

A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT AGAINST THE *ESTADO NOVO* IN PORTUGAL

Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira and Her Clash
with Alfredo Pimenta over the Teaching of History in the Mid-1930s

Uma aluna secundarista contra o Estado Novo em Portugal: Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto
Ferreira e seu embate com Alfredo Pimenta sobre o ensino de História em meados da
década de 1930

Una estudiante de secundaria contra el Estado Novo en Portugal: Carmina de Santa Clara
Pinto Ferreira y su enfrentamiento con Alfredo Pimenta sobre la enseñanza de la Historia a
mediados de los años 1930

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Abstract: In 1935, at the beginning of the Estado Novo in Portugal, at the main teacher training institution in the country, the Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa, a high school student, Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira, presented a conference in which she defended the teaching of History in levels that would provide a democratic vision of the world. She criticized Alfredo Pimenta, a historian linked to the regime and was expelled from that school. The objective of this work is to enable the understanding of views of History and, therefore of society, which coexisted, in the mid-1930s, with the authoritarian conception of the world, increasingly implemented by the Estado Novo. The methodology used was to analyze the few texts found about the event. Documentary gaps were filled with secondary sources, such as the press of the time and letters from one of the protagonists. This was done in parallel to bibliographic research that supported the understanding of the topic.

Keywords: history teaching; teacher training; authoritarian education; history of education.

Resumo: Em 1935, no início do Estado Novo em Portugal, na principal instituição formadora de professores do país, a Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa, uma aluna secundarista, Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira, apresentou conferência na qual defendia um ensino da História em patamares que propiciassem uma visão democrática de mundo. Ela criticou Alfredo Pimenta, historiador ligado ao regime, e foi expulsa dessa escola. É objetivo deste trabalho possibilitar a compreensão de visões de História e, portanto, de sociedade, que conviviam, em meados da década de 1930, com a concepção autoritária de mundo, em implantação crescente pelo Estado Novo. A metodologia utilizada foi a de análise dos poucos textos encontrados sobre o ocorrido. As lacunas documentais foram preenchidas com fontes secundárias, como a imprensa da época e cartas de um dos protagonistas. Isso, em paralelo à pesquisa bibliográfica que deu suporte à compreensão do tema.

Palavras-chave: ensino de história; formação de professores; educação autoritária; história da educação.

Resumen: En 1935, en los inicios del Estado Novo en Portugal, en la principal institución de formación docente del país, la Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa, una estudiante de secundaria llamada Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira presentó una conferencia en la que defendió la enseñanza de la Historia en niveles que hubieran permitido una visión democrática del mundo. Criticó a Alfredo Pimenta, historiador vinculado al régimen, y fue expulsada de esa escuela. El objetivo de este trabajo es posibilitar la comprensión de visiones de la Historia y, por tanto, de la sociedad, que coexistieron, a mediados de la década de 1930, con la concepción autoritaria del mundo, cada vez más implementada por el Estado Novo. La metodología utilizada fue analizar los pocos textos encontrados sobre el incidente. Los vacíos documentales se llenaron con fuentes secundarias, como la prensa de la época y cartas de uno de los protagonistas. Esto, en paralelo a la investigación bibliográfica que apoyó la comprensión del tema.

Palabras clave: enseñanza de la historia; formación de profesores; educación autoritaria; historia de la educación.

INTRODUCTION

In the 1930s, authoritarianism was riding fast around the world. So it was in Portugal. The country was then transforming a military dictatorship that began in 1926 into a constitutional, but not democratic, State, the so-called *Estado Novo* [New State]. In it, since 1933, there was an authoritarian institutional arrangement, in which Salazar, the perennial leader later on, had become a despotic head of government, now in some sort of civil dictatorship with some parliamentary activity. At that moment, there was still resistance to the *Estado Novo*. It was impossible to foresee that it would last until 1974. The early years of the *Estado Novo* were dubious, as the country was exiting a military dictatorship, but was not returning to a civil democracy. This dubiousness caused contradictory acts on the part of the groups trying to counteract the growing authoritarianism. In this article, one of these actions will be presented. In 1935, at the main educational institution for training teachers in Portugal, the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa* [Lisbon Primary Teacher Training School], a high school student delivered a lecture in which she advocated for a teaching of History at levels that would provide a democratic vision of the world. That, at a time when the *Estado Novo* was beginning the repression of any dissident thinking as to the authoritarianism that was proposed to Portuguese society. The result for the speaker was catastrophic. Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira was expelled from the school two months after her conference. However, such events provided us with the possibility of glimpsing the tensions and resistances that the authoritarianism of the *Estado Novo* could not yet suppress.

The original intention was to follow the arguments that justified the student's expulsion through the minutes of the School Council. Or, perhaps, to find the expulsion process itself archived. In the Historical Archive of the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa*, for the initial period of the *Estado Novo*, the Minutes Book of the School Council was preserved, comprising the period from 1930 to 1934, which is irrelevant to the current research. For the decisive final years of its operation, 1935 and 1936, before the school's activities ended for six years, the minutes of the School Council (Pintassilgo & Pedro, 2012) were not preserved. Exhaustive search was performed in all 175 pages of the Historical Archive Inventory. One or another secondary document was consulted, but nothing relevant was found involving the expulsion process of the student Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira. The expulsion process or other documents referring to Carmina Ferreira were searched for in the archives of Torre do Tombo, in the *Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa* [Lisbon Municipal Archive], in the archives of the *Fundação Mário Soares* [Mário Soares Foundation], in the archives of the *Centro de Documentação e Informação da Direção-Geral da Educação de Portugal* [Documentation and Information Center of the General Administration for the Education of Portugal], and in the *Serviços de Documentação e Arquivo da Secretaria-Geral da Educação e Ciência de Portugal* [Documentation and Archive

Services of the General Department of Education and Science of Portugal]. Nothing was found. In a last attempt, we sought contact with a current family member of hers, who was recently living in Amadora, in the surroundings of Lisbon: Mrs. Fernanda Isabel da Silva Palyart Ferreira. This attempt was also unsuccessful. As a subsidiary source for the contextualization of the period, the *Diário de Lisboa* newspaper was researched, which comprehended the entire first half of 1935. Therefore, the current article was prepared with scarce documentation about the narrated events.

The documentary gaps could make the analysis of the reported conflicts unfeasible. In part, this loss is unavoidable, unless new documents about what happened are located. Attempt was made at alleviating this shortcoming with regard to the documentation of the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa* with secondary sources. In this sense, the personal correspondence of the protagonists involved was searched for in Portuguese archives. As for Alfredo Pimenta's actions, this was very enlightening. Deepening this path, special attention was paid to what the *Diário de Lisboa* newspaper reported about him back then.

It is possible to notice that Alfredo Pimenta used the persecution of Carmina Ferreira and his father as a lever to become the prototype of the intellectual representative of the *Estado Novo*. He exemplarily punished fragile opponents. However, such an act showed his intellectual leadership in the increasingly authoritarian Salazar regime.

