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Unprotected girls and teacher training in Portugal in the second half of the nineteenth century

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Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the cultural panorama in Portugal was largely dominated by education issues. The awareness of the weaknesses of the Portuguese education system was now based on a growing interest in statistics, which allowed the reinforcement of arguments regarding the country's backwardness and the need to adopt measures that would put Portugal on the road to regeneration and progress. The debate regarding education was based on a wide range of subjects. However, two aspects are of particular interest to us: i) the need to provide the country with properly qualified teachers, creating establishments for this purpose, which would provide primary school teachers with a specific, specialised and relatively long training of a pedagogical and practical nature; ii) the attention focused on institutions for the protection of children and young people at risk in the context of the social protection policies of the time, which were based on the concept of social regeneration and on the role of education in the progress and development of the country. These two fields overlap when some pupils, who got their education in asylums, seek to construct a more dignified professional future through teacher training school.

Keywords: asylum; boarding school regime; domestic education; teacher training school

Care, regeneration, teaching and education: the education of the poor and indigent in nineteenth-century Portugal

The care for poor children is rooted in the practice of charity and in the first social support institutions founded in Portugal, such as the *misericórdias* (charity institutions). Historically, this initiative was undertaken by kings and queens, high dignitaries of State, men of means and, above all, the Church and its various institutions. The need for a more systematic organisation of the institutionalisation of indigent children and young people, who were consequently at risk as they had no family, father or adult to assume the responsibility for their keep, protection and survival, led, in the light of the late eighteenth-century Enlightenment and philanthropic ideas, to the creation of Casa Pia, a benchmark institution in this field. However, the liberal nineteenth-century regime was the one to enjoy a deep-rooted beneficent movement towards the poor, weak and indigent. Associations, or individual initiatives, created educational establishments (asylums, shelters, orphanages) that

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harboured and provided basic instruction, as well as vocational training for poor and indigent children and young people. In the second half of the nineteenth century there were 41 institutions of this kind in Lisbon and its surroundings as well as others scattered around the country. All were created after 1834 except for the refuges and Casa Pia.¹

Later, during the Republic, Alfredo Alves regretted the prejudice he had fostered against asylums, highlighting their fundamental function of providing shelter, protection and education over the decades:

Lisbon's asylums are often given little credit and it is not uncommon to come across the opinion that these establishments render little or no service to education, being merely repositories for children.... I confess that I was most agreeably surprised to recognise my error.... The impression which remained after visiting these homes was that their boards take the resolution of the problem of the common woman's education very seriously, preparing the destitute girl for the struggles of life so that she might be of social value within the context in which she will later live, rather than becoming a disturbing and useless element.²

Mostly female institutions, these asylums insisted on domestic tasks being carried out by the pupils, who were also expected to develop embroidery and sewing skills. Providing genuine vocational training for girls and boys, they generally encouraged the production of articles that were then sold, thus contributing to the maintenance of the asylum and its interns. Pupils were prepared for a future life in the outside world, attention being given to the path they were to follow. Amongst the girls – usually bound to be domestic maids, seamstresses and embroiderers – those who had stood out in their studies aspired to teaching jobs. On a Report of 1902 the following was written: “It is not deplorable that the primary teaching objective at the [D. Pedro V] Asylum should be the training of maids; the children who are admitted there have no other aspiration; this does not mean that pupils with more lofty ambitions should not be encouraged to pursue other goals”.³

From the asylum to teacher training: the first pupils to attend the *Escola do Calvário*

The first *escola normal* (teacher training school) for girls was an issue dealt with in earlier legislation, but it was only in 1863 that its Regulations were published, in line with the contents of the Regulations of the Escola Normal for boys. It was located in Calvário, Lisbon, in a building⁴ that had good sanitary conditions and

¹See António Costa, *Instrução nacional* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1870), 67–73; and see also Victor Ribeiro, *História da beneficência pública em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1970).

²António Alfredo Alves, “Asilos femininos I,” *Anais da Academia de Estudos Livres* nos 4–5 (1912): 143.

³Fernando Emídio da Silva, *História do Asilo de D. Pedro V. 1857–1957* (Lisbon: Emp. Tip. Casa Portuguesa, 1957), 143.

