establishment of interschool correspondence networks.

³⁶⁵ As discussed in Chapter 4, Maria dos Reis Campos published an account of her trip to the United States in the Boletim de Educação Pública.

Teixeira resumed BEP publication. However, during its second phase, BEP did not achieve the same level of interest for the administration. The consistency in page count, number of articles, and section formatting—hallmarks of the earlier phase—was no longer evident in issues published from 1932 to 1935.

In its first phase, BEP had been meticulously structured, with all four volumes planned in advance. The first volume, published in 1930, included a list of ten upcoming articles on its final page. Of these, only one never made it to publication, while the rest were distributed across Issues 2 (five out of six articles) and 3 (four out of six articles). The fourth issue ended with a summary of all texts published that year and the contents of each section.

In the second phase, publication became irregular, fact preemptively justified in an “Explanatory Note,” which stated that the journal would become a biannual publication to better meet deadlines. Despite changes, it remained the official voice of the General Board. The publication took on a more informational than formative character.

In both its phases, BEP was composed of four sections: “Artigos” [Articles], “Factos e iniciativas” [Facts and Initiatives], “Através das Revistas” [Across Journals], and “Bibliographia” [Bibliography].³⁶⁶ Its first section featured diverse works, often related to school or educational experiences, written by teachers, school inspectors, school principals, administrators of the General Board, medical inspectors, and other professionals involved in public education in Rio de Janeiro. The second section consisted of a report on the events of the reform: school inaugurations, conferences, exhibitions, and everything else supported by the Board.³⁶⁷ “Across journals” reviewed articles featured in both national and foreign journals. “Bibliography” focused on informing about books recently published either in Portuguese or other languages.³⁶⁸ All sections were represented in the table of contents, which listed the title of each text. However, only the first section would also include the authors’ names.

To identify the international circuit of publications in which BEP sought to be inserted and disseminated, we will now examine the sections “Across Journals” and “Bibliography.” Our analysis will be restricted to the four volumes published in 1930, during Fernando de Azevedo’s administration. This approach is necessary to maintain a certain level of consistency in the documentary corpus, focusing on the first phase of the journal’s

³⁶⁶ Only here the titles of the sections are listed using their original spelling. Citations and titles have had their spelling updated for use in this work.

³⁶⁷ During Anísio Teixeira’s administration, this section became merely a compilation of decrees signed during the period, as well as speeches, and reports. Issues no. 5 and 6, Year III, were particularly significant when the section Facts and Initiatives became so prominent that it replaced all other sections, except for the articles, which was nevertheless reduced to 35 pages.

³⁶⁸ During Anísio Teixeira’s administration, these two sections were published in reverse order within the *Boletim*, with *Bibliography* preceding *Across Journals*.

circulation.³⁶⁹ We will begin with “Bibliography” and then proceed to analyze “Across Journals.”

6.2 Bibliography

Briefer than “Across Journals,” the “Bibliography” section focused on disseminating Brazilian and foreign works, either translated into Portuguese or in their original language. The authors of the reviews were identified by their initials: They were Francisco Venâncio Filho (F. V. F.), Everardo Backheuser (E. B.), Edgard Sussekind de Mendonça (E. S. M.), Raja Gabaglia (R. G.), and Rocha Pombo (R. P.). The names of collaborators were repeated in “Across Journals,” except for Raja Gabaglia and Rocha Pombo, showcasing the intertwining of the two sections. The frequency of contributions revealed the reviewers’ areas of expertise and their networks of academic solidarity.

The most frequent collaborator was Francisco Venâncio Filho, who participated in all four volumes of the first phase. His contributions encompassed three groups of texts: one related to educational cinema, another focused on publications from the *Bibliotheca de Educação* collection, curated by M. B. Lourenço Filho for Editora Melhoramentos publishing company, and a third dedicated to works by teachers from the Normal School of Rio de Janeiro, where he taught physics and natural sciences. He was responsible for ten of the sixteen reviews published in the section.

The three foreign language works he reviewed reflected his reading interests. *Comment Construire soi-même ses appareils scientifiques à l’école primaire* [How to Build Your Own Scientific Instruments in Primary School], by G. Eisenmenger and A. Rire (Ferd. Nathan, 1929), and *Les coulisses du cinéma* [Backstage of Cinema], by G. Michel Coussac (Les éditions Pittoresque, 1929) were sent from Paris. The first work was linked to his teaching practice, while the second referred to his initiative, alongside Jonathas Serrano, to organize the First Educational Cinematography Exhibition in Rio de Janeiro in 1929. At the event, the L’Unione Cinematografica Educativa [LUCE Institute] participated by screening one of its films. A report, structured as a review, on LUCE’s work over the previous five years—compiled by Alexandro Sardi in a volume covering the period from 1924 to 1929—completed the set of foreign works referenced.

Among foreign works, yet translated into and published in Portuguese, were three of the five books released in the *Bibliotheca da Educação* collection by Melhoramentos. They were *Testes para Medida da Inteligência* [Binet–Simon Intelligence Test], by Alfred Binet and Théodore Simon; *Tecno-Psychologia do Trabalho Industrial* [Techno-Psychology of Industrial Work], by Léon Walter; and *Vida e Educação* [Life and Education], by John Dewey. Besides curating the collection, Lourenço Filho translated the first two titles, while the third was translated by Anísio Teixeira. The two remaining books of the collection were

³⁶⁹ For more information about BEP and its sections, see Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Marilena Camargo, “A imprensa periódica especializada e a pesquisa histórica,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 73, no. 175 (1992): 407-430.

authored by Brazilian writers: *A Escola Activa e os Trabalhos Manuais* [Active School and Manual Works], by Coryntho da Fonseca; and *Introdução aos Estudos da Escola Nova* [Introduction to New School Studies], by Lourenço Filho.

It is noteworthy that only Francisco Venâncio Filho reviewed titles from the collection, highlighting his close ties with the curator of *Bibliotheca da Educação*. Indeed, he published *Cinema e Educação* [Cinema and Education] in collaboration with Jonathas Serrano within the collection in 1930. Venâncio Filho's reviews also focused on authors he had known from his educational institution. Euclides Roxo's *Curso de Matemática Elementar* [Course in Elementary Mathematics] and Raja Gabaglia's *Práticas de Geografia* [Geography Practices] were both featured in the section.

Raja Gabaglia was the second most frequent reviewer in BEP. He contributed with two works in a foreign language (*Notions elementaires sur la mer, la navigation et la peche*, by A. Aignan and V. Guillard, Paris, ed. Gedalge; and *La Escuela Activa*, by J. Dantin Cereceda, Madrid, 1929), as well as one in Portuguese (*História Geral da Civilização*, III parte – *Tempos modernos*, by Gastão Ruch, ed. Brigueit, 1929). It was not only Raja Gabaglia who wrote reviews and had one of his works featured in the section. Francisco Venâncio Filho himself received recognition for his book *Problemas Elementares de Física e Química* [Elementary Problems on Physics and Chemistry], written in collaboration with Pedro Pinto (Livraria Francisco Alves, 1930), as reviewed by Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça, indicating the section's importance as a means of editorial promotion for Brazilian educators, authors, and publishers.

Two additional works were presented in the section: *Noções de Biologia Geral* [Notions on General Biology] by Mello Leitão (Rio de Janeiro, 1930), reviewed by Rocha Pombo; and *Da Classe de Aprendizagem à Livre e Activa Comunidade de Trabalho* by Martin Spielhagen (Breslau, Ferdinand Hirt), reviewed by Everardo Backheuser. The second work, despite its title in Portuguese, was actually printed in the original German version, untranslated, titled *Von der Lernschulklasse zur Freitaetigen Arbeitsgemeinschaft*. As we will see in the next section, Backheuser was responsible for disseminating German texts to the teaching community in Rio de Janeiro.

Among the foreign works reviewed, the only records found in the collection of the Library of Normal School of Rio de Janeiro between 1928 and 1935 were the translations published by Melhoramentos. There were two copies of *Testes para Medida da Inteligência* and *Vida e Educação*.³⁷⁰ This does not imply, however, that foreign works were not well received in teacher training. However, as presented in Chapter 4, it was more precisely from the educational reform of Anísio Teixeira onwards that international literature was regularly acquired by the Normal School, at that time transformed into the Institute of Education, and recommended in the discipline program. It can thus be hypothesized that part of the bibliography reviewed in 1930 for this section belonged to

³⁷⁰ Vidal, *O Exercício Disciplinado do Olhar*, 295-296.

the personal libraries of the educators, as was likely the case with the publications mentioned in “Across Journals,” which we will now examine.