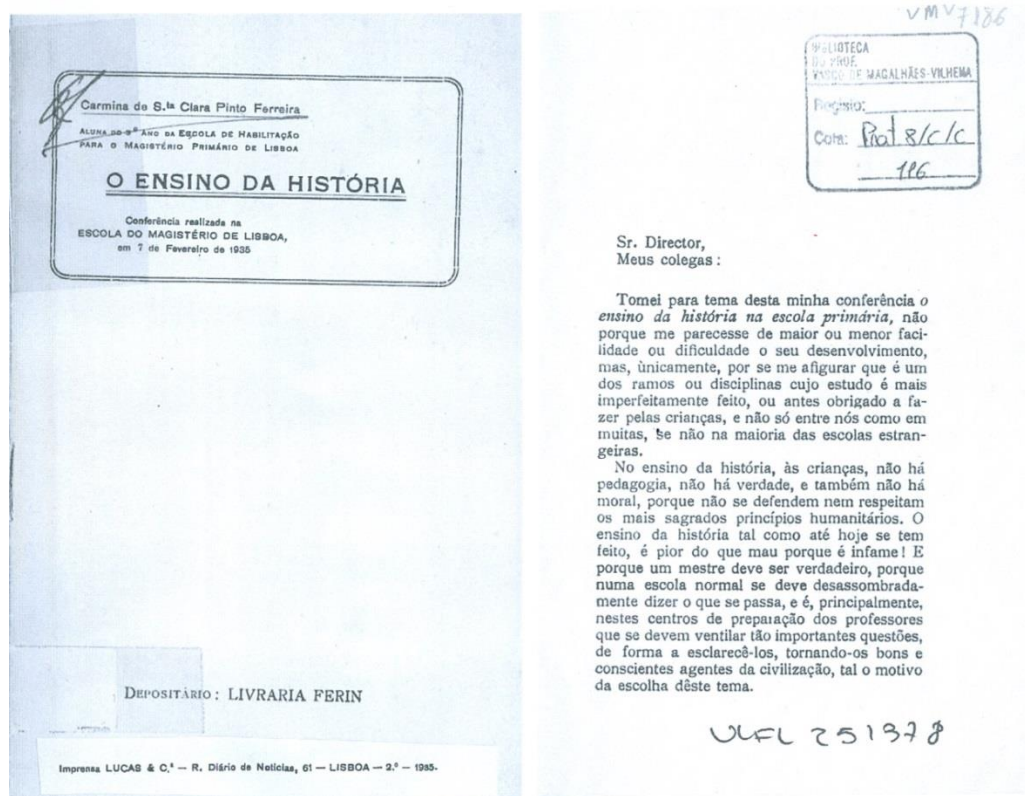
The article is relevant because it presents, in practice, how an intellectual institutionally ascended by adhering explicitly to an authoritarian regime. To this end, other people, such as a high school student or her father, who identified themselves with liberal democracy, were categorically punished. In the midst of all that, he used conflicting views on the teaching of History as an arena for the dispute of divergent world conceptions. The text intertwined concrete examples of people acting in this vortex of boiling power in the rising *Estado Novo*. The authoritarianism of a regime is not reinforced in vacuum. The article presents how intellectual disputes may be elements of resistance or acceleration of authoritarian regimes. The narrated events are useful to understanding the relationships between seemingly subtle disputes on the teaching of History and the effective construction of authoritarianism.

It is the objective of this article to enable the understanding of visions of History and, therefore, of society, which lived in the mid-1930s, with the authoritarian conception of world, in increasing implementation by the *Estado Novo*. The methodology used was the analysis of the few texts found on what happened. The documentary gaps were filled with secondary sources, such as the press of the time and letters from one of the protagonists. All that, in parallel to the bibliographic research that supports the understanding of the theme.

CARMINA FERREIRA'S LECTURE ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

In teacher education, it was customary for students to present orally, in class, works that analyzed the future content they would teach. It was no different at the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa* in the mid-1930s. During her teaching qualification course, Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira, on February 7, 1935, delivered a lecture entitled '*O ensino da história*' [The Teaching of History], a theme that was under the responsibility of Professor Manuel Múrias. It should have been commonplace. She was probably criticized, and some of her opinions, contested, as per usual in an oral work presentation. However, something unexpected changed the directions of Carmina Ferreira's academic, personal, and family life. It is the fact that she brought printed materials to the School and distributed some copies of the work she had presented, such as small book of only 14 pages, whose cover and first page are shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1 – *O ensino da história*



Source: Ferreira (1935, pp. 1-2). Preserved in the personal library of Prof. Vasco de Magalhães-Vilhena and currently stored in the library of the University of Lisbon's School of Arts and Humanities. The full text is available through the link provided later in the current article.

It was the beginning of the *Estado Novo*. The repression of dissident thinking as to increasing authoritarianism in Portugal was in its early days. Carmina Ferreira had not been sufficiently attentive to the possible consequences of her conference at the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa*, in February 1935. She still believed that freedom of thought was preserved in that institution. If it was just an oral presentation, the subject would have died right there. However, her short, printed text allowed her to be exposed to the wrath of Alfredo Pimenta, a historian mentioned in her work. This led to Carmina Ferreira's expulsion from her school in April 1935. It also resulted, in the following month, in the compulsory dismissal of her father, Fernando Alfredo Palyart Pinto Ferreira, from the board of the educational sector of Casa Pia de Lisboa.

The *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa* was the denomination, since 1930, of the former *Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa* [Lisbon Normal Primary School], operating in its own building, in the Benfica neighborhood, since 1918. The *Escola Superior de Educação de Lisboa* [Lisbon Superior School of Education] currently operates in it, as illustrated in Figure 2:

Figure 2 – Current Escola Superior de Educação de Lisboa



Source: Ferreira et al., (2018, p. 33).

The intellectual ambience at the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa* is important to understanding the events narrated here, but, in the scope of an article, it is not possible to focus on this institution. Its trajectory was analyzed exemplarily by Joaquim Pintassilgo (2001, 2012, 2018), Pintassilgo and Serrazina (2009), Pintassilgo and Pedro (2012), Pintassilgo and Mogarro (2015), and by Nuno Martins Ferreira (2017a, 2017b). However, with the invaluable contribution of Nuno Martins Ferreira, responsible for the Historical Archive of this school, any and all preserved documents were about what happened with Carmina Ferreira were searched for.

The expulsion of Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira, in April 1935, is known, on the grounds of an article in the School's regulation regarding moral deficiency for

the exercise of teaching, as said expulsion was disclosed by the clandestine newspaper *Avante!*, an organ of the Portuguese Communist Party. Such a source will be addressed later.

