British Literature in Portuguese Literary Education during the *Estado Novo*

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1. Introduction: Corpus and Reasons for Research

The present study is part of my doctoral research funded by the University of Aveiro, which aimed to examine the role attached to British literature in the Portuguese political and cultural field during the *Estado Novo* era by comparing it to the Communist Hungarian reception. A particular novelty of the research was that the scope of investigation also included the analysis of literature textbooks published in the two countries.

Books related to literature education, in fact, are seldom objects of scholarship in literary history or reception studies. Due to their didactic and age-specific character, literary scholars normally refuse to investigate their role in the canon formation process. A unique and notable exception to this rule is the research conducted by the members of the project “História literária e traduções. Representações do Outro na cultura portuguesa,” who, among others, examined the presence of foreign authors in school manuals and literary histories published during the *Estado Novo*. The major findings of this survey were also published in Seruya and Moniz, 2001, which served as invaluable source material as well as a model for the present study.

Seruya and Moniz’s paper mainly focuses on literary histories. However, I also included other types of textbooks such as school anthologies,

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1 The project was housed at the Research Centre for Communication and Culture (Catholic University of Portugal) and functioned between 1998 and 2005 under the direction of Teresa Seruya. For more information on the project, see http://www.ucp.pt/site/custom/template/ucptplminisite.asp?SSPAGEID=3690&lang=1&artigoID=4074 (last accessed 17/04/2013).
compendiums, and reading-books in the investigation in search for further possible references to British literary authors and texts. Textbooks which were authorised or recommended by the authorities or possibly used by schoolteachers of the time were consulted. Altogether 116 literature textbooks were investigated, but the corpus of works containing comments on British literature consists of only twenty-one textbooks.

Contrary to Hungarian literature education, for instance, Portuguese literature classes concentrated mainly on national literature, while world literature as such had never been systematically taught. Some foreign authors were mentioned if they were considered to be relevant in the course of national literary history or in providing students with an international context for the Portuguese literary movements and tendencies.

Notwithstanding this, since diplomatic and economic relations between England and Portugal date back as early as the thirteenth century and the fact that several members of the British social and literary elite visited or lived in Portugal throughout the centuries, the initial assumption that Portuguese literature textbooks would contain relatively more references on these or other prominent literary figures of British origin seemed to be reasonable.

2. Education during the Estado Novo (1932-1974)

António Oliveira de Salazar (1889-1970) recognized — very soon after the establishment of his rule — the importance of education in preserving the longevity of his dictatorship. Besides the press and other propaganda agencies, education appeared to be instrumental in legitimising the regime’s new political and social programmes, and thus it effectuated far-reaching changes in the structure and practices of the educational system.

The creation of mass organisations such as the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth), and Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina (Portuguese

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2 I will use ‘textbook’ as a cover term to refer to all types of schoolbooks and manuals related to literature education.

3 The lack of international literature in literature education is a widely acknowledged phenomenon in other countries as well. For more information, cf., among others, Gordon Györi.
Feminine Youth) where membership was compulsory for boys and girls aged seven and upwards was aimed to supervise and overlook children and young people’s extracurricular activities in the spirit of state propaganda (Torgal Estados Novos, 215-217). The introduction of the subject Educação Moral e Cívica (Moral and Civic Education) in the primary and secondary school curriculum was also intended to disseminate nationalist ideology and to mould the Portuguese character at a young age. Moreover, dissident thinkers or people considered to be politically unreliable were removed or forced to resign from their teaching positions at secondary and university level as well so as to guarantee that the opposition would not challenge the ruling ideology on a wider platform. Indeed, Salazar blacklisted and persecuted several outstanding scholars, among others, Agostinho da Silva, Adolfo Casais Monteiro, António Sérgio, António José Saraiva, and António Henriques de Oliveira Marques (Rendeiro 46).

Nonetheless, the Estado Novo showed a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the education of the general public. For instance, Salazar strongly believed that the constitution of elites was more important than the need to teach people how to read (Ameal 259). Thus most people should receive only a basic form of education, enabling them to perform their daily working routine, while secondary and higher education was naturally available only to the upper classes (Rendeiro 38).