6.3 Across Journals

The number of notes included in the “Across Journals” section is much higher than that which is found in the “Bibliography”. BEP No. 1 (January/March 1930) had sixteen reviews, No. 2 (April/June 1930) had eighteen, No. 3 (July/September 1930) had eleven, and No. 4 (October/December 1930) listed eleven, totaling fifty-six entries produced by only three reviewers. Francisco Venâncio Filho wrote forty-three notes, while Everardo Backheuser contributed with twelve, and Edgard Sussekind de Mendonça signed only one—in the first issue of BEP. In total, thirty-one different educational journals from twelve countries (Brazil, the USSR, Germany, Austria, the United States, Mexico, Spain, France, Switzerland, Argentina, England, and Italy) were referenced, in six languages (Portuguese, English, French, German, Spanish, and Esperanto).

The diversity of titles and languages calls the reader’s attention, as does the contemporaneity of the publications concerning the reviews, similar to what is observed in the “Bibliography” section. The oldest publication dates from March 1929, and its review was featured in BEP No. 1, published in March 1930; the most recent corresponded to September 1930, with its review featured in issue No. 4, released in December 1930. This collection highlights the broad and rapid access that Brazilian educators had to content circulating in the global educational arena, as well as the drive to disseminate new developments to a wider audience of both pre-service and in-service teachers, complementing the efforts of other propaganda initiatives mentioned earlier.

In this context, the review written by Francisco Venâncio Filho of the article “O movimento mundial pela escola nova” [The World Movement of New School]—attributed to E. A. (or perhaps E. B., i.e., Everardo Backheuser?) and published in the journal *A Escola Nova* in December 1929—was enlightening. It began by highlighting the periodical, presented as the official body of the Pedagogical Crusade for the New School. The review then mentioned the existence of journals on the “innovative ideas of popular education”³⁷¹ in nearly every “educated country,” naming *La Nouvelle Education* in France; *Progressive Education* in the United States; *The New Era* in England; *Revista de Pedagogia* in Spain; *Pour l’Ere Nouvelle* in Switzerland; *L’Educazione Nazionale* in Italy; and *Das Werdende Zeitalter* in Germany. After a brief mention of the beginning of the global pedagogical movement in England, the review recalled that only in Russia was the initiative governmental in nature and concluded by highlighting the ongoing educational reform in Rio de Janeiro, led by Fernando de Azevedo.

There are correspondences between the E.A.’s text and the section’s focus. Among the most cited journals in “Across Journals” we found: *Progressive Education*, Washington

³⁷¹ Francisco Venâncio Filho, “O movimento mundial pela escola nova,” *Boletim de Educação Pública* I, no. 2 (1930): 276.

D.C., November 1929–March 1930 (nine articles); *La Nouvelle Education*, November 1929–July 1930 (five articles); *Revista de Pedagogia*, Madrid, January–July 1930 (five articles), *Bulletin de Information*, Moscow, March–December 1929 (four articles), *Die Neue Deutsche Schule*, April–October 1929 (four articles), and *Teachers College Record*, November 1929–April 1930 (four articles).

Articles from *L'Educazione Nazionale* and *Das Werdende Zeitalter* were not reviewed in BEP, even though neither the Italian nor German languages posed linguistic barriers. In fact, when it comes to the German language, besides *Die Neue Deutsche Schule*, journals such as *Die Quelle (Monatshefte fuer paedagogische reform)*, and *Paedagogisches Zentrablatt* were also reviewed. Concerning *The New Era* and *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle*, each journal was mentioned only once within the section. Thus, the founding group behind the journals associated with the New Education Fellowship (NEF)—*The New Era*, *Pour l'Ère Nouvelle*, and *Das Werdende Zeitalter*—while well-documented, received little attention in reviews. In fact, among the periodicals later associated with NEF, only *Revista de Pedagogia* seems to have garnered significant interest. The journal was edited by Lorenzo Luzuriaga, a Spanish educator who spent some time in Brazil, and was known through the book *Las Escuelas Nuevas Allemanas*, published by *Revista de Pedagogia* in 1929 and referenced in Lourenço Filho's *Introdução aos Estudos da Escola Nova*.

However, it would be incorrect to assume that Brazilian educators were disengaged from NEF's initiatives. Titled "The Geneva Education Congress, by Franz Helker; The World Education Congress in Helsingør, by Fretz Karsen," Everardo Backheuser reviewed two articles published in *Paedagogisches Zentralblatt* addressing the congresses of the World Federation of Education Associations (WFEA), along with two other events, referred to only as the Elsinore Congress and a meeting of German teachers. Regarding the latter, he provided little commentary. On the former, he placed it within a series of congresses organized by the American Education Association, which, for the first time, hosted an event with representatives from countries other than the Anglo-Saxon sphere. Regarding the Elsinore Congress, its origins were traced back to Heidelberg (1925) and Locarno (1927), highlighting the chain of events organized by NEF since its establishment in Calais (1921). The fact that the term New Education Fellowship or Ligue internationale pour l'éducation nouvelle was not used to refer to the succession of congresses may suggest the limited dissemination of the organization in Brazil, as discussed in Chapter 1.

This becomes evident when reading the article "A 'escola nova'" [The New School] by Lourenço Filho, published in the journal *Educação* in 1929. The educator stated that the Ligue internationale pour l'éducation nouvelle owed its existence to the "apostolic figure of Adolphe Ferrière," was headquartered in Geneva, and was affiliated with Bureau International d'Éducation (BIE), which, in turn, was linked to the League of Nations. He also noted that during a meeting in Calais in 1919, the Ligue had codified the 30 "essential points that schools wishing to affiliate must adhere to."³⁷² In 1930, in *Introdução aos*

³⁷² Lourenço Filho, Manuel Bergström. "A 'escola nova'," *Educação* 7, no. 3 (1929): 297.

Estudos da Escola Nova, Lourenço Filho further clarified that NEF and the Ligue were two distinct entities, as previously mentioned. He regarded NEF as an extension of PEA, founded in 1919, while seeing the establishment of the Ligue in 1921 as an expansion of Bureau International d'Éducation Nouvelle (BIEN).³⁷³

More important than clarifying that the Calais Congress took place in 1921, or recalling that Ferrière formulated the 30 points in 1909—definitively codified in 1915 with the publication of *Une École Nouvelle en Belgique*—is demonstrating that, while Brazilian educators kept up with global developments related to the New Education International Movement, their understanding of the sequence of events, as well as the origins and scope of the organizations involved, remained fragmented.

Even the article “Adolphe Ferrière,” featured in the 1930 issue of the journal *Educação*,³⁷⁴ which sought to clarify the relationships between NEF and the Ligue, BIE and BIEN, and retrace the history of the institution and Ferrière's role, failed to dispel the misconceptions spread by the mainstream press. An article published in the newspaper *Diário de S. Paulo* and replicated in the same issue of the journal *Educação* stated:

The International Education League, created in December 1925 under the auspices of the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute [...] has as its primary objective to establish close contact among pedagogical organizations around the world. Under the leadership of Pierre Bovet, a professor at the University of Geneva, and with the direct support of Dr. Elisabeth Rotten and Adolpho Ferrière, the League does not advocate one method over another. Its concern is to champion active schooling and the new school by providing examples rather than imitations of pre-established models.³⁷⁵

Perhaps if Adolphe Ferrière's stay in Brazil had not been thwarted by the 1930 Revolution, these threads could have been unraveled. As discussed in Chapter 2, Ferrière was on a *tournée* across South America, aiming to establish NEF sections in Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Brazil. He had scheduled to visit São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. However, according to Raquel Pires,³⁷⁶ he received a telegram from Lourenço Filho on October 10 with recommendations that he should not travel to São Paulo. He disembarked in Rio de Janeiro for only one day, on October 23, where he met with Celina Padilha, Fernando Rodrigues da Silveira, Laura Lacombe, Honorina Senna, and Marina Magno. On that occasion, he had access to some educational journals distributed across the Brazilian capital.

³⁷³ Lourenço Filho, *Introdução aos Estudos*, 25.

³⁷⁴ Paulo Meyhoffer and W. Gunnig, “Adolpho Ferrière,” *Educação* 12, no. 1 (ano): 34-47.

³⁷⁵ “A visita de Ferrière a S. Paulo,” *Educação* 12, no. 1 (ano): 149.

³⁷⁶ Pires, “Escritas Itinerantes,” 135.