The only scholar found to deal with the events involving Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira was Prof. Moreirinhas – this is how he is still affectionately referred to by the team of the Historical Archive of the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa*. Among the oldest members of this team, it is consensus that the preservation of the documentary collection that existed there was only possible due to the efforts of Prof. Moreirinhas during the troubled period for the institution, right after the Carnation Revolution. There is testimony by him that briefly addresses the subject (Pinheiro, 2009). For more information about this professor, it is appropriate to consult Nuno Martins Ferreira (2017b). In the words of Joaquim Pintassilgo (2018, p. 79):

José Eduardo Moreirinhas Pinheiro (1923-2017) entered the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa* in 1958, [...] he becomes, at this stage, the great reference of the teaching of Special Didactics at the institution. [...] He came to be, although for a short time, between 1976 and 1977, the Principal of the School.

In his text on what happened in 1935 with Carmina Ferreira, Prof. Moreirinhas Pinheiro (2001) brings two important biographical pieces of data. That she was born in Lisbon on December 7, 1911. And, precious information, that she was the daughter of Fernando Alfredo Palyart Pinto Ferreira, an important educator, active at that time at Casa Pia de Lisboa.

The preparation course for primary teacher training was three years long. In the annual selection of the 36 entering students, preference was given to candidates who had already completed the seven years of the Portuguese secondary school. That is, the five years of the general secondary course and the two years of complementary courses. Or at least the five years of the general secondary course. Therefore, the age of the teaching course students was greater than that of other secondary students. Carmina Ferreira was 23 when she delivered her lecture. She was then in the last year of the course. Therefore, her lecture was an activity provided for in the rules established in 1932 for one to complete the Teaching program:

The principal of each school will promote courses and conferences intended for 3rd-class students. [...] They are intended to synthesize and coordinate the knowledge acquired during the period, and should be organized so as not to constitute a simple repetition of the taught subject, and to reveal the work capacity and originality of each student, as well as the consciousness with which each one continues in their studies (Decree No. 21.695.1932, p. 1.966).

There is no certainty that Carmina Ferreira's conference on February 7, 1935, was faithful to what was printed in the book format. But we only count on the latter as a historical source. With this caveat, what did this conference present to the students and, possibly, professors from the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa*? What does such a conference, by a young secondary female student, provides to the understanding of how History was intended to be taught, as opposed to what was proposed by the *Estado Novo*? Moreover, through references to other authors in her lecture, we can see some of the pedagogical ideas that circulated in the formation of teacher training in Portugal in the mid-1930s.

At the beginning of her text entitled *O ensino da história*, Carmina Ferreira justifies her own reasons for choosing the theme of her lecture due to its relevance for teacher training:

A master must be true because, at a Normal School, one must bravely say what is going on, and it is mainly in these teacher training centers that such important issues should be ventilated, in order to clarify them, making them good and conscious agents of civilization, hence the reason for the choice of this theme (Ferreira, 1935, p. 3).

In an effort to prove herself qualified to the debate, to review her conclusions, in dialogue with the faculty, the author states:

I earnestly ask Your Excellency, professor at this school, for your competent opinion and good advice on whether I, in contrast to what I think, am mistaken (Ferreira, 1935, p. 4).

The narrative strategy of the conference was to use references to authors who would give a character of authority to the approach adopted on the subject and to intersperse the discourse with the compelling analyses and statements by Carmina Ferreira herself. It is not likely that Carmina Ferreira presented authors who were unknown to those attending her conference; this would invalidate the reinforcement of intellectual authority she sought by mentioning them. Therefore, the mentioned authors should be part of the canonical readings of what one learned as relevant pedagogical theories in the formation of primary teacher training in Lisbon.

The initial idea of the text is to combat the pedagogical learning procedures that privileged the memorization of content. To support such an argument, the first mentioned author was Gaston Richard¹ (1913). The mentioned part is found in the

¹ Gaston Richard was a student of Émile Durkheim, being her successor in the Sociology chair at the Université de Bordeaux [University of Bordeaux]. However, in the early years of the twentieth century, he broke with his

third chapter of the addressed book, entitled '*O automatismo psicológico e a consciência reflexiva na educação*' [Psychological Automatism and Reflective Consciousness in Education]. It contains Richard's main analysis of the pedagogical theory presented by Roberto Ardigò (1903), although this author is the main reference in Richard's entire book. What attracted Carmina Ferreira the most in Richard was the connection he established between sociology and psychology, having education as vector of that, as well as the convergence between an organic view of society and the sociological role that education plays in the formation of this organicity². Carmina Ferreira is likely to have been influenced by Richard's approach, exemplified below:

The education thus understood [which forms the citizen of a civilized society] is a natural formation, as natural as that of the organism. It occurs in a defined medium that is always social, or, rather, the useful citizen of a society forms naturally, going through a number of means from which they acquire something. These means are the family, the school, the different professional environments, etc. [...] Education is that which communicates to individuals habits and skills capable of ennobling them and making them useful (Richard, 1913, p. 69)³.

In her fight against the teaching of History based only on the memorization of the sovereign ones' biography, which Carmina Ferreira (1935) called 'catechetical method', the author mentioned Herbert Spencer. He had criticized such sort of teaching, as it ignored social science. Probably, Carmina Ferreira's mention of the conception of History in Spencer was based, among this author's passages, on the following one:

The birth, death, and marriage of kings, and other historical trivialities, are entrusted to their [the child's] memory, not because such science results in any direct benefit; but because society considers this knowledge as facts that are part of good education; because ignoring these facts can lead to the disdain of others (Spencer, 1901, p. 5)⁴.

mentor's sociological tradition. He sought to reduce the boundaries between Sociology and Psychology. Among several studies on the subject, Laurent Mucchielli (2001) can be consulted.

² For a synthesis of the organic view of society and its interfaces with the educational debate at the beginning of the *Estado Novo* in Portugal, it is appropriate to consult Macioniro Celeste Filho (2022, pp. 8-11).

³ The Portuguese translation was done by the author of this manuscript. The original edition in French is from 1911. It is not possible to know what the edition read by Carmina Ferreira was. For the current article, the Spanish edition was consulted.

⁴ The compilation of previous texts that gave rise to the book occurred in 1861. Carmina Ferreira mentioned it as being from 1859; she probably read one of the previously published separate texts that composed the 1861 book. For the current article, one of the first Brazilian editions was consulted.

What constitutes History itself is mostly omitted in the works that allegedly speak of it. Only in recent years have some historians began to give doses of real-value knowledge. Since in the past centuries the king was everything, and the people, nothing, in past histories the achievements of the king filled the whole screen, from where any manifestations of national life were carefully swept. Only now, when the idea of the happiness of the nations surpasses the vanity of their leaders, the writers of History begin to deal with the phenomena of social progress. The thing that really matters to us is the natural history of society. We need all the facts that shed light on the way a nation is born and organizes itself using its own strengths (Spencer, 1901, pp. 48-49).

Supported by Spencer⁵, Carmina Ferreira questioned who the social protagonists of history were:

Children see kings and their infants, and do not see the people; a man, at times incompetent and bad, is brought to the forefront, and only far ahead the existence of certain individuals who struggled and worked for the good of humanity is unveiled (Ferreira, 1935, pp. 5-6).