The Portuguese regime’s attitude towards illiteracy is also noteworthy. Certain important figures inside the Estado Novo even glorified illiteracy, seeing in it traces of genuine Portuguese qualities. One reactionary deputy, for example, argued that the Portuguese nation’s proudest achievements such as the Reconquest, the Discoveries, and the Restoration had been accomplished by illiterate heroes (Mónica 99). Salazar’s attitude towards general literacy also leaves much to be desired. In one of his speeches, Salazar quoted a Swedish journalist who — when he heard that the government would start teaching the Portuguese to read — exclaimed “in Sweden, it was exactly this that made people unhappy” (Nóvoa 474).

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4 Considero até mais urgente a constituição de vastas elites do que ensinar o povo a ler.

5 “Na Suécia foi isso que fez o povo infeliz.”
Despite the government's campaign pledges to diminish illiteracy rate, which was far higher in Portugal than in most other European countries of the time, compulsory education was reduced from five to four years in 1928, which was hardly calculated to combat illiteracy either. Indeed, it was only in 1964 that compulsory education was extended to six years, and finally in 1973 two additional years were added (Rendeiro 40).

Moreover, even though the Estado Novo was concerned with education, modernisation of its educational system was not a priority in policy making. As António Costa Pinto points out, “instead of promoting the modernisation of the school system, the Estado Novo controlled what it inherited” (35). It is also important to note that the Portuguese government’s spending on education remained stagnant from 1930 to 1960 (Pinto 35). These tendencies also reflect the degree of importance attached by the government to education during the era.

The history of literature teaching during the Estado Novo can be divided into three phases. According to António Nóvoa, the first period (1930-1936) was characterised by the demolition and restructuring of the Republican school system, while the second (1936-1947) is described as the constitution of a new nationalist educational system, where the state, backed by mass student and parent organisations and with the introduction of the livro único (single textbook) attempted more determinedly to employ education as an instrument for indoctrination. The third post-war period was marked by campaigns against illiteracy and also by a certain depoliticisation of the Portuguese educational system (457-461). With these periods in mind, the next sections will attempt to analyse the role and representation of British literature in the Portuguese textbooks.

2. Portuguese Literature Textbooks

Portugal's isolation from the rest of Europe had a profound impact on its educational policy as well. It also enabled the regime to curb access to

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6 In 1930 61.8% of the Portuguese population was illiterate, while in 1940 the illiteracy rate was still 49.0%, in 1950 40.4%, and in 1960 31.1% (Nóvoa 476). According to a UNESCO study, for example, in the 1940s in Belgium only 3.3%, in France 3.6%, in Hungary 4.7% of the population could not read and write (UNESCO 33).
information about the world’s events. Neutrality during the Second World War may have spared Portugal famine, death, and destruction, but it also precluded the possibility of any political challenge to the state’s official ideology. Thus the Estado Novo resisted reforms and progress and built up an image of Portugal in its textbooks that did not reflect many aspects of the country at all. Basically, Portuguese education pivoted on the same principles from 1933 until the end of the regime in 1974 (Rendeiro 45-46).

In Portugal, an educational decree issued in 1936 defined the goal of literature education as “to develop nationalist feelings and mould the character of the student (Seruya and Moniz 3).”7 Literature textbooks also echoed Salazar’s three-part doctrine of Deus (God), Pátria (Fatherland), and Família (Family), and celebrated the virtues of rural life as an inherently national reality associated with physical and mental health and happiness. The authors and editors of school manuals and anthologies selected literary texts which they believed to be the best conveyors of the political ideology in force. The majority of the writers represented had lived in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Teachers presented them as the masters and milestones of Portuguese literature (Rendeiro 43-44).

The textbooks praised João de Deus’s, Augusto Gil’s, and Júlio Dinis’s spontaneous talent and the simplicity of their works along with Almeida Garrett’s nationalist choice of subject in his plays, while António Sardinha was a nationalist poet with a genuine patriotic talent, and António Corrêa d’Oliveira was a “true poet of the land and patriotism” (Fialho 189).8 It is intriguing that the small corpus of contemporary Portuguese authors did not necessarily encompass supporters of the Estado Novo. Selected texts by Afonso Lopes Vieira, advocate of the right-wing movement Integralismo Lusitano, and by leftist sympathisers such as Alves Redol and Miguel Torga were included in several school manuals and anthologies. Their political positions were evidently ignored. Additionally, although several novels by Eça de Queirós were blacklisted, and expelled from Portuguese school libraries for their severe social criticism and anti-religious

7 “desenvolver o sentimento nacional e a formação moral do aluno.”
8 “[...] é um verdadeiro poeta da terra e dos sentimentos nacionais.”
content (works such as \textit{O Crime do Padre Amaro}, \textit{O Primo Basílio}, \textit{Os Maias}, and \textit{A Capital}) textbooks glorified the ideologically more suitable novel \textit{A Cidade e as Serras} or the short story “O Suave Milagre” instead (Melo 151-154).