From these interactions would emerge the 1931 publication of the articles “L’École Nouvelle et la Réforme” by Fernando de Azevedo³⁷⁷ and “L’École active brésilienne d’Espírito Santo” by Deodato de Moraes³⁷⁸ in the journal *Pour l’Ère Nouvelle* (No. 67, April-May). In the same issue the article “L’Éducation nouvelle au Brésil” was published, in which Ferrière stated that he was surprised to

rencontrer au Brésil une des formes plus complètes de l’Éducation Nouvelle! Hier encore, c’était au point de vue pédagogique un des pays les plus arriéré du monde. Aujourd’hui – précision: depuis la loi scolaire du District fédéral de Rio de Janeiro de 1928 – il rivalise avec le Chili et le Mexique, en Amérique, avec Vienne, en Europe, avec la Turquie, en Asie.³⁷⁹

Besides emphasizing Fernando de Azevedo as the man behind this achievement, Ferrière also mentioned the existence of the Pedagogical Crusade for the New School. He also honored the efforts of the previous administration in the Brazilian capital, led by Antonio Carneiro Leão.³⁸⁰ At the end of the article, it was also noted that after the 1930 Revolution, Lourenço Filho, “le puls ancien et le plus compétent des défenseur de l’Éducation Nouvelle au Brésil, a été nommé directeur de l’Instruction publique de Sao-Paulo. Cette nomination marque l’orientation franche et sans réticence du Brésil vers l’éducation moderne.”³⁸¹

From the set of notes published in the “Across Journals” section, references to French (eighteen mentions) and English (sixteen mentions) publications dominated the content. The prominent presence of *Progressive Education* and the *Teachers College Record* underscored the relevance of Teachers College, Columbia University, as well as that of American educators in fomenting the Brazilian educational debate. All contributions were signed by Francisco Venâncio Filho. The reviews of articles featured in *Progressive Education* predominantly addressed issues concerning the practical exercise of teaching, reporting on experiences from American schools in New Rochelle, Kensington, Los Angeles, Bronxville, West Hartford, Germantown, and Florida (Rollins College). The reviews of texts published in the *Teachers College Record* had a more theoretical scope, engaging in debates about the advantages and disadvantages of hiring specialist teachers, offering suggestions on how to select educational units and classroom work, and discussing assessment techniques.

One of the articles written in English, however, was authored by the Brazilian educator Maria dos Reis Campos—discussed in Chapter 4—and specifically concerned her 1930 trip to the United States, which was supported by ABE and the Carnegie Endowment. This was the text of the conference on the educational reform of the Brazilian capital, delivered

³⁷⁷ Fernando Azevedo, “L’Ecole Nouvelle et la Réforme,” *Pour l’Ère Nouvelle*, no. 67 (1930): 90-95.

³⁷⁸ Deodato Moraes, “L’Ecole active brésilienne d’Espírito Santo,” *Pour l’Ère Nouvelle*, no. 67, (1930): 96-98.

³⁷⁹ Adolphe Ferrière, “L’Education Nouvelle au Brésil,” *Pour l’Ère Nouvelle*, no. 67 (1931): 85.

³⁸⁰ Mignot and Pires, “Entre ‘verdadeiros apóstolos’.”

³⁸¹ Ferrière, “L’Education Nouvelle,” 90.

during Reis Campos' visit to Washington, D.C. Interestingly, Maria dos Reis Campos was the only author whose two articles were reviewed. In both cases, however, the theme of pedagogical missions emerged as the central focus. Despite the second text—published in *Schola* (the official publication of ABE) and discussing project-based methods—Francisco Venâncio Filho, in his note, revisited the Maria dos Reis's trip to the U.S. and her description of the “American pedagogical progress.”³⁸²

As expected from a journal designed to disseminate the principles and practices of New Education to teachers in Rio de Janeiro and across Brazil, the main topics highlighted in its section included active learning, school practices, project-based methods, supplementary teaching resources (libraries, radio, and educational cinema), ongoing educational reforms, theoretical discussions, and surveys. To explore them, we propose revisiting the journals and the authors of the reviews to highlight the personal choices made regarding both publications and subjects.

The single review signed by Edgard Susseking de Mendonça was published in the first issue of BEP and titled “Falando a Lunatcharski” [Conversing with Lunatcharski]. It was published in *Boletim de la 1. M.A.*, body of the International American Teaching Association, September 1929. It was an interview conducted by the Spanish educator Rodolfo Lopez with Lunatcharski, who had recently left his position as People's Commissioner for Public Instruction in Russia. It explored his twelve years of Soviet pedagogical experience following the 1917 Revolution, with emphasis on the coeducation of the sexes, the revolutionary content of curricula, the integration between education and life, the development of a sense of responsibility in children, and the relationship between teachers and students. According to Lunatcharski, after overcoming its military phase and the economic phase, the Russian revolution entered its third front—the pedagogical phase—which would ensure the transition from the reign of need to that of freedom.

We can understand the relevance of publishing this review in BEP through at least three interpretative keys. The first concerns the interest in the educational reforms taking place in various countries. Specifically on this theme, other reviews were published, addressing reforms both in Brazil and abroad. Regarding the Brazilian reforms, there were publications on Rio de Janeiro and Bahia; as for other countries, there were issues on Austria, Germany, and the United States, as well as the Soviet Union. The second interpretive key relates to the aforementioned article “The Global Movement for New Schools,” which pointed out that, in the USSR, New Education was a state investment rather than a private school initiative, which aligned with the direction public education was taking in Brazil's capital, by Fernando de Azevedo. The third and final key reveals Sussekind de Mendonça's interests.

Between 1927 and 1930, Edgar assumed the directorship of Escola Profissional Masculina de Mecânica e Trabalhos Manuais Souza Aguiar [Men's Technical School of Mechanics

³⁸² Venâncio Filho, “Método de projectos.”

and Manual Labor] and Escola Profissional Masculina de Artes Gráficas Álvaro Baptista [Men's Technical School of Graphic Arts]. He advocated for self-supporting initiatives as a means to secure the positions of teachers and teaching assistants, provide remuneration for students, and maintain and improve school equipment. His connection to the socialist movement became more explicit years later when, in 1935, he was invited to deliver a lecture at the preparatory session for the First Youth Congress, which was to be held at the headquarters of the Socialist Party of Brazil.³⁸³

The cancelling of the Congress and the beating of students—an event witnessed by Edgar himself—led him to sign a manifesto on August 16 in defense of the youth's right to assemble and discuss matters related to youth and democracy. Also in 1935, he collaborated with Paschoal Lemme to organize evening courses offered by Rio de Janeiro City Hall for workers affiliated with União Trabalhista [Laborer's Union]. He held reading meetings at his home with a group of friends, including Ciro and Ilvo Meirelles and Capt. Costa Leite, companions of Luiz Carlos Prestes and other members of the Communist Party.³⁸⁴ Accused of being one of the heads behind the communist movement, he was confined to various prisons, including the Central Police, the Detention House, the ship *Pedro I*, and the hospitals of the Military Police and *Gaffrée-Guinle Foundation* in Rio de Janeiro from December 4, 1935 to December 22, 1936.

Everardo Backheuser, in turn, signed twelve reviews, all concerning to journals in either German or Esperanto. They were: *Paedagogisches Zentrablatt*, *Die neue deutsche schule*, *Schönere Zukunft*, *Die quelle (Monatshefte fuer paedagogische reform)*, *Pedagogia Esperantista Revuo*, *Pedagogia Revuo*, and *Internacia Pedagogia Revuo (orgao oficial de Tutmonda Asocio de Geinstruistoj Esperantista)*. To these, the *Bulletin d'Information*, published in Moscow, was added. This reflected a specific linguistic competence and a concern with translating educational news from languages that were not widely spoken in Brazil. The topics ranged from the promotion of congresses and publishing houses to school cooperativism, nationalism, science education, arithmetic, manual work, and history. They demonstrated an interest in advocating for the principles of the New Education Movement and in didactic issues related to his field of expertise.

As previously mentioned, Backheuser was responsible for both the creation of the Pedagogical Crusade for the New School and the organization of the Brazilian Congress for the “New School,” with the collaboration of Edgard Sussekind de Mendonça. He was a geographer and civil engineer, with a bachelor's in physics and mathematics, and also held a PhD in physics and natural sciences. Backheuser taught at Colégio Pedro II and at the Normal School of Niterói and, between 1929 and 1930, served as director of the Museu Pedagógico Central [Central Pedagogical Museum]. His familiarity with the German language likely stemmed from living with his father, Joahannes Backheuser, who was of

³⁸³ Diana Gonçalves Vidal, “Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça,” in *Dicionário de Educadores Brasileiros*, org. Maria de Lourdes Favero and Jader Britto, 285-290 (Editora da UFRJ, 2002), 288.