History taught only with the memorization of acts by historical subjects, without palpable meaning for the child, the kings, caused an incomprehension of social life. This led to an anachronistic view of historical time:

In their mind, the student wears Afonso Henriques as if he lived in this century or in another one near, and has him wandering, I no longer say on an automobile, but on a beautiful car, through the streets of Lisbon, which they see the same way as in the times of the conquest, because, for these poor children, 1143 and 1935 are approximately the same thing (Ferreira, 1935, p. 6).

Using as reference the Italian educator Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice⁶, Carmina Ferreira stated that the history of Portugal:

⁵ Among several other texts, for a view of Herbert Spencer's educational thinking, one can consult the synthesis prepared by Samuel Mendonça (2014).

⁶ Carmina Ferreira mentioned a work to which she referred as *História-poema*, by Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice. Unfortunately, it was not possible to locate this text. For a biographical synthesis and analysis of Lombardo-Radice's relations with educational reforms during the fascist period in Italy, especially in its early days, it is appropriate to consult José Silvério Baia Horta (2008, 2009).

[...] is the history that praises the deeds of our kind, to the detriment of the deeds of others; the history that defends murder and theft when it was committed by those of our kind; the history that only speaks well about the acts that the natural ones have done, even if they are grave for humanity itself or, when known and properly appreciated, are the blemish of a time, of one or many men who have engaged in or consented to them.

[...]

The Moor is pointed out as a fierce enemy, a thief and a killer, and purposely, there is no talk of Christians' slaughters and murders, the infamies of the "Crusaders," who, with their eyes on looting and carnage only, left their lands to claim the lands of the "infidels", wanting to make everyone believe that they were fighting for Christ's doctrines.

[...]

As it is taught, history does not form character, it does not instruct: because praising the conquest, defending war, and glorifying the warrior is a "crime against humanity" (Ferreira, 1935, pp. 7-9, emphasis added).

Carmina Ferreira then proposed another form of teaching History:

What should not be presented is history through the biography of kings, but rather pointing out, in a way that interests the child, the facts that influenced not only our civilization, but other ones, and those men who took part in them, who had an influence on the civilization of humankind. (Ferreira, 1935, p. 11).

She exemplified this approach, a mix of economic history with history of everyday life:

In the teaching of history, one does not allude [...] to the very important fact of the introduction of cotton in the country, when it happened, the consequences it brought on to industry and commerce, the changes it printed on the lives of the men of those times; neither the first shirt nor the first cutlery is spoken of; the introduction of potatoes, beans and corn, three saving plants, is not alluded to; yesterday's school is not described and compared with today's school, yesterday's street with today's street, yesterday's house with today's house, lighting, transport, life, and so on (Ferreira, 1935, p. 7).

It is more convenient to teach children our role as sailors and intermediaries in the exchanges of natural and industrial products

between Europe and the lands overseas, than the conquests (Ferreira, 1935, p. 11).

If the conference had ended then, Carmina Ferreira's life was likely not to be affected. However, to finish her lecture, she briefly criticized the History books of the time. Most would serve for the teaching she intended, as long as they were innovatively instrumentalized. However, she named the example of a History book that should not be used:

All serious, honest books, written in good language, are useful; however, and without the slightest hesitation, we must put aside those that not only that lie, as this shameful one, recently published by Mr. Alfredo Pimenta, that distorts everything, but also those that do not tell the whole truth, the incomplete ones (Ferreira, 1935, p. 12).

Carmina Ferreira identifies in the textbook newly released by Alfredo Pimenta the paradigm of archaic, retrograde, conceptions, inadequate in the teaching of History. The author, manipulating factual truths partially, misrepresented Portuguese history.

Moreirinhas Pinheiro (2001) stated that the main author to influence Carmina Ferreira's historical view was Adolfo Lima, principal of the *Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa* between 1918 and 1921 (Pintassilgo, 2017, p. 3); specifically his *O ensino da história* [The Teaching of History], the same name as her conference. There are some converging points about the relationships of History teaching and the praise of violence and war:

As an array of biographies, following a more or less chronological order, the teaching of History is a model of vacuity. It is an amalgam of deficient, mutilated, colorless, artless descriptions, of kings and heads (Lima, 1914, p. 9)

It is the bloody repertoire of humanity in which mass murder is heroicity; tyranny and despotism, virtue, value, nobility, character. Virtue and value then become synonymous with destruction. The law of the strongest and hatred for the foreign ones are glorified (Lima, 1914, p. 15).

The mentality of the child is formed and develops in this divisive and evil atmosphere. The poor child dazzled by the flashy spectacle of war or by the vanity of the command is educated in falsehood, in patriotic, warrior, free-arbitrary and supernatural illusion, through shoving of dates and a rosary of names made forcefully notorious by being talked so much about (Lima, 1914, p. 17).

The understanding of children does not distinguish the difference between the present and past times: and for them, the event could

have succeeded the very day they are told, or a thousand years earlier (Lima, 1914, p. 18)⁷.

The closest approach to the analyses of Adolfo Lima and Carmina Ferreira is that a teaching of History in this fashion serves to foster and naturalize war. He delivered his lecture on April 8, 1914, about three months before the beginning of World War I. She, on February 7, 1935, experiencing the circumstances that, the following year, would culminate in the Spanish Civil war and, a few years later, in World War II. Both proposed a teaching of History that avoided presenting war as something desirable, correct, heroic, and natural. To this end, they avoided approaches based on National States as protagonists of History, replacing it with the concept of humanity.

But the similarities end there. The theoretical references of both are distinct. Adolfo Lima defended the teaching of History as subordinate and derived from the teaching of Sociology. Carmina Ferreira did not go this far. Her vision of History teaching was closer to what is now called the history of everyday life, with protagonists coming from the people⁸.

In the research for this article, we considered the possibility of Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira having been influenced by the approach contained in the History teaching textbooks prepared by her father, Fernando Alfredo Palyart Pinto Ferreira (1933, 1935*). It must not have been a coincidence that both were dedicated, in the same period, to reflecting on the teaching of History. In the case of Fernando Palyart Ferreira, in publishing two History textbooks. The first one, from 1933, is an exercise book, in which students should fill the gaps of text excerpts about the history of Portugal. The second one, from 1935, is a History textbook for primary education. It has accessible language and a non-prolix writing, as it aimed to be understandable by children at the beginning of their school studies. However, one cannot draw parallels or establish connections between the contents of these two textbooks by Fernando Palyart Ferreira and the content of his daughter's conference. Three years after his compulsory dismissal from Casa Pia de Lisboa, in May 1935, Fernando Palyart Ferreira (1938), under the pseudonym of Manuel Fernandes, published a book for guiding teachers in the planning of their school activities, called *A minha escola: breve guia do professor* [My School: A Brief Teacher Guide]. This book was successful editorially, having some reissues in the following years. These three works are found in the collection of the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* [National Library of Portugal], in Lisbon. Fernando Palyart Ferreira's trajectory will be addressed later in this article.