3. British Literature in Portuguese Literature Textbooks

3. 1. The Consolidating Years in Portugal (1930-1947)

Quoting political leaders in literature textbooks was an established custom in Salazar’s Portugal, especially in the initial years of the \textit{Estado Novo}. On 18 March 1932, a decree published in \textit{Diário do Governo} presented a list of 113 maxims, which were to be inserted in literature textbooks. The list contained proverbs as well as quotations from literary authors, philosophers, historians, and also by politicians such as Mussolini, Salazar, and Sidónio Pais. According to another decree dated 20 December 1932, a few quotations selected from the previous list, along with others, had to be displayed on the walls of all Portuguese classrooms and school libraries (Carvalho 738-739).

The majority of the maxims were used to implant obedience and respect for authority in the pupils. “Do not envy your superiors, because they have responsibilities and obligations you are not aware of”\footnote{“Não invejes os que te são superiores, porque estes têm responsabilidades e deveres que tu ignoras.”} or “If you knew what it means to rule, you would rather obey all your life”\footnote{“Se tu soubesses o que custa mandar, gostarias mais de obedecer toda a vida.”} provide representative examples. Interestingly, several proverbs were of foreign origin such as the English proverb: “Doing nothing is doing ill”\footnote{“Nada fazer é fazer mal.”}, and one also finds a great number of quotations from foreign authors such as Ovid, Leonardo da Vinci, Dante, Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, La Fontaine, Molière, Rodin, and English-language authors such as the Anglican cleric Sydney Smith, Samuel Smiles, Alexander Pope, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and Benjamin Franklin (Carvalho 126).
Besides these quotations, it is quite difficult to find any reference to British literature in Portuguese literature textbooks published in the early 1930s, if one does not count António Feliciano de Castilho as the translator of Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer’s Night Dream* (Sequeira and Neves 291). Published in 1936, the *História da Literatura Portuguesa* by Agostinho Fortes and Albino Forjaz de Sampaio already includes more on British literature than only one sentence. The book deals with the Arthurian Cycle at length, and Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Walter Scott, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and John Stuart Mill are also mentioned.

In the 1940s, one of the few books containing references to British literary authors is the *História da Literatura Portuguesa* by Augusto Dias (1939), and another is *A Língua e Literatura Portuguesa* by Arlindo Ribeiro da Cunha (1941). Both books were authorised as school manuals shortly after the new educational decree of 1936 was issued. The novelty of the books is that besides the chapters on Portuguese literature, they contain separate sections on parallel foreign literary tendencies under the title *Sincronismo literário* (literary synchronism). Augusto Dias’s manual is apparently a less professionally written book. Apart from the spelling mistakes in the foreign authors’ names, biographical notes are normally limited only to minimal information. Besides the authors’ names, birth and death dates, the only piece of information on Chaucer is that he is the father of English poetry, on Byron that he is the most famous poet after Shakespeare, and on Dryden that he is the most celebrated poet in the period after Milton. Exceptionally, Dias devoted two paragraphs to Shakespeare. Nevertheless, no further information is revealed except for the fact that the playwright’s authorship is still debated, and that it was Bacon who might have been the true author of Shakespeare’s plays. Swift, Defoe, and Pope are only mentioned in passing.

Padre (Father) Cunha’s work reveals much more sophisticated scholarship. He even devotes a passage to the origin of the English language,

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12 António Feliciano de Castilho (1800-1875) was a poet and translator. Although he lost his eyesight at an early age, he became a classical scholar. Besides Shakespeare, he translated Goethe, Anacreon, Ovid, and Virgil.