³⁸⁴ Paschoal Lemme. *Memórias 2* (Cortez Editora/INEP, 1988) 218.

German descent and educated in Germany. He participated in the founding of ABE in 1924 and of the Associação Fluminense de Professores Católicos [Catholic Teachers Association] in 1928. He was a corresponding member of the Berlin Geographic Society and an honorary member of the Frankfurt Society of Geography and Statistics. He also served on the Esperanto Linguistic Committee, based in Paris.³⁸⁵

All reviews of articles written in French were signed by Francisco Venâncio Filho. Originally featured in the journals: *La nouvelle éducation*, *Magazine scientifique illustré de l'instituteur*, *Journal des instituteurs et institutrices*, *Pour l'ère nouvelle*, *Revue de l'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles*, *Renovation scolaire*, *Revue internationale du cinema educateur*, and *Vers santé*. They addressed educational cinema, children's books, surveys, sex education, school practices, early childhood education, homeschooling, educational radio, and active school—covering a wide range of topics. These subjects revealed his interests in educational cinema, as previously discussed in the Bibliography notes. They also underscored his role in disseminating the initiatives and principles of New Education in Brazil. He did the same to the English periodicals, which were all reviewed by Venâncio Filho

In addition to teaching natural sciences at the Normal School of Rio de Janeiro and Colégio Pedro II—as did Everardo Backheuser and Edgar Sussekund de Mendonça—Francisco Venâncio Filho was a founding member of ABE. According to his account, the three educators, along with Heitor Lyra, created ABE at a meeting held at the Sul-America restaurant on August 29, 1924.³⁸⁶ For Marta Carvalho,³⁸⁷ the ABE emerged from the failure to establish a political party—Ação Nacional [National Action]—, and redirected its efforts toward the “educational cause,” gaining prominence in 1927 when the campaign for national education gained public visibility. The rise of ABE coincided with the beginning of Fernando de Azevedo's educational reform in Rio de Janeiro, the city where the association was headquartered.

This explains the strong presence of educators linked to ABE in promoting the Azevedo reform and their participation in BEP. It also accounts for the double agency observed in the pages of *Boletim*. While the sections “Bibliography” and “Across Journals” showcased a dialogue with international production on the new school, the “Articles” and the “Facts and Initiatives” sections were completely rooted in advertising educational reform achievements. Certainly, such orientation was aligned with the objective of “Facts and Initiatives.” However, it is striking that the BEP did not include articles by foreign educators translated into Portuguese.

³⁸⁵ Luis Carlos Barreira, “Everardo Adolpho Backheuser,” in *Dicionário de Educadores Brasileiros*, ed. by Maria de Lourdes Favero and Jader Britto (Editora da UFRJ, 2002), 332.

³⁸⁶ Newton Sucupira, “Francisco Venâncio Filho,” in *Dicionário de Educadores Brasileiros*, org. Maria de Lourdes Favero and Jader Britto, 399-407 (Editora da UFRJ, 2002), 403.

³⁸⁷ Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho. *Molde Nacional e Fôrma Cívica: Higiene, Moral e Trabalho no projeto da Associação Brasileira de Educação (1924-1931)* (Edusf, 1998).

In *Escola Nova*, a journal published in São Paulo as the official publication of the General Board of Public Instruction, which held a similar institutional position to the BEP in Rio de Janeiro, translations of works by John Dewey, “A Criança e o Progresso Escolar” [The Child and the Schooling Progress]³⁸⁸ translated by Anísio Teixeira, and “Programas Escolares e Planos de Ensino da Alemanha e Austria” [School Programs and Teaching Plans from Germany and Austria]³⁸⁹ by Lorenzo Luzuriaga, were published in 1930—an example of contemporary educational discourse. Articles by Fernando de Azevedo and Deododato de Moraes were featured in the March/April 1931 issue of *Pour l'Ère Nouvelle* a few months later.

Thus, although it was undeniable that there was an international circulation of pedagogical publications and that Brazilian educators participated in this circuit—whether by acquiring periodicals, publishing abroad, as was the case with Maria dos Reis Campos, Fernando de Azevedo, and Deododato de Moraes, or by translating texts, as did Anísio Teixeira—an organically constituted network was not truly formed. These connections were personal, stemming from travels, such as Teixeira’s time at TC between 1928 and 1929; Laura Lacombe’s participation in the Locarno Congress in 1929; Claparède’s visit to Brazil in 1930, as discussed in Chapter 1; Kandel’s stay in 1925–1926, referenced in Chapter 3; or Ferrière’s brief visit to Rio de Janeiro, also in 1930.

The limited consolidation of Brazilian educators’ associations contributed to the dispersion of these networks. However, as Carvalho³⁹⁰ notes, internal disputes and shifts in leadership led to ABE’s isolation from the broader educational movement in the country, as early as 1928. Simultaneously, the proposal to create a National Federation of Education Societies was gaining momentum, emerging as a unifying element in the ongoing educational reform in Brazil. As the 1930 Revolution approached and “facing growing disrepute and significant decline, ABE struggled to survive, engaging in efforts to reclaim ground the lost to the Federation.”³⁹¹

However, internal conflicts over the leadership of the educational movement and its institutionalization took a new direction with the creation of the Ministry of Education and Public Health on November 14, 1930. FNSE lost support with the death of its main articulator, Vicente Licínio Cardoso. ABE eventually regained prominence, but at the cost of a split with Catholic educators such as Everardo Backheuser, who went on to establish the Brazilian Catholic Action in 1935.

³⁸⁸ John Dewey, “A criança e o progresso escolar,” *Escola Nova*, no. 1 (1930), 27-46.

³⁸⁹ Lorenzo Luzuriaga, “Programas escolares e planos de ensino da Alemanha e Austria,” *Escola Nova*, no. 2-3 (1930): 96-103.

³⁹⁰ Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho. *Molde Nacional e Fôrma Cívica: Higiene, Moral e Trabalho no projeto da Associação Brasileira de Educação (1924-1931)* (Edusf, 1998).

³⁹¹ Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho. *Molde Nacional e Fôrma Cívica: Higiene, Moral e Trabalho no projeto da Associação Brasileira de Educação (1924-1931)* (Edusf, 1998).

Other entities, however, functioned as organizers of international networks, broadening and consolidating personal contacts. We refer especially to publishers and their pedagogical collections. In 1931, Fernando de Azevedo founded the Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira [Brazilian Pedagogical Library, BPB] at Companhia Editora Nacional.³⁹² He was another addition to the initiative led by Lourenço Filho at Melhoramentos, which had been underway since 1927.

6.4 Final Comments

Upon examining the publications reviewed in the four BEP volumes issued in 1930, our intention was to scrutinize the international printed materials that arrived in Rio de Janeiro and the themes selected by the reviewers. Certainly, this sample represents only a very small fraction of what circulated among Brazilian educators. But it provides evidence that books and journals reached the nation almost simultaneously with their publication abroad.

It further demonstrates that diverse linguistic competencies were mobilized to keep pace with educational innovations and their translation. It indicates a network that, although not institutional, mobilized and interconnected educational agents across the globe, broadening perspectives beyond conventional pedagogical travels. Finally, it offers insights into how printed materials were used to promote the New Education and serve as a means of defending the educational reform advanced in Rio de Janeiro by Fernando de Azevedo.

This study, along with the other chapters in this book, connects the network that brought together both Brazilian and foreign educators within the New Education International Movement. However, this does not exhaust the possibilities for analyzing the exchanges that were established. The editorial decisions regarding translation and the curation of pedagogical collections, which became more pronounced in the 1930s, can expand the circuit outlined here, revealing other nuances and configurations, including those resulting from the geopolitical reorganization witnessed during that decade.

³⁹² Maria Rita de Almeida Toledo, *Coleção Atualidades Pedagógicas: do Projeto Político ao Projeto Editorial (1931-1981)* (Edusp, 2020).

7. *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* as a Conductive Link to Explore the Creation and Maintenance of Networks³⁹³

In 1930, the Ministry of Education and Public Health was established during the first year of President Getúlio Vargas's government. In 1937, Gustavo Capanema assumed the Ministry and passed Law No. 378, dated January 13, 1937,³⁹⁴ which renamed it the Ministry of Education and Health (MEH) and created the Instituto Nacional de Pedagogia [National Institute of Pedagogy]. However, it was only with Decree-Law No. 580 of July 30, 1938,³⁹⁵ that the new body linked to the MEH was officially implemented under the name National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (INEP).³⁹⁶ Lourenço Filho was the first president of the Institute, heading it until 1945. Anísio Teixeira, another prominent figure extensively cited in the previous chapters, held the position from 1951 to 1964.