⁷ To understand Adolfo Lima's educational role in Portugal in the early decades of the twentieth century, it is imperative to consult António Candeias (1995), Luiz Carlos Barreira (2006) and Joaquim Pintassilgo (2017).

⁸ For a more detailed comparison of both conferences, the full texts by Carmina Ferreira and Adolfo Lima can be accessed through [this link](#).

What are the first consequences of Carmina Ferreira's conference? According to Moreirinhas Pinheiro (2001, p. 66, emphasis added), the immediate repercussion resulted as follows:

On April 5, 1935, the General Administration for Primary Education sent to the Board of the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa* Circular no. 12, on Pedagogical Conferences, in which it is recommended that "principals must exercise censorship on both teachers' and students' conferences".

With regard to censorship, Carmina Ferreira's small book entered the list of censored books in 1935. Its publishing and distribution were then prohibited in Portugal (Alvim, 1992).

ALFREDO PIMENTA AND THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE *ESTADO NOVO*

On March 12, 1935, just over a month after Carmina Ferreira's conference, the historian mentioned critically on this occasion, Alfredo Pimenta, wrote to Abílio Meireles, Principal of the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa*⁹. The next day, Meireles replied:

[...] I must inform you that this school already intended to make its opinion on the conference public. But not by means of official or officious note, since it cannot, without authorization or superior determination, publish notes that refer to the internal life of the school. The intention was to publish the text of the conference by the Didactics professor, Mr. Doctor Manuel Múrias, on the theme of the lecture delivered by student Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira. [...] What, however, I must reiterate to Your Excellency, is that the interest of the school lies precisely in not having its opinions as to the didactics of the history of Portugal in primary education and, particularly, as to Your Excellency's book, mistaken with those of the student Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira¹⁰.

⁹ This letter was not located. The documentary research referring to Alfredo Pimenta followed the same trajectory described in the introduction of the current article.

¹⁰ Abílio Meireles's two letters to Alfredo Pimenta are preserved in the Municipal Archive of Guimarães, the historian's hometown. It is currently called *Arquivo Municipal Alfredo Pimenta*.

The School's board argued that Manuel Múrias, intellectual who had close ties with Alfredo Pimenta, was the reference of History teaching at the institution. He presented Carmina Ferreira's lecture as her own personal point of view.

On March 15, 1935, Abílio Meireles invited Alfredo Pimenta to the lecture of the professor of the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa*, the historian Manuel Múrias¹¹, with the same title as the Carmina Ferreira's lecture:

Taking place at this school tomorrow, on the 16th of the current month, at 4 pm, the conference under the "*Ensino da História*" [Teaching of History] theme, to which I alluded in my last letter to Your Excellency, I have the honor to invite you to attend this conference that will be held by the professor of this school, Mr. Dr. Manuel Múrias.

This lecture by Manuel Múrias would serve as a displeasure to Alfredo Pimenta. It was not possible to find out if he attended. The content of this lecture was not preserved. However, it was not enough apparently, for the outcome of the case.

But who was the so influential and feared historian Alfredo Pimenta?

According to the entry of João Branco (2016b, pp. 1-4) for the *Dicionário de historiadores portugueses* [Dictionary of Portuguese Historians]:

Alfredo Pimenta was one of the most irreverent figures of the first half of the Portuguese twentieth century, due to his tendency for confronting ideas abrasively and, especially, for doctrinal nonlinearity, which led him to see himself involved, not rarely, in fiery controversies with figures from various political and cultural fields. [...] Ephemeral representative appointed for the *Comissão Central do Conselho Superior de Instrução Pública* [Central Commission for the Superior Council of Public Instruction] (between 1933 and 1936), he will be, for several years, a conservator at Torre do Tombo. [...] In the early 1930s, he draws himself closer to the *Estado Novo*, attracted by the figure of Salazar, with whom he will often correspond until the end of his life. [...] Approaching 50 years of age, he will begin publishing his first significant historiographical studies, mostly centered on the scope of medieval history. Highlight to *Estudos filosóficos e críticos* [Philosophical and Critical Studies] (1930), to *Vínculos portugueses* [Portuguese ties] (1932), to *Elementos de história de Portugal* [Elements of Portugal History] (1934, a manual proposal for secondary teaching with

¹¹ In the 1920s, Manuel Múrias actively participated in Lusitanian integralism. In 1933, he left the *Movimento Nacional Sindicalista* [National Union Movement], led by Francisco Rolão Preto, to join Salazarism and the National Union. For biographical details, João Branco (2016a) can be consulted.

several editions in the following years), and to the first series of *Estudos históricos – biblioteca de revisão histórica* [Historical studies – historical revision library] (of a total of 25, published between 1936 and 1949), but also to *Subsídios para a história de Portugal – textos e juízos críticos* [Subsidies for the History of Portugal – critical texts and judgments] (1937) and, later, *Idade Média* [Middle Age] (1946) or *Fontes medievais da história de Portugal* [Medieval sources of the History of Portugal] (1948).

There are several biographical studies on Alfredo Pimenta. Ranging from a recent retrieval of his authoritarian political perspective, performed by the current Portuguese far-right, as in Alberto de Araújo Lima (2020). To more thoughtful studies, such as those by João Barroso da Fonte (2001, 2005) or Filipe Alves Moreira (2013). The contextualized analysis of Alfredo Pimenta's political thinking, conducted by Luís Reis Torgal (2009), is quite enlightening. However, they are all unanimous on one point: Alfredo Pimenta was an enthusiastic supporter of Oliveira Salazar at the beginning of the *Estado Novo* and a convinced antidemocrat, explicitly expressing such a stance in his journalistic writings of the 1930s.

Carmina de Santa Clara Pinto Ferreira knew Alfredo Pimenta's political ideas when she made the brief criticism of his recent book. *Elementos de história de Portugal*, by Alfredo Pimenta (1935a), intended for secondary education, was praised by the press at the time. About a month before Carmina Ferreira's lecture, the first page of the *Diário de Lisboa*, of 04/01/1935, featured the article 'A história' [The History]:

The emergence of “*História de Portugal*” [History of Portugal], by Alfredo Pimenta, made many people, habitually distracted, understand that the teaching of History has a major importance in the formation of new generations. It is not a matter to be disregarded or to be subjected to sectarian turbulence. [...] Handing it [history] over to the fury of Jacobinism or of reactionarism, without respect for the original nobility of a race that, even in its mistakes and in its catastrophes, is not confused with any other, would be the same as entrusting any madman with the custody of a precious treasure (A história, 1935a, p. 1, emphasis added).

In late 1934, Alfredo Pimenta had sent to Salazar himself the first edition of *Elementos de história de Portugal*. In a letter from 26/10/1934, Alfredo Pimenta stated that:

It is with all pleasure that I send this book to Your Excellency. For it, without exclusion of its defects, is my best book. And it is with pity that I leave it in your hands – because, taking into the highest consideration the judgments of Your Excellency, I know I cannot have them, as Your Excellency is not allowed to distract yourself

from your worries of Ruler, so great and multiple – to take time to read the pages of my work. But it would hurt me if Your Excellency was not one of the first of the rare people to whom I offer my work (Pimenta, 1934a, p. 30).