13 The terms ‘literary history’ and ‘manual’ are used interchangeably throughout this study.
and besides Chaucer, mentions John Gower (47). Padre Cunha also pays special attention to the English and Portuguese cultural relations wherever possible, including Walter Scott’s influence on Garrett\(^{14}\) and Herculano (429),\(^{15}\) and Byron’s visit to Sintra (409). In most cases, Cunha also indicates the Portuguese translator’s name as in Dom Luís’s translations of Shakespeare,\(^{16}\) António de Araújo e Azevedo’s translation of Dryden,\(^{17}\) or José Anastácio da Cunha’s\(^{18}\) and the Marquesa de Alorna’s renderings of Pope (356).\(^{19}\)

Joaquim Ferreira in his manual, which was first published in 1939, also mentions British authors who were considered to be relevant in the context of Portuguese literature either because their works were translated into Portuguese by famous Portuguese literary figures or because they themselves represented a profound influence on Portuguese writers, referring, in the case of Byron, Walter Scott, James Thomson, and Macpherson. However, Ferreira’s work appears to be ideologically far more committed to the

\(^{14}\) Almeida Garrett (1799-1854) was a Portuguese poet, novelist, playwright, reformer of the National Theatre and founder of Portuguese Romanticism. In 1823 he was forced into political exile in England, where he meticulously studied the works of Shakespeare and Scott. His famous poem “Camões” was also published in London, heralding the birth of Portuguese Romanticism.

\(^{15}\) Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) was a Portuguese novelist and historian, who also lived in political exile for a shorter period in England. He is also considered to be a leading figure in the Portuguese Romantic movement.

\(^{16}\) Dom Luís I (1838-1889) was the king of Portugal from 1861 until his death. Besides being a monarch, he was also a man of letters and translated four plays by Shakespeare: *Hamlet* in 1877, *The Merchant of Venice* in 1879, *Richard III* in 1880, and *Othello* in 1885.

\(^{17}\) António de Araújo e Azevedo (1754-1817) was a Portuguese diplomat, politician and scientist.

\(^{18}\) José Anastácio da Cunha (1744-1787) was a Portuguese mathematician as well as a talented poet and translator.

\(^{19}\) Leonor de Almeida Portugal, 4th Marquise of Alorna (1750-1839) was a Portuguese noblewoman and poet, also known by her pen name Alcipe. Her poetry, translations, and letters were published in the six-volume *Obras poéticas* only five years after her death.
regime than, for example, the republican Agostinho Fortes’s textbook. Ferreira states, for instance, that Camões’s genius exceeded the talent of all the poets of the Peninsula, and only the sublime spirit of Byron was able to understand his poetry more profoundly (350).

3. 2. The Reform Years (1947-1974)

In spite of the fact that the livro único was introduced as early as 1936 in secondary and vocational school education, it came into force only in 1947 along with the post-war educational reforms. However, as Luís Reis Torgal also notes, teaching in the secondary school classroom mostly depended on the teacher, and not on the school manual in force (“Antero” 129). In truth, most of the teachers disregarded the livro único, and used textbooks published during the Republic, other unofficial manuals, compendiums, or did not use any books at all (129).

Moreover, a comparison between the school manuals published before and after 1947 reveals no significant difference (Fialho 57). Thus the list of British authors and works presented in the Portuguese textbooks published after 1947 is very similar to the one before. The textbook writers normally mention only those authors in English who are regarded to be relevant to the course of Portuguese literary history: the Marquesa de Alorna translated poems by Macptherson, Pope, and Thomson, Almeida Garrett read works by Walter Scott and Byron. The Arthurian cycle of prose romances also appears to be a recurring subject of the Portuguese textbooks, and, in fact, the only one that is discussed at length. This is mainly due to the fact the Lancelot-Grail cycle along with other Arthurian legends had a major impact on the Portuguese cultural context as early as the thirteenth century (for more information, see Dover).

Nevertheless, despite Shakespeare’s long-lasting influence on certain Portuguese literary figures, the playwright did not receive any particular attention from the textbook authors. Shakespeare is mentioned in only eight of 116 literature textbooks under investigation, and none of them discuss his oeuvre. Also, Robert Southey and Henry Fielding, in spite of the fact that they visited and lived in the country — indeed, Fielding died in Lisbon — are mentioned only once. Although the English Romantic and Pre-Romantic poets enjoyed a relatively well-respected position in the
Portuguese textbook corpus, alongside the Lake poet Robert Southey as mentioned above, Keats and Shelley receive little attention. Keats’s name also appears only in one textbook, while Shelley’s name occurs twice.

As far as English drama is concerned, apart from Shakespeare, the only playwright who is mentioned on a more frequent basis is Oliver Goldsmith, but he is mostly represented as a poet and novelist, not as a playwright, which again can be explained by the available Portuguese translations of his works. Even Shaw’s name occurs only in one textbook, the Breve História da Literatura Portuguesa by Óscar Lopes and Júlio Martins (1945).