Our interest in INEP and its official journal is justified by the fact that the first Brazilian section of the NEF was established in 1942 under the Institute's supervision, as discussed in Chapter 2. Since *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* [Brazilian Journal of Pedagogical Studies] (RBEP) was an official INEP publication, first circulated in 1944, shortly after the creation of the Brazilian section of the NEF. It is presumed that the journal would reference the activities of the section. While no direct references to the Brazilian

³⁹³ This work was carried out with the support of FAPESP, Brazil, under grant numbers 2018/26699-4, 2016/07024-0, and 2015/06456-1.

³⁹⁴ <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/lei/1930-1939/lei-378-13-janeiro-1937-398059-publicacaooriginal-1-pl.html>. Accessed February 22, 2025.

³⁹⁵ <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decrei/1930-1939/decreto-lei-580-30-julho-1938-350924-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>. Accessed February 22, 2025.

³⁹⁶ Through Decree No. 71,407 of November 20, 1972, the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos) was renamed the National Institute for Educational Studies and Research (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais, INEP), a name it retains to this day.

section were found, traces of networks involving Brazilian educators, as previously mentioned, can be identified.

RBEP serves as both a starting and an endpoint to our discussion. As a starting point, it allows us to identify who published what and when, enabling us to trace the connections of interest. As an endpoint, analyzing the context and the networks involved clarifies the moment leading to publication in RBEP. In this process of back-and-forth movement—departing from and returning to RBEP—we aim to highlight the multiple directions that characterize these networks and the circulation of individuals and artifacts within them. To this end, we adopt methodological approaches that combine the use of printed materials (journals and newspapers) as research sources in the history of Education³⁹⁷ with the concept of networks,³⁹⁸ while also following the thread of names.³⁹⁹

Bearing in mind the discussions presented in the previous chapters and a preliminary mapping of the first two decades of RBEP, we chose to focus on three case studies that illustrate the dynamics emerging from the formation of networks and contribute to the ongoing discussions. The first case is that of the American educator Carleton Washburne, and the second, the Ecuadorian educator Julio Larrea. Both Washburne and Larrea had ties to NEF and connections with Brazilian educators, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. While Washburne facilitated the establishment of the Brazilian section of the NEF in 1942, Larrea exemplifies the expansion of these networks across Latin America, as well as their centric nature. Finally, we examine a group of educators from Columbia University, especially those affiliated with Teachers College, considering the flow of Brazilians who studied at TC from the 1920s onward as a result of the creation of the International Institute, whose implications for network formation are explored in Chapters 1 and 3. We begin with a general characterization of RBEP.

7.1 RBEP and the New Education Movement

The first issue of RBEP was published in July 1944. During its first three decades, the publication served as the voice of the INEP/Ministry of Education, heavily influenced by the leadership of Lourenço Filho⁴⁰⁰ and, later, Anísio Teixeira, ensuring the “hegemony of

³⁹⁷ Vidal and Camargo, “A imprensa periódica.”

³⁹⁸ Eugenia Roldán Vera and Eckhardt Fuchs, “Introduction: The Transnational in the History of Education.” In *The Transnational in the History of Education: Concepts and Perspectives*, ed. by Eugenia Roldán Vera and Eckhardt Fuchs, 1-47. Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

³⁹⁹ Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni, “O Nome e o Como. Troca Desigual and Mercado Historiográfico,” in *A Microhistória e Outros Ensaio*s, org. Carlo Ginzburg et al., 169-178. Difel, 1989.

⁴⁰⁰ Although Lourenço Filho presided over INEP until 1945, his influence persisted under the subsequent administration of Murilo Braga de Carvalho. According to José Carlos Rothen (“O Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos: uma leitura da RBEP”, *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 86, no. 212 (2005): 193, “Murilo Braga, a career official at INEP, had strong ties to Lourenço Filho and continued his work in research on psychology, documentation, and the dissemination of educational knowledge.”

renewing thought.”⁴⁰¹ From 1944 to 1946, RBEP was issued monthly; from 1946 to 1947, bimonthly; from 1948 to 1976, quarterly; from 1977 to 1980, every four months; between April 1980 and April 1983, the publication was suspended; from May 1983 onward, it resumed a four-month publication cycle.⁴⁰² Since 2023, the journal has adopted a continuous publication format.

A review of the issues of RBEP reveals multiple elements linking the publication to the New Education Movement, whether through direct references to New Education or through articles and bibliographies citing authors associated with the movement.

References to the movement can be observed in the first issue, in the introductory text written by Minister of Education Gustavo Capanema. Capanema mentions international experiences in New Education and cites schools and educators from Europe and the United States, emphasizing that Brazil already had significant experiences in this field.

The Ministry of Education cannot be merely a bureaucratic agency, a mechanism for enumerating or recording the institutions and activities of national education. On the other hand, it would no longer be acceptable for our theoretical concerns to remain confined to the dissemination of general pedagogical ideas, which have become commonplace in the current phase of the history of New Education worldwide. We are far removed from the earliest attempts to reform pedagogical practices—such as Reddie’s experiments in England, Lietz’s in Germany, and Demolins’ in France—and beyond the stage of debating the general principles of philosophy and the science of education, as explored by Kerschensteiner, Dewey, Binet, Durkheim, Ferrière, Claparède, and others. Likewise, the foundational principles of active methods, including Montessori’s, the Dalton Plan, Decroly’s, and the Winnetka system, have already been established.

It is imperative that we examine our own directions and practices at the very heart of Brazilian school life, carefully gather the results of our own experience, and endeavor to establish, in the light of today’s generally undisputed principles and considering the most significant experiences of other countries, the specific concepts and standards that should govern our work in the various fields of education.⁴⁰³

Although emphasizing Brazilian experiences, from its first issue, the journal did not overlook the international landscape, whether through the “Informações do Estrangeiro” [Foreign Information] section or by publishing articles by educators from different countries. We are particularly interested in references to internationally renowned educators, especially those affiliated with NEF or part of the networks of Brazilian educators associated with the New Education International Movement and mentioned in previous chapters.

⁴⁰¹ Dermeval Saviani, “O INEP, o diagnóstico da educação brasileira e a Rbep,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 93, no. 234 (2012): 317.

⁴⁰² Saviani, “O INEP.”

⁴⁰³ Gustavo Capanema, “Apresentação,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 1, no. 1 (1944): 3.

The “Foreign Information” section is featured regularly until 1966. It frequently mentions foreign educators and institutions or initiatives by federal governments abroad. We can also observe the flow of Brazilian educators on missions abroad and the presence of foreign educators in Brazil.

Traces of the circulation of educators linked to New Education, some of whom were NEF members, also emerge in sections dedicated to various publications, appearing in the form of lists, excerpts from short texts published in journals, or reviews. These sections include “Bibliografia” [Bibliography], “Através de Revistas e Jornais” [Across Journals and Newspapers],⁴⁰⁴ and “Documentos” [Files].

In the first five issues published in 1944, the “Files” section included the item “Bibliografia Pedagógica Brasileira” (Brazilian Pedagogical Bibliography) which provided a survey of Brazilian publications from 1812 to 1943, including translations. Among the titles translated from 1901 to 1930 (RBEP, issue 2), the following works stand out: Edouard Claparède, *A escola e a psicologia experimental* [The School and Experimental Psychology], 1928, translation by Lourenço Filho, Melhoramentos); Decroly and Monchamp, *Iniciação à atividade intelectual e motora pelos jogos educativos* [Initiation to Intellectual and Motor Activity by Educative Play], 1929, trans. Nair Pires Ferreira, F. Brigue & Cia.); Ferrière, *A lei biogenética e a escola ativa* [Biogenetic Law and the Active School], 1929, trans. Noemi Silveira, Melhoramentos); Amelie Hamaide, *O método Decroly* [The Decroly Method] (i, 1929, trans. Alcina Tavares Guerra, Brigue & Cia.); John Dewey, *Vida e Educação* [Life and Education], 1930, trans. Anísio Teixeira, Melhoramentos). From 1931 to 1940 (RBEP, issue 3), the following works are listed: Decroly and Buyse, *Prática dos testes mentais* [The Practice of Mental Tests] (1931, trans. Nair Pires Ferreira, Brigue & Cia.); Claparède, *A educação funcional* [Functional Education], 1933, trans. Jaime Grabois, Editora Nacional); Dewey, *Como pensamos* [How We Think], 1933, trans. Godofredo Rangel, Editora Nacional); William Kilpatrick, *Educação para uma civilização em mudança* [Education for a Changing Civilization], 1932, trans. Noemi Silveira, Melhoramentos); Claparède, *Psicologia da criança* [Experimental Pedagogy and the Psychology of the Child], 1934, trans. Turiano Pereira and Aires da Mata Machado Filho, Imprensa Oficial, Belo Horizonte); Luzuriaga, *A escola única* [The Unified School], 1934, trans. J. B. Damasco Penna, Melhoramentos).