⁴Location of *Recolhimento do Santíssimo Sacramento e Assumpção*. In the first academic year of opened selection procedures for admission (1866–1867), it sent two pupils to the new Escola Normal – Carolina Adelaide Pereira de Lacerda, aged 23, and Maria Eduarda Vegia, aged 17.

teaching staff. The Escola Normal received its first trainee teachers in 1866. It continued to operate here as a boarding school until 1882 without any major problems but also without any particular distinction.⁵ Over these years, 250 pupils attended the school, 141 of whom obtained qualifications as primary school teachers.⁶

Of the circa 250 applications mentioned by Luiz Filipe Leite, director of the Escola Normal for boys during the 1860s, it was possible to analyse 225 applications to the Escola Normal do Calvário. In these documents, the number of young women coming from asylums, orphanages and similar institutions, and who applied to the teacher training course as state-supported students, stands out. Thus, the words of Mariano Ghira, Commissary for Studies in the District of Lisbon,⁷ who defended the urgent opening of a teacher training school to overcome the deficiencies in female education and identified the institutions from which the trainee teachers would graduate, became fact: “A large number of people with a vocation and willing to attend the teacher training course may be recruited from the shelters in Calvário and Rua da Rosa, the asylum of Ajuda for orphans suffering from yellow fever, Casa Pia and other asylums.”⁸

This view was shared by D. António da Costa, pedagogue and politician, who, for the first time in Portugal, held the portfolio of Minister for Public Education.⁹ Broaching the issue of the calling for teaching, he points out the breeding grounds where potential male and female teachers might be found. He said that “Our wish is that the desired vocation should not be presumed but rather founded on evidence. Therefore the students of the teacher training schools may and should come from the student monitors of state schools for primary education, charitable institutions, independent schools and other breeding grounds for teachers.”¹⁰

The initial phase of the Lisbon teacher training school for girls reveals the extent to which the guidance of those responsible for education policies was followed: over half of the pupils who applied for admission had attended some kind of asylum (see Table 1).

The focus of this study is the female population who attended asylums. However, the analysis of the applications clearly shows that many other candidates used poverty to justify their application for a scholarship. Many state that they have no father (and that their mother cannot support their studies) or are orphans, alluding to situations of

⁵See António Nóvoa, *Le Temps des Professeurs – Analyse socio-historique de la profession enseignante au Portugal (XVIIIe–XXe siècle)* (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1987), 447–449.

⁶See Luiz Filipe Leite, *Do ensino normal em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1892), 19.

⁷See António Nóvoa, ed., *Dicionário de educadores portugueses* (Porto: Asa, 2000), 627–628.

⁸Mariano Ghira, *Relatório sobre a visita de inspecção extraordinária às escolas do districto de Lisboa feita no anno lectivo de 1863–1864* (Lisbon: Typographia da Gazeta de Portugal, 1866), 266.

⁹See António Nóvoa, ed., *Dicionário de educadores portugueses* (Porto: Asa, 2003), 418–421.

¹⁰António Costa, *Instrução nacional* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1870), 209.

Table 1. Pupils admitted to the Escola Normal de Lisboa for Girls (1866–1880).

Years	Female pupils admitted	Origin: asylums and similar institutions	Other origins
1866–1867	15	8	7
1867–1868	29	10	19
1868–1869	0	0	0
1869–1870	22	5	17
1870–1871	–	–	–
1871–1872	28	18	10
1872–1873	10	6	4
1873–1874	15	10	5
1874–1875	16	12	4
1875–1876	16	11	5
1876–1877	15	6	9
1877–1878	23	14	9
1878–1879	14	8	6
1879–1880	–	–	–
1880–1881	22	10	12
Total	225	118	107

Source: ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education. *Teacher Training Schools. Calvário and Marvila*, Boxes 4211 to 4223 (1865–1882).¹¹

real poverty. Over these years there were only 10 tuition-paying students at the school.¹²

The large majority of pupils came from the lower classes with the clear objective of attending the Escola Normal in order to acquire the training to work as a teacher