With reference to the British novel, Walter Scott appears to dominate the literary corpus of the textbooks, while Swift, Defoe, Sterne, Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot are only touched upon in passing. In fact, except for Óscar Lopes’s works, contemporary British authors are not represented by any literature textbooks, if we do not count Padre António José Barreiros’s strange comparison between Graham Greene and Herculano in the chapter on Herculano’s novel O Monge do Cister. According to Barreiros, “as opposed to modern writers such as [Georges] Bernanos and Graham Greene, our writer [Herculano] is only interested in the human side of clergymen” (Barreiros 336).20

Besides the elevated number of British literary authors, Óscar Lopes and Júlio Martins’s book contains several references to further foreign literatures as well as other artistic and cultural phenomena such as the British Pre-Raphaelites, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti, or the French Impressionists such as Monet, Manet, Degas, Renoir, and Cézanne, or Post-Impressionists such as Van Gogh and Gauguin. The book also attempts to familiarise students with the most significant literary tendencies, representing the three genres of poetry, drama, and fiction wherever possible throughout the different periods of literary history. Uniquely, it also introduces contemporary British authors such as James Joyce, Aldous Huxley, T. S. Eliot, George Bernard Shaw, and D. H. Lawrence.

Óscar Lopes and António Saraiva’s outstanding and renowned História da Literatura Portuguesa was first published in 1955, when, in

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20 “Ao contrário dos modernos Bernanos e Graham Greene, o nosso escritor só vê no sacerdote o homem.”
fact, Óscar Lopes was arrested for political reasons. Another paradoxical fact is that despite being banned in Portuguese classrooms (Vieira and Silva 365), the book was still one of the most emblematic works of its sort during the Estado Novo, and even after the change of the regime (Seruya and Moniz 1).

4. Conclusion

In spite of the fact that education was used to indoctrinate the nation’s youth, the lack of progressive change with regard to the Portuguese textbooks throughout the long years of the Estado Novo is quite suggestive. Portuguese authorities did not seem to express any major concern that secondary teachers might have used textbooks dating back to the First Republic, as many new official schoolbooks published in the 1930s also heavily drew on these old manuals.21 As illustrated, the Portuguese authorities did not devote an immense effort to developing a radically new educational concept.

Finally, a great number of British authors and works referred to were included in the Portuguese textbooks because of their specific cultural relevance to the Portuguese literary sphere. However, several crucial British literary figures who could also be connected to Portugal’s cultural life or its literary history such as Fielding and Southey were not given attention by the textbook writers. The main reason for this may lie in the fact that these authors also got little or no critical response in Portugal at the time of their appearance, nor did they receive recognition during the Estado Novo period. Also, the almost complete absence of contemporary British authors in the textbooks, in part, can be put down to the regime’s old-school and conservative attitude, which would indeed hardly welcome any authors in the educational canon whose reputation might not have been established yet or were still in a state of flux as opposed to the “tried-and-trusted” classic writers.

21 In contrast, in Hungary after the Communist takeover several textbooks published under the previous regime were banned and even pulped. Moreover, the single-textbook system was introduced without any delay.
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Abstract
This study aims to investigate the position of British literature versus national literature in literary education during the Estado Novo through the analysis of literature textbooks published at the time. The scope of the investigation, however, also includes a limited number of textbooks which may not have been officially authorised as a livro único (single textbook), but were used by schoolteachers in Salazar’s Portugal. Based on the corpus of these books, it seems that the vast majority of Portuguese textbook writers relied more on national literary texts and authors rather than on world literature to legitimise the nationalist ideology of the regime. Nevertheless, a very small number of British authors were included in the course books, if they were considered relevant to the national literary history.

Keywords
Literature education; textbooks; British literature; Estado Novo; state propaganda.

Resumo
Este estudo tem como objetivo investigar a posição da literatura britânica versus a literatura portuguesa na educação literária durante o Estado Novo, através da análise dos livros escolares. O âmbito do inquérito também inclui um número limitado dos livros que podem não ter sido oficialmente autorizados como “livro único”, mas foram usados pelos professores nesta era. Com base no corpus desses manuais escolares, parece que a grande maioria dos autores dos livros didáticos portugueses confiaram mais em textos e autores literários nacionais, em detrimento de literatura mundial para legitimar a ideologia nacionalista do regime. Todavia, um número muito reduzido de autores britânicos foram incluídos nos livros escolares, por serem considerados relevantes para o ensino da história literária nacional.

Palavras-Chave
Ensino da Literatura; Livros Escolares, Literatura Britânica, Estado Novo, Propaganda.