Next, we focus on the three cases selected to explore the international networks in which Brazilian educators participated.

7.2 Carleton Washburne

⁴⁰⁴ “Bibliografia” (Bibliography) is a section featured regularly until 1946. “Através de Revistas e Jornais” (Across Journals and Newspapers) was published under this title until 1960, when it was divided into three sections: “Livros” (Books), “Revistas” (Journals), and “Jornais” (Newspapers). In 1962, the journal starts using “Através de Revistas e Jornais”, as well as “Livros.”

The decision to focus on references to Washburne is justified by his role in establishing the Brazilian section of the NEF. As discussed in Chapter 2, Washburne presided over the Progressive Education Association, the U.S. section of the NEF, when he traveled across South America on a study mission commissioned by the U.S. Department of State in 1942. It was through his efforts that the Brazilian section was established, with Lourenço Filho and Carneiro Leão serving as president and vice president, respectively.

Although there is a lack of direct references to the Brazilian section of the NEF, Washburne's presence in RBEP is noteworthy. The first significant reference to the American educator appears in the journal's first year, issue No. 3, within the "Foreign Information" section.⁴⁰⁵ The note mentions Washburne's presence in Italy, working as Director of Education and states that he had previously served as president of NEF.⁴⁰⁶ The inclusion of this information suggests that the editors of RBEP—perhaps through the president of INEP—were closely following the Washburne's activities, likely due to his visit to Brazil in 1942 and his continued connections with Brazilian educators, such as Carneiro Leão.

Also in 1944, issue No. 4 featured an article by Washburne titled "A pesquisa na educação." [Research in Education]⁴⁰⁷ No other articles by him were subsequently published in RBEP. A new review, again listed under the "Foreign Information" section,⁴⁰⁸ was featured the following year, once more reporting on Washburne's work in Italy, where he led a commission aimed at eliminating Nazi propaganda from textbooks. No further notes were located. The absence of new articles and notes may indicate the discontinuation of the Brazilian section of the NEF and the severance of contact with Washburne.

Aside from "A pesquisa em educação" Washburne published other articles in Brazilian periodicals. During his visit to Brazil in 1942, the article "Que é Educação Nova?" ["What is new education?"] was featured in the journal *Formação*⁴⁰⁹ under the same title as the lectures he delivered, which were reported in Brazilian newspapers, giving us an idea of the content of his presentations in the various South American countries he visited.

ABE was also one of the venues where Washburne delivered a lecture, an event covered by newspapers and recorded in the association's meeting minutes. Since its inception, ABE has welcomed foreign educators and thus expanded its networks. Years later, it was time for Julio Larrea, an Ecuadorian educator, to be welcomed at ABE.

⁴⁰⁵ "Informação do estrangeiro," *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 1, no. 3 (1944): 464.

⁴⁰⁶ This reflects a clear conflation between PEA and NEF, as Washburne was president of the PEA from 1939 to 1943 and only assumed the presidency of NEF in the late 1940s.

⁴⁰⁷ Carleton Washburne, "A pesquisa na educação," *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 2, no. 4 9 (1944): 65-69.

⁴⁰⁸ "Informação do estrangeiro," *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 3, no. 7 (1945): 114.

⁴⁰⁹ Carleton Washburne, "Que é Educação Nova?," *Formação: Revista Brasileira de Educação* 5, no. 49 (1942): 21-29.

7.3 Julio Larrea

Two articles by Julio Larrea were identified in RBEP. The first, published in 1945 under the title “A educação equatoriana e seus problemas” [Ecuadorian Education and its Problems], and the second, “Espírito, tendências e problemas da educação latino-americana” [Spirit, Trends and Problems of Latin-American Education], was featured in 1947. The publication of the first article coincides with Larrea’s visit to Brazil.

It is difficult to affirm with certainty when Larrea’s interactions with Brazilian educators began. However, one possibility is that the NEF congress in Ann Arbor in 1941 played a significant role in either establishing or strengthening existing networks.

Following the NEF congress, Larrea was invited by the U.S. government and various universities to teach in higher education in 1941, 1943, 1948, and 1965. In 1948, he was invited by Julian Huxley, the first Director-General of UNESCO, to join the General Council of the International Seminar on Education and Teacher Training, held that same year in England. He was also appointed an honorary member of the United Nations Human Rights Council.⁴¹⁰

One of Larrea’s great achievements was the creation and publication of the journal *Nueva Era*. He founded the periodical in 1933 while serving as Director of Education in the province of León—now Cotopaxi—in Ecuador. He edited the journal on his own and published special issues during his tenures in Mexico, Chile, and Brazil. In 1945, he published a bilingual version under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil. Several volumes were published in a bilingual Spanish-English format. Throughout its existence, the journal was primarily characterized for featuring contributions from educators from many countries. Articles by Washburne and other educators affiliated with PEA and/or NEF had already been featured in *Nueva Era*. Internationally renowned educators, including those deemed “traditionalists,” such as Isaac Kandel, also contributed.

In 1945, while traveling through South America delivering lectures, Larrea spent two months in Brazil and maintained contact with Lourenço Filho. Reported by the Brazilian press, Larrea’s trip was the result of an invitation from the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual [Intellectual Cooperation Division] of Itamaraty [Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs].⁴¹¹ Larrea arrived in August 1945. He delivered a lecture at ABE during his visit to Rio de Janeiro, participated as a speaker at the Normalist Congress on Rural Education in Campinas, São Paulo, and at the Faculty of Philosophy, where he presented the conference *Espírito, tendências e problemas da educação latino-americana* [Spirit,

⁴¹⁰ Elba A. Martinez de Larrea, “Julio Larrea (1904-1987),” *Prospects* 40, (2010): 559-564.

⁴¹¹ “Professor Julio Larrea”, *Correio Paulistano* (August 17, 1945): 5. Accessed February 23, 2025. http://memoria.bn.gov.br/docreader/090972_09/24723

Trends, and Problems of Latin American Education].⁴¹² The identical title suggests that his second article published in RBEP resulted from his presentation at the Faculty of Philosophy. It is noteworthy that RBEP does not mention Larrea's visit to Brazil (or other countries) in its "Foreign Information" section, yet the visit was reported in the journal *The New Era* in July 1946.

His stay in Brazil resulted in a special issue of *Nueva Era*, edited and published by Larrea in 1945. The publication features articles by Lourenço Filho, "A educação brasileira e seus problemas" [Brazilian Education and its Problems]; Carneiro Leão, "Pensamento e ação" [Thought and Action]; Celso Kelly, "A educação e o após-guerra" [Education and the Post-War Period]; Raul Bittencourt, "Perspectiva histórica dos ideais de educação no Brasil" [Historical Perspectives of Brazilian Educational Ideals]; Francisco Venâncio Filho, "Fontes para a história da educação brasileira" [Sources to the Brazilian History of Education]; Armando Hildebrand, "Administração da educação no Brasil" [Educational Administration in Brazil]; Ineizl Penna Marinho, "A verdadeira significação do I Congresso Argentino de Educação Física" (The Real Meaning of the First Argentine Conference of Physical Education); and Menezes de Oliveira, "Associação Brasileira de Educação: os estudos objetivos da educação no Brasil" [ABE: Objective Studies of Brazilian Education]. The same texts by Kelly and Venâncio Filho were also published in RBEP that same year, and it is possible that other articles in the *Nueva Era* edition dedicated to Brazil also reproduced texts published in other Brazilian journals. Following the section containing the aforementioned articles, there is one featuring a series of short biographies of the following Brazilian figures: Antônio Carneiro Leão, Antônio de Almeida Júnior, Anísio Spínola Teixeira, Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, Celso Kelly, Everardo Backheuser, Fernando de Azevedo, Francisco Campos, Gustavo Capanema, Helena Antipoff, J. P. Coelho de Souza, Lourenço Filho, Mario Augusto Teixeira de Freitas, Maria dos Reis Campos, Noemy Silveira Rudolfer, Sud Mennucci, and Venâncio Filho. In the same volume, the section "La Educación en America," features another text by Lourenço Filho, described in the table of contents as "Discurso del Dr. Lourenço Filho, Director del I.N.E.P. del Brasil, al presentar al professor Larrea ante la Asociación Brasileña de Educación."