Since Salazar did not reply, in early November 1934, Alfredo Pimenta asked for a response from him:

Ten days ago I sent Your Excellency a copy of my *Elementos de história de Portugal*, recently published. [...] Would you mind doing me a favor and let me know if it ended up in your hands or if it was lost? (Pimenta, 1934b, p. 31).

On 18/11/1934, Salazar thanked him for the received book (Pimenta, 1935c). In the letter that followed that, although denying it, it is possible to infer how Alfredo Pimenta bargained what he wrote about Salazar. On that occasion, it was an indirect payment for Salazar having secured him his recent position as a Conservator in the archives of Torre do Tombo:

Your Excellency has nothing to thank me for; neither the sending of the books, nor anything pleasing I might write about Your Excellency. I send my books as a proof of gratitude for your efforts in securing my position at Torre do Tombo. What I write about Your Excellency is the pure translation of my thinking. And I would be unworthy of myself and Your Excellency if I put any kind of flattering in my words, or the slightest deformation of my thinking (Pimenta, 1935b, p. 33).

In the letter immediately prior to that one, Alfredo Pimenta had asked Salazar a position for his son in the Ministry of instruction. It was not documented whether Salazar also secured such a public job, which could yield other flattering words in the press or books on the part of the grateful father. This cynical bargain lasted. In 1937, when he debated with Salazar the publishing of his book *Nas vésperas do Estado Novo* [On the Eve of the New State], Alfredo Pimenta (1937, p. 51) wrote to him:

It is the fate of the Rulers to prefer those who flatter them over those who love them. However, if I was a Ruler, I would be more pleased having a like-minded friend, than being surrounded by a hundred of those who flatter Your Excellency. What bonds me with Your Excellency is, beyond the communion of principles, the sincere admiration for your intelligence --not the favors that I owe or wish to owe you.

At the release of the first edition, in 1934, of *Elementos de história de Portugal*, the book received several negative criticisms. As a didactic manual for Secondary Education, it was very long, about 560 pages, and had a large number of Latin quotes. Thus, with a preface from January 30, 1935, Alfredo Pimenta published a 111-page response to such criticism, called *Os meus “Elementos de história de Portugal” e a crítica*¹² [My “Elements of Portugal History” and the criticism]. In a given part of this book, nominally addressing Manuel Múrias, professor of Carmina Ferreira at the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa*, Alfredo Pimenta (1935c, p. 52) criticized the teaching of History in secondary schools:

Should we subject the teaching of homeland History to the poor preparation of students, aggravating it, legitimizing it, making it chronic, or should we prepare students for a certain way of teaching them homeland History? If they proved to me that my *Elementos de história de Portugal* exceeded the intellectual, comprehensive, normal capacity of the students in the 4th and 5th classes of secondary schools, then I would accept the censorship. But that is not what they object, nor could they object, because in my book there are no transcendences, philosophies, metaphysical acrobatics. There are facts, accompanied by their justification sources, suggestions for interpretation, or logically induced, clear conclusions. Are the students not prepared for my book, and are they prepared to listen discreetly, and to discuss, on their own, about Historical materialism and Marxism?

The resistance of Secondary Education professors to his book, in the view of Alfredo Pimenta, was due to Marxism as a historical theory introjected in the approaches of History teaching at Portuguese secondary schools. His work was intended to contain and remedy such a materialistic perspective of History. With a Marxist learning of History, the secondary students were becoming “[...] little monsters that are truly dangerous” (Pimenta, 1935c, p. 53):

Easy, light and sweet processes have already created generations of little monsters that are truly dangerous for the future of Portuguese intelligence. Very audacious, very ill-bred, very rude, very ignorant, and very loquacious, that is how the representative men of these last four or five generations entering social life appear to us. And in primary, secondary and higher education schools, elements of these generations spread around – making the atmosphere of the future unbreathable.

¹² There is detailed study on this work, conducted by Alesson Ramon Rota (2018).

The publishing of this incisive criticism to the teaching of History under the complacency of Manuel Múrias is virtually simultaneous to his student's lecture, Carmina Ferreira. They are a few days apart. Hence the exacerbated wrath that the representative woman, Carmina Ferreira, 'truly dangerous little monster', caused in Alfredo Pimenta.

There is a quite hazy unknown in the outcome of this unequal clash, which will result in the expulsion of Carmina Ferreira from the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa*. Why did her father, Fernando Alfredo Palyart Pinto Ferreira, also pay for it? What are the reasons that caused, almost simultaneously to the expulsion of his daughter, him to be dismissed on 14/05/1935 from the board of the *Instituto Médico-Pedagógico* [Medical-Pedagogical Institute] of Casa Pia de Lisboa? The end of an interview by Alfredo Pimenta to the *Diário de Lisboa*, published on 03/05/1935, eleven days before such punishment, perhaps provides some clues:

Alfredo Pimenta: Like tree, Like fruit. Like father, like son. From an uncultured and pedantic youth that does not even have the vulgar respect for their older comrades that the age difference imposes [Carmina Ferreira was 23 years old then; Alfredo Pimenta, 52 years old]; from a youth that mistakes the iconoclasm that is proper of the young men with the improper rudeness of intelligences; from a youth that exhausts themselves by shouting that the time is of the new ones, without reflecting, at least, on the incongruity of their shout; from a youth that arrives, still smelling like swaddling cloth, and already with pretensions of dominator of time; from a youth that does not study, does not work, and, used to the explanators in High School, is still in need of explanators beyond so, as life continues, for they are unable to make silent and permanent sacrifices; from a youth, like that, what is it to be expected, if they do not let themselves be overcome by humility, which is the greatest virtue of the wise? (Dr. Alfredo Pimenta..., 1935b, p. 6).

Like tree, like fruit. Like father, like son. No documentary source was located, especially the process of expulsion of Carmina Ferreira, to reveal how Fernando Palyart Ferreira acted in defense of his daughter. It is a shame! Related to Carmina Ferreira's father, there is a very obscure piece of data in Alfredo Pimenta's professional life. Throughout his intellectual trajectory, he engaged in a sort of work that completely distances itself from the other ones. Alfredo Pimenta was the translator of the Portuguese edition of the book by João Demoor (1922) entitled *As crianças anormais e o seu tratamento educativo em casa e na escola*¹⁵ [Abnormal Children

¹⁵ Jean Demoor was born in 1867 in Etterbeek, Belgium, and died in 1941 in Brussels. A doctor and an educator, he organized the first special education schools in Belgium (1897). Between 1899 and 1937, Demoor was a professor of Physiology at the Medicine School [*Faculté de Médecine*] of the University of Brussels [*Université*]

and their Educational Treatment at Home and at School]. It was precisely in 1922 that Fernando Palyart Ferreira was appointed to the board of the *Instituto Médico-Pedagógico* of *Casa Pia de Lisboa*, where much of the topics addressed by João Demoor was being put into practice. Due to this publication and the newly taken position, Alfredo Pimenta and Fernando Palyart Ferreira are likely to have met in the early 1920s. Lisbon intellectual life involving a specific theme such as this was not that broad. What were the perceptions, actions and mutual interactions in the following years? There is no data on this.