¹¹These boxes contain handwritten documents, which are fundamental to the study of the first students to attend teacher training schools. They focus mainly on the application process to become state-supported students or tuition-paying students in the Escola Normal do Calvário for girls. They provide detailed information on the profile of the students wishing to attend the teacher training course. In total, 225 applications were analysed, each of them containing a formal request to the king, in which the students asked to be accepted on the course. There were other documents, such as a statement of good moral and civic behaviour, a statement of compliance with Catholic norms, and also their grades transcript, medical statement and birth certificate. These documents were issued by the political, administrative and religious authorities and doctors. In this documental corpus we can still find similar applications by other students to the Escola Normal de Marvila; official documentation of the letters sent and received by both schools; lists of admitted and attending students; exams done by the students and their results; official notices of new admittance exams; students' statements; students' requests for funding, school and personal material or even for a new admission to the school; minutes of the exams' juries. For historical reasons, these documents belong to the Portuguese national archive fund. However, they are very similar in nature and type to the documents found in the school's archives, in the sense they give the same kind of information – for school's archives see Mogarro, Maria João. "Archives and education: the construction of educational memory," *Sísifo. Educational Sciences Journal*, 01 (2006): 73–84, <http://sisifo.fpce.ul.pt>

¹²See Luiz Filipe Leite, *Do ensino normal em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1892), 19.

(or, in the terminology of the time, as a mistress). But another objective was in the previous one – the acquisition of an irreproachable “domestic education” which taught pupils to be good housewives and good mothers without necessarily having to take up the profession. Nevertheless, this training was a prerequisite for becoming a teacher and in other countries this was the strategy used for female education within the context of vocational training.

In the analysed schooling universe, domestic education (or female accomplishments) came second to the vocational training to become teachers. Many pupils had already consolidated this aspect of their education, a key part of the study programme at the Escola Normal do Calvário. Their preparation for the “precepts and exercises of home economics” and for “tasks fitted for the female gender” was considered essential, so that they might later teach Portuguese primary school pupils how to fulfil appropriately the roles attributed to women in the family and society. For young, destitute girls, namely for those institutionalised in asylums, the Escola Normal represented one of the few possibilities for social mobility.

Pupils who stood out in their studies were clearly encouraged to move from the asylums to teacher training schools, by applying to one of the places included in the State selection procedure. In fact, they lived their whole lives dependent on the private and public charity which sustained these establishments. This possibility presented itself at the age of 18 when they were required to leave the asylum, on account of having reached the age limit, and cede their place to another destitute minor, moving on to a position in the world of employment. This was also the minimum age for admission to teacher training school and successful candidates would take up a scholarship, receiving financial incentives from the State to start training as teachers. They would then continue to live for another two years under the tutelage and protection of the State, which fed them and prepared them appropriately, in order to enter a prestigious profession much more respected than others, which would otherwise be their almost natural destiny, when they were forced to leave the protection of the asylums.

The words written by a candidate to the Escola do Calvário in her application go beyond the usual formality of the pre-established model and reveal awareness of her specific situation: “Maria da Conceição Martins, who was educated at the Asylo de D. Maria Pia, believing herself to be qualified ... for admission to the Escola Normal do Calvário, implores Your Majesty to grant consent, *enabling the girl who was educated at the cost of public charity to hold an honourable position in society*. Lisbon, 24 August 1880”.¹³

The Escola Normal provided an interesting professional perspective for the young girls at the asylums. It also represented continuity and this aspect reinforced the protection that the state granted them: the state guaranteed their maintenance; the boarding school regime isolated the pupils from the outside world, protecting them from dangers and immersing them in a small and tightly controlled community, allowing them to feel at ease, since it strongly resembled the boarding school life they were used to at the asylum; vocational training, which was demanding not only from the literary, scientific, pedagogic and professional point of view, but also in its moral

¹³ ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom. Directorate-General for Public Education, “Maria da Conceição Martins, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls,” *Teacher Training Schools. Calvário and Marvila*, Box 4221 (1880). At the time this student was 18 and had already spent 12 years in the Asylo D. Maria Pia.

dimension, implying great control over attitudes and behaviour. In many of these aspects teacher training school was a continuation of life in the asylum albeit organised around preparation for teaching positions. Thus, the experience of education (in asylums, such as some pupils had already enjoyed before admission to teacher training school), talent and the desire to become a teacher were essential characteristics for the pupils who left asylums and shelters and applied to the Escola Normal to guarantee their professional future.