Texts by Brazilian authors such as Carneiro Leão and Lourenço Filho were already circulating in earlier issues of *Nueva Era*. In fact, at least one article by Lourenço Filho could be found in each volume of issues 13–16 of *Nueva Era*, published from 1943 to 1947.⁴¹³ In addition to the special issue edited in Brazil, the volumes we analyzed⁴¹⁴

⁴¹² "Problemas da educação latino-americana", *Correio Paulistano* (November 2, 1945): 6 http://memoria.bn.gov.br/docreader/090972_09/25925; "Conferências", *Jornal do Commercio* (September 5, 1945): 5 http://memoria.bn.gov.br/docreader/364568_13/27036. Accessed February 23, 2025.

⁴¹³ Rafaela Silva Rabelo, "From Brazil to the United States. From Teachers College, Columbia University to the World: Appropriation, Production, and Circulation of Ideas in the Field of Education." In *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, ed. by Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Vivian Batista, 70-88. Routledge, 2024.

⁴¹⁴ We did not have access to the *Nueva Era* issues published in the 1930s, which prevented us from tracking when the first Brazilian contributions first appeared in the magazine. In total, volumes 10 (1944),

revealed the following contributions by Brazilian educators: Volume 10 (1941) – Caneiro Leão, “La evolución de la educación en el Brasil y las tendencias de su civilización” [The Evolution of Education in Brazil and Its Civilization Tendencies], Silvio Rabelo; “Psicología de la Infancia” [Psychology of Infancy], and Hollanda Loyola, “Educación deportiva” [Sports Education]; Volume 13 (1944) – Lourenço Filho, “Estadística y Educación: La educación es un fenómeno de masa” [Statistics and Education: Education Is a Mass Phenomenon]; Volume 14 (1945) – Lourenço Filho, “La Psicología al Servicio de la Organización” [Psychology at the Service of the Organization]; Volume 16 (1947) – Lourenço Filho, “La práctica de la enseñanza” [The Practice of Teaching] and Altamir de Moura, “Literatura” [Literature],

In this context, it is worth highlighting how Julio Larrea connected and created a network of international educators through *Nueva Era*, especially by gathering and circulating the work of neighboring Latin American countries. In the same vein, it is worth noting that *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, affiliated with INEP under the directorship of Lourenço Filho, also published works by international authors, including Latin American educators, some of whom were also featured in *Nueva Era*, such as Juan Mantovani and Ernesto Nelson, from Argentina.

7.4 Educators Affiliated with Teachers College, Columbia University

References to the U.S. are frequent in the early years of RBEP. In its first numbers, the references are listed under either the “Foreign Information” section or in the “Bibliographies.” Yet articles by American educators have been featured since the first year. We will focus specifically on a few names linked to Teachers College (TC), Columbia University, given their international prominence and the connections Brazilian educators had with that institution.

Mapping the articles by authors affiliated with Columbia University and published from 1944 to 1949 reveals the following scenario: 1944 – John L. Childs, “Democracia e método educacional” [Democracy and Educational Method]; 1945 – Frank W. Cyr, “A educação rural nos Estados Unidos” [Rural Education in the U.S.]; Gertrude Driscoll, “A conduta da criança na escola e como observá-la” [Child Conduct in School and How to Observe It]; Charles Wagley, “Estudos regionais e problemas sociais” [Regional Studies and Social Problems]; 1947 – William Bagley, “A formação dos professores nos Estados Unidos” [Teacher Training in the U.S.]; Willard S. Elsbree, “A educação primária nos Estados Unidos” [Primary Education in the U.S.]. Although the frequency of articles was irregular, it is noteworthy that in 1945 three contributions by educators affiliated with Columbia University were published, all linked to TC except for Wagley.

13 (1944, edited in Mexico), 14 (1945, edited in Chile), 15 (1945, edited in Brazil), and 16 (1947) were analyzed.

Cyr's article includes the following footnote, likely added by the RBEP editor, explaining its origin:

The American Council of Education, an organization that brings together education associations and related interest groups in the United States, entrusted several specialists, under the overall direction of Prof. I. L. Kandel, with the drafting of various studies describing the most important aspects of education in this great country. Duly authorized, *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* publishes here one of these valuable studies.⁴¹⁵

The articles by Bagley⁴¹⁶ and Elsbree⁴¹⁷ include the same footnote, noting that the texts were published “in the series of pamphlets issued by the American Council on Education about Education in the United States.” Regarding Driscoll's⁴¹⁸ article, the footnote states: “Summary prepared by Francisco S. Céspedes of the Department of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union, and published by that organization in its series of pamphlets on education.” Thus, considering the origins of the articles by Cyr, Bagley, Elsbree, and Driscoll, two organizations—the American Council on Education and the Pan American Union—and one individual—Kandel—emerge as key connections to RBEP articles.

There are no explanatory footnotes for the articles by Childs and Wagley. In Wagley's case, Brazilian press reports indicate that he delivered a lecture at the Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos in 1945 under the same title as the article.⁴¹⁹

Bagley's and Wagley's connections with Brazilian educators have already been explored in historiography to varying extents. For instance, Bagley's courses at the TC were attended by Brazilian students such as Anísio Teixeira, while Lourenço Filho met him during his 1935 visit to the United States in the company of Carneiro Leão.⁴²⁰

Although not affiliated with TC—he was a professor in the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University—Wagley exemplifies the expansion of networks and the circulation and consolidation of sociological studies. He was in Brazil on a field study trip between 1939 and 1940, conducting research for his doctorate, completed in 1941. During World War II, he worked at the Serviço Especial de Saúde Pública [Special Service of Public

⁴¹⁵ Frank W. Cyr, “A educação rural nos Estados Unidos,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 4, no. 10 (1945): 5.

⁴¹⁶ William C. Bagley, “A formação dos professores nos Estados Unidos,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 10, no. 28 (1947): 426-454.

⁴¹⁷ Willard S. Elsbree, “A educação primária nos Estados Unidos,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 11, no. 30 (1947): 249.

⁴¹⁸ Gertrude Driscoll, “A conduta da criança na escola e como observá-la,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 6, no. 16 (1945): 25.

⁴¹⁹ “Conferências”, *O Jornal* (December 6, 1945): 3, Accessed February 23, 2025. http://memoria.bn.gov.br/docreader/110523_04/30676

⁴²⁰ Rocha, “Experiências Norte-Americanas;” Warde, “O itinerário de formação.”

Health – SESP], a bilateral agency established in 1942 through collaboration between the Brazilian government and the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. After the war, he returned to Columbia University but continued his studies and maintained contacts in Brazil.⁴²¹ Anísio Teixeira's personal collection, housed at CPDOC/FGV, reveal the correspondences exchanged with Wagley during the 1950s and 1960s. According to Kottak,⁴²² Wagley collaborated with “two distinguished scholars from Bahia, the educator Anísio Teixeira and, especially, the anthropologist Thales de Azevedo” while “[directing] the Bahia State-Columbia University Community Study Project in 1951-1952.”

Authors affiliated with the TC continued to appear in RBEP issues throughout the 1950s. We wish to highlight some of their names: Edmund de S. Brunner, William Kilpatrick, George Counts, and Isaac Kandel. In the case of Kilpatrick, Counts, and Kandel, it calls our attention that their articles only appeared in RBEP during the 1950s, despite being cited by other authors in earlier issues. Brunner, Kandel, and Counts were the most frequently published Teachers College-affiliated authors in RBEP during the 1940s and 1950s. Notably, Kilpatrick, Kandel, and Counts taught Brazilian educators mentioned in previous chapters during the early waves of exchange in the 1920s and 1930s. Next, we will analyze the situation of each of the aforementioned authors.

The two articles by Edmund de S. Brunner were published in 1950 in the first two issues of Volume 14: “Educação e migração rural nos Estados Unidos” [Education and Rural Migration in the U.S.] and “A educação de adultos através do Serviço de Extensão dos Estados Unidos” [Adult Education Through the United States Extension Service]. The first article was published in an RBEP issue focused on rural education. A footnote states that the article was translated by Célia Neves, but no information is provided regarding its original publication in a different journal, as was the case with other articles in that issue. The following issue, in which Brunner's article is featured, resumes the discussion on rural education. Once again, only the translator's name is mentioned.

We located a mimeographed copy of an article by Brunner in Anísio Teixeira's personal archive, titled “Implications of Recent Rural Surveys for the Rural School with Special Reference to the High School Curriculum.” No date is provided. No further information was identified indicating possible interactions between Brunner and Brazilian educators.