The main scholar of Fernando Palyart Ferreira's work is João Pedro Fróis (1994, 2003). Research on the *Instituto Médico-Pedagógico* of Casa Pia de Lisboa, later renamed Instituto António Aurélio da Costa Ferreira, with Ferreira being the director who preceded Fernando Palyart Ferreira, circled around the work of the latter at the institution, as in the dissertation by Teresa Maria Farto Faria de Sousa (2002). There is a beautiful posthumous tribute paid by a friend, in this case, Fidelino de Figueiredo (1961). To understand how Fernando Palyart Ferreira's ideas were influenced internationally, there is a scholarly research on his trip to France, carried out by Cláudia Pinto Ribeiro (2010). However, none of these studies presents connections between Fernando Palyart Ferreira and Alfredo Pimenta. In the mid-1930s, in what does the work of both converge?

Fernando Palyart Ferreira and Alfredo Pimenta were contemporary. They were almost the same age. In the 1930s, what brought them closer was the attempt to enter the lucrative market of History textbooks. Fernando Palyart Ferreira (1933, 1935*) published two History textbooks for Primary Education students. Alfredo Pimenta (1935a) disputed primacy over the authorship of a History textbook for Secondary Education. In 1922, Alfredo Pimenta, as a book translator, had tried to enter the field under the institutional direction of Fernando Palyart Ferreira. This had occurred during the liberal democracy of the Republic. The results of this endeavor are not known, but Alfredo Pimenta did not publish anything else on this theme. Now, in the *Estado Novo*, is Fernando Palyart Ferreira the one wanting to enter the field so fiercely disputed by Alfredo Pimenta? Besides, with a daughter who publicly disregards him at the very *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa*? It is likely that, from the perspective of Alfredo Pimenta, it was necessary to put an exemplary end to this situation.

Contemporarily to the facts, who provided the best analysis of such events was the clandestine newspaper of the Portuguese Communist Party. According to Avante!:

de Bruxelles] and the chief physician at Brussel's School for Abnormal Children. He was an advocate for the public interest in relation to children with disabilities and for the creation of special institutions for them (*Écoles de la ville de Bruxelles pour les enfants arriérés*). He proposed a system of school activities for children with mental disabilities, reducing abstract content for them. He wrote several articles on teaching and on the classification of children with disabilities, including in this group those pedagogically neglected (Boné & Bonito, 2013, p. 5.452).

The brutality of the fascist dictatorship has come to its highest point; its effects reach everything and everyone. The conception of the totalitarian mobilization of the masses to war corresponds to the dispersion of the attack by all fields of activity in the country. It is not only the industrial and agricultural proletariat, small peasants and small producers, who suffer economic and political oppression; it is also the students, the intellectuals, everyone who want to think outside the “Politics of the Spirit”, persecuted by the fascist medieval reaction. The bodies must obey; it is therefore necessary that the spirits are not disturbed by any doctrines denouncing the barbaric character of the fascist (?) culture of the stupid nationalism, killer of the dictatorship! That is why bankrupt literates are regimented, free-spirited teachers are spied on, and students whose intellectual and moral manifestations show that they will become enlightened teachers are persecuted (Pedagogia e fascismo, 1935, p. 4, emphasis added).

It is not difficult to identify who is the bankrupt literate, the free-spirited teacher and the student who could have been an enlightened teacher. Then, the communist journal addresses directly the case of Carmina Ferreira:

A leaflet has come into our hands, entitled “*O ensino da História*”. Its author is Carmina Pinto Ferreira, a former student at the *Escola de Habilitação para o Magistério Primário*; and a former student because the subject of the pamphlet was a sufficient reason for her expulsion from that School, under the invocation of an article from its regulation that sets forth such a punishment for those who reveal “moral deficiencies for the exercise of teaching.”¹⁴ Let us rapidly analyze the material that motivated such a decision that definitely took away from its author the possibility of pursuing a profession that she would so devotedly exercise. “In the teaching of history (in the schools of the country) – says Carmina Pinto Ferreira –, there is no pedagogy, there is no truth, no moral, because the most sacred humanitarian principles are not defended or respected.” Next, she denounces the harmful effects of the teaching of history on social education; she shows how false is the concept of history “that praises the deeds of our kind to the detriment of the deeds of others; the history that defends the murder and theft when it was committed by those of our kind.” Rather, she proposes studying the material facts that condition the improvement of

¹⁴ It is Art. 39th of Decree No. 21.695, of 19/09/1932, which regulated the operation of Training Schools for Primary Teaching in Portugal: “The enrollment of students who, for serious moral defects, spirit of rebellion or indiscipline, are proven to be inconvenient for the exercise of Teaching, will be nullified through ordinance by the general director of primary education, with appeal being allowed to the Minister.” (Decree No. 21.695, 1932, p. 1.966).

men's living and abandoning the history of kings and battles as an exclusive topic of history teaching, because, as such, the teaching of history does not form character, does not instruct: as it praises the conquest, defends war and glorifies the warrior. "It is a crime against humanity." Evidently, in the exposed ideas, there is nothing that can go against the organic view of the bourgeoisie. All of them, the author states, were assimilated from those by connoisseurs of the matter, all bourgeois. What is the issue then? What in this testimony could be against the fascist society? – The relentless denunciation of the methods with which it bestializes in the consciences of children, with a permanent excitement, the idea of war (*Pedagogia e fascismo*, 1935, p. 4, emphasis added).

The conclusion of the Communist Party journal is decisive. Carmina Ferreira wrote an honest manuscript. However, all of her theoretical references are prior to the outbreak of fascism in Europe. The liberal democratic culture for which Carmina Ferreira was a model had been abandoned by fascism. The bourgeoisie, under fascism, promoted a militaristic, warlike, imperialist culture. Carmina Ferreira's perspective was incompatible with the authoritarian rearrangement that fascism operated in society:

May Carmina Pinto Ferreira have no Illusions. The honesty she puts in her work is incompatible with fascist society, because it is incompatible with the 1935 bourgeois society that, having no different political solutions, also cannot have different cultural solutions. See the authors who consider their Masters. Check their dates. They are all prior to the period of fascism, of the preparation of the war to crush the workers who fight against fascist oppression. "Dictatorship or communism" – say the dictators. This is the only truth of the enemies of Truth. That is why we proclaim: or for the bourgeoisie and, therefore, for war, for the imperialist prey, for the intellectual and moral oppression, for the exploitation and hunger; or for the proletariat, for the liberation of poor peasants, for a new life to the middle classes struggling against war and fascism, for the anti-fascist popular revolution, for Communism and for the true human culture (*Pedagogia e fascismo*, 1935, p. 5, emphasis added).