The asylum's best pupils were clearly steered towards the teacher training course and teaching and the data analysed confirm the words of writers who defended this orientation. Table 2 shows the importance of the different asylums in the constitution of the student body at the Escola do Calvário.

The number of candidates from the Asilo da Ajuda is very high in comparison with other asylums but the most prominent point is the very high percentage of candidates who come from Lisbon and areas close to the capital (such as Santarém) – 102 girls. The remaining 14 candidates come from the rest of the country: 10 from the North (Porto and Viana), two from the Centre (Coimbra and Leiria) and two from the South (Beja). This geographical analysis also reveals the concentration of asylums in the capital and their scarcity throughout the rest of the country; even though far behind, Porto, Portugal's second city, and Viana do Castelo were exceptions to this rule.

Table 2. Asylums and similar institutions that raised pupils admitted to the Escola Normal de Lisboa for Girls (1886–1880).

Feeder institutions	Admitted
Asylo da Ajuda – Lisboa	41
Asylo D. Luiz I – Lisboa	15
Asylo D. Maria Pia – Lisboa	14
Recolhimento de S. Pedro de Alcântara – Lisboa	9
Recolhimento da Rua da Rosa – Lisboa	6
Asylo D. Pedro V – Lisboa	5
Asylo da Infância Desvalida – Viana do Castelo	5
Escola Casal Ribeiro – Lisboa	4
Recolhimento da Senhora da Esperança – Porto	3
Asylo de N. ^a S. ^a da Conceição – Lisboa	2
Asylo de S. João – Lisboa	2
Colégio Português (scholarship holders)	2
Recolhimento do Calvário – Lisboa	2
Asylo de S. ^o António – Lisboa	1
Convento de N. ^a S. ^a da Conceição – Beja	1
Instituto de N. ^a S. ^a da Paz – Porto	1
Misericórdia de Coimbra – Coimbra	1
Recolhimento da Esperança – Beja	1
Recolhimento de N. ^a S. ^a para Meninas Desamparadas – Porto	1
Recolhimento do S. ^o S. ^o Coração de Jesus e Maria – Leiria	1
Roda de Santarém – Santarém	1
Total	118

Source: See note 11.

The importance of teacher training as a career for the young girls at the asylums continued until the twentieth century. In work published in 1907, Victor Ribeiro accounts for the *História da Beneficência Pública em Portugal* (The History of Public Beneficence in Portugal) and, referring to the Asilo da Ajuda, states, “the interns are admitted aged seven and remain at the asylum until they are 18; many of them attend the Escola Normal where they obtain teaching diplomas”.¹⁴ The same is true for the Asilo de D. Pedro V which is assiduous “in the education and teaching it provides, both in academic studies, which are perfected and completed by attending teacher training school, and in work appropriate to the pupils’ gender”.¹⁵ The reports of the institutions reflect the pupils’ routes, who “on account of having better grades”¹⁶ will “continue their studies to become teachers”.¹⁷ This can be seen in the Asilo de D. Pedro V annual record of leaving students, who year after year entered the same professions. The Asilo da Ajuda sent the largest number of students to the Escola Normal and reinforced the significance of these young people’s trajectories, clarifying its own institutional role: “Teaching has continued to be the most advantageous possible, educating the orphans in domestic work, involving them in all the asylum’s domestic chores and encouraging those who are more dedicated to their studies to follow a teaching career by taking the course in the Escola Normal.”¹⁸ The Escola Normal was the most promising of all possible trajectories for the interns who had to leave the asylum on account of having reached the age limit.

Young women’s trajectories: domestic education and vocational teacher training

The pupils at the Escola Normal were marked by their social status (and in over half of cases by institutionalisation in asylums), as well as by the training they were to be given on the teacher training course, which included vocational preparation, moral development and domestic education.

The analysis of applications provides information regarding the admission criteria for the Escola Normal. Apart from the pupil’s or her representative’s application, they were required to present certificates of good moral and civic behaviour (from the local authority) as well as of good religious behaviour (from a priest who also confirmed