Kilpatrick's article, “A filosofia da educação de Dewey” [Dewey's Philosophy of Education] was published in 1953. A footnote states that the article was “transcribed, in translation by Célia Neves, from Vol. XVII, No. 2 (January 1953) of ‘The Educational Forum,’ United States.” Dewey's passing in 1952 and the fact that Anísio Teixeira—one of his main

⁴²¹ Conrad Phillip Kottak, “Charles Wagley: his career, his work, his legacy,” *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi*, Ciências Humanas 9, no. 3 (2014): 623-630; Richard Pace, “O legado de Charles Wagley: uma introdução,” *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas* 9, no. 3 (2014): 597-602.

⁴²² Kottak, “Charles Wagley.”

advocates in Brazil—had assumed the leadership of INEP in 1951 must be taken into account.

In the case of Counts, two articles were identified, with the second one published in a series of two parts within the same year in consecutive issues of RBEP: “A educação dos Estados Unidos através do espelho soviético” [American Education Through the Soviet Looking Glass] (1953) and “Educação para uma sociedade de homens livres na era tecnológica” [Education for a Society of Free Men in the Technological Age] (1957).⁴²³ Kandel accounted for the highest frequency of contributions, totaling four articles throughout the 1950s. “A educação do adolescente” [Adolescent Education] (1951);⁴²⁴ “O estudo da educação comparada” [The Study of Comparative Education] (1956);⁴²⁵ “A igualdade de oportunidades educacionais e seus problemas” [Equality of Educational Opportunities and its Problems] (1957);⁴²⁶ “Fim de uma controvérsia” [End of a Controversy] (1959).⁴²⁷ Kandel’s higher frequency of articles, as well as the diversity of the journals from which they were sourced, highlight RBEP’s interest in showcasing his work.

Considering that Counts and Kandel had been teaching Brazilian students at TC since the 1920s, what led to their articles appearing specifically in the 1950s, rather than in the RBEP’s early years? One hypothesis is that Anísio Teixeira’s tenure at INEP from 1951 to 1964 contributed to maintaining the networks established with TC educators in the 1920s. In 1959, Anísio Teixeira wrote the foreword to the Brazilian edition of Kandel’s book *A New Era in Education*.⁴²⁸ Although Teixeira did not contribute to the issue of the *Educational Yearbook* edited by Kandel, someone within his networks did write about Brazil during the publication’s existence—Carneiro Leão. Carneiro Leão was frequently featured in the RBEP during its early years of publication.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Kandel had previously visited Brazil during his study tour between 1925 and 1926. Counts visited Brazil in 1957 upon invitation of the Brazilian Center for Pedagogical Studies [Centro Brasileiro de Estudos Pedagógicos], which was affiliated with INEP, and the Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos,⁴²⁹ delivering lectures whose titles matched his articles published in RBEP that same year. Counts’ opening remarks

⁴²³ This article was published in two parts, in issues 67 and 68 of the RBEP. In the first part, there is an extensive footnote explaining that the texts are the result of four lectures given by Counts during his visit to Brazil.

⁴²⁴ According to a footnote, the article had been “Transcribed from Vol. XIX, year 1950, of “Nueva Era,” Ecuador.”

⁴²⁵ Another footnote states that the article had been “Transcribed from no. 1, volume XX, related to the month of November 1955, by The Educational Forum, with translation by Celia Neves Lazzarotto.”

⁴²⁶ According to a footnote, “Transcribed from the International Review of Education, with translation by Education Assistant Evandro de Oliveira Bastos.”

⁴²⁷ According to a footnote, “Transcribed from The Educational Forum, vol. XXII, nº 2, with translation by teaching assistant Maria Helena Rapp.”

⁴²⁸ Kanel, Uma Nova Era em Educação.

⁴²⁹ “Mestre americano dará curso para homens livres na era tecnológica”, *Correio da Manhã* (1957, 24 setembro): 15, Accessed February 23, 2025. http://memoria.bn.gov.br/DocReader/089842_06/82027

prior to commencing the lecture are included in a footnote published in the first part of his article, in addition to explaining that the articles are reproductions of four lectures given at the headquarters of ABE.

First of all, I wish to express my deep gratitude to all of you for the honor you have bestowed upon me by inviting me to visit the great Republic of Brazil and see your remarkable country. I am sure that my people would want me to bring you their warmest greetings and best wishes. The relations between our two nations have always been marked by mutual respect and friendship. May it always be so. One more word belongs in this introductory statement. I have not come to tell you how to organize your education or for what purposes. I clarified this point to Dr. Anísio Teixeira when he visited me a year ago in New York last winter. Attempting to advise you would go against my entire educational philosophy, as I will emphasize in my lectures. I have come only to share my own perspectives, which are deeply rooted in the experience of my people.⁴³⁰

This excerpt from Counts' introduction highlights the persistence of the networks linking Anísio Teixeira to the TC through his connections with professors such as Counts and Kandel. These same networks would later facilitate his appointment as a visiting professor at Columbia University in 1963, where he was awarded a medal for his "Distinguished Service."

7.5 Final Comments

The analysis of RBEP's early years reveals evidence of both preexisting networks and the emergence of new connections. The presence of articles by authors such as William Bagley, George Counts, and Isaac Kandel highlights the continued influence of scholars linked to TC as key references in Brazilian education. Meanwhile, figures like Charles Wagley exemplify the expansion and transformation of these networks, reflecting the emergence and consolidation of new fields of study.

If, as Saviani⁴³¹ states, RBEP's early years reflect the influence of Lourenço Filho and, from 1951 onward, that of Anísio Teixeira, then the presence of articles or references to the authors highlighted in this chapter can, at least in part, be understood as a result of the networks of which these educators were part. In this context, the presence of a Washburne article, along with notes on his role in Italian education during the war, as well as articles by Larrea, aligns with Lourenço Filho's involvement with NEF, particularly after the establishment of the Brazilian section in 1942. The presence of Counts and Kandel in RBEP during the 1950s aligns with Anísio Teixeira's leadership at INEP, showcasing the persistence and continuity of the connections forged in the 1920s, as discussed in Chapter 5.

⁴³⁰ Counts, "Educação para uma sociedade," 64.

⁴³¹ Saviani, "O INEP."

8. Final Considerations

Throughout the chapters of this book, one can trace movements in multiple directions that connected Brazilian educators and organizations to the New Education International Movement. Through the cases examined, connections unfold, involving individuals, organizations, and publications both synchronically and diachronically.

Using the concept of networks as a unifying category across this book's chapters, it becomes evident that these educational networks took shape primarily from the 1920s onward, largely driven by study and work missions. In this context, combining the notion of networks with the concept of hub helps illustrate that these exchanges and travels occurred in multiple directions, challenging the traditional center-periphery model. We highlight the movement of Brazilian educators on missions to Europe and the U.S., as well as the presence of European and American educators in Brazil. Exploring these journeys through a transnational perspective further reveals exchanges between Brazilian educators and other Latin American countries.

Although the evidence points to polycentric networks, it is also essential to consider the varying intensity and duration of such connections. The relationships of Brazilian—and Latin American—educators with NEF were marked by its ephemeral nature at the formal level, despite discussions continuing to circulate through printed materials or personal connections between Brazilian educators and NEF members, even in the absence of official ties. In contrast to Teachers College, a steady and growing flow of Brazilian educators can be observed from the 1920s onward. Interestingly, the most intense and lasting connections were anchored at the individual rather than the institutional level, as evidenced by the ongoing dialogues between Kandel, Anísio Teixeira, and Carneiro Leão.

Several Brazilian organizations established in the first half of the 20th century were still in the process of consolidation, such as INEP, which remains active to this day. Others were short-lived despite having a significant national impact and international resonance at the time, such as FNSE. Others yet, like ABE, held prestige in the 1920s and 1930s but gradually declined in the following decades, regardless of being still active. Thus, the dispersal and eventual dissolution of certain networks, such as those linking Brazilian educators to NEF, can also be attributed to fluctuations in the life cycle of educational

associations that could have anchored these networks and served as hubs—a pattern that would also affect the NEF in the 1940s.

While the cases examined in these chapters shed light on the formation of networks and the actors involved in the New Education International Movement, further research is needed to explore “whole networks,” compiling data on the connections between all individuals within a given network. Such an approach would provide a deeper understanding of each actor’s role, as well as the overall structure and functioning of the network.⁴³² This approach would be particularly valuable in uncovering key figures who played important roles within these networks but have remained largely unknown.

⁴³² Bonnie H. Erickson, “Social networks and history: a review essay,” *Historical Methods* 30, no. 3 (1997): 149-157.

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