The following year, the outcome of the plot covered here was tragic. Alfredo Pimenta directly showed Salazar his contempt for Primary Education teacher training:

Simple program, simple books, that is, clear in their doctrine, precise in their purpose. Personnel? Wherever there is any. There are many unemployed people out there who can teach how to read, write and count. For now, let us abandon any complicated presumptuous pedagogies. What is necessary is to free the spirit of

the children from the evil that devours and awaits them. Less talking and more doing (Pimenta, 1936a, p. 44)

Dealing with privileged information, Alfredo Pimenta negotiated directly with Salazar to transform his textbook into a unique History book¹⁵ for Secondary Education:

I received from the General Administration for Secondary Instruction “confidential” information regarding books, which I transcribe: “the minister plans to insert in the Reform a provision that declares all approvals expired. Either the Councils are free to choose books for the next year, or the Minister, by ordinance, will regulate the subject as he understands.” See, Your Excellency: with 15 days before the secondary schools open, we find ourselves in this situation: and another year with the obnoxious school compendiums to form spirits! (Pimenta, 1936a, p. 46, emphasis added).

The Minister of Education, Carneiro Pacheco, decided that he would define the unique History book for Secondary Education. Obviously, the work chosen was that of Alfredo Pimenta:

The National Education Board, through its respective section, issued its Opinion on my *Elementos de história de Portugal*. I went to Lisbon, days ago, and read the Opinion. It is frankly favorable to its adoption as a unique secondary education book. So flattering it is for me, that I asked them to give me a copy of it, to justify my work, and my viewpoints (Pimenta, 1936b, p. 47).

In the final part of the same letter, Alfredo Pimenta, denying as always, saying the opposite of what he really wanted to say, celebrated with Salazar the financial profits that such an authorship monopoly of the unique History textbook for Secondary Education throughout Portugal will bring to him:

Each edition of 2,000 copies can give me 9 *contos*¹⁶ (Brazilian currency of that time). No. It is not the material interest that makes

¹⁵ To follow the trajectory of the creation of the unique textbook in Portugal, one can consult Afonso and Almeida (2013). About the History books in the Estado Novo, the work of Maria Manuela Carvalho (2005) is recommended.

¹⁶ 9 *contos* amounted to 9,000\$00. As a comparison, to provide an idea of how much this was worth, the *Diário do Governo*, No. 305, p. 1,708, of 30/12/1936, published Decree 27.412, for the hiring of professionals who would work at *Santa Casa de Misericórdia* and *Hospital Loulé*. It presents a table with the hires' ANNUAL salaries: Nurse – 1,200\$00; Chief nurse – 7,200\$00; Assistant to the secretary – 1,800\$00. In the same edition, Ordinance 8.582, by the Ministry of Justice, was published, with the hiring of a doctor. Their ANNUAL salaries were 10,800\$00.

me speak: if it was, I would subject myself, reverent and submissive, to impertinences: it is the moral and spiritual interest of the young generations that lead me to write this letter to Your Excellency (Pimenta, 1936b, p. 48).

Probably confirming the connections spoken of here, the decree awaited by Alfredo Pimenta on textbooks is the same that, in practice, gradually, will close the teacher training schools for primary education across the country. This is the infamous Decree-Law 27.279, of 24/11/1936:

Art. 15th -The immediate expiration of the official approval of all primary education books is declared, and the Minister of National Education will adopt, without dependence on any formality, the transitional solutions that become necessary for the school year of 1936-1937 (Decree-Law 27.279, 1936, p. 1,511).

In the same Decree-law:

Art. 7th - Regarding the primary teacher training schools, the following shall be observed: 1st - This year, there will not be enrollments in the 1st class of primary teacher training schools, both official and private (Decree-Law 27.279, 1936, p. 1,511).

Such suspension of enrollment will endure until 1942.

This Decree-law also brought something unusual, which interfered in the private life of female teachers. It ruled on how and with whom they could marry:

Art. 9th - Female teachers shall not get married without authorization by the Minister of National Education, who must only authorize the union under the following terms: 1st - The suitor must exhibit good moral and civil behavior; 2 - The wages or earnings of the suitor, proven through documents, shall be in harmony with the salaries of the teacher (Decree-Law 27.279, 1936, p. 1,511).

This last condition pointed out here was not a privileged theme of the investigation that resulted in the current article. It requires specific research.

FINAL REMARKS

The *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa* underwent decisive clashes at the beginning of the *Estado Novo*. The case of the expulsion of Carmina Ferreira was one of them. The authoritarians in power tried to frame the school, but, in their eyes, they

felt short of this goal. Therefore, in the year following the events narrated here, this school, and similar ones in other parts of the country, were, in practice, gradually closed for six long years:

However, the preservation of the republican spirit [...] and the permanence of the professors who somehow personified it, led Minister Carneiro Pacheco, in 1936, to a more radical option, the suspension of enrollments, which, in practice, determined the closure, albeit provisional, of these schools (Pintassilgo, 2018, p. 77).

The decree-Law [27.279, of 24/11/1936], subscribed by Carneiro Pacheco, which suspends enrollments in primary teacher training schools, also defines the school model that is appropriate to the mission of elementary primary education, presented as a “practical and Christian ideal for teaching well how to read, write and count, and to exercise moral virtues and a living love for Portugal”. The devaluation of professional qualification and of the respective diploma implied the devaluation of the very formation that preceded it. This text from 1936, which also refers to the duty to end the “sterile rationalist encyclopedism, fatal to the moral and physical health of the child”, prescribed a dimension of moral and political conformity that sought to be generalized to the faculty of primary and normal education (Pintassilgo & Mogarro, 2015, pp. 222-223, emphasis added).

Reformed in 1942, and endowed with new programs in 1943, the primary teacher training schools would reopen their already more adapted doors, in political and pedagogical terms, to the new conservative times that were then being lived (Pintassilgo, 2018, p. 77).

The future of the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa*, its partial repulsion of an authoritarian view of History and, therefore, of aversion to a non-democratic society and the fate of its students were connected. By flattering Salazar and fulfilling the role of an intellectual representative of the *Estado Novo*, Alfredo Pimenta achieved what he intended. His book, criticized by Carmina Ferreira for representing the opposite of her view of what the teaching of History should be, became the unique Portuguese Secondary Education History textbook for many years. To the losers, ostracism. Carmina Ferreira was expelled from her school, and her father, dismissed from the board of the *Instituto Médico-Pedagógico* of *Casa Pia de Lisboa*. This should serve as a lesson to those who considered going against the authoritarian owners of power in the *Estado Novo*.

Unfortunately, information about the later life of Carmina Ferreira was not obtained. There is vague but uncertain news that she was able to find a job as an employee of the Post Office of Portugal. If any relative of hers reads the current text, please contact the author, as there is a desire to locate and bring flowers to her tomb as a posthumous tribute. This article is another way to do so as well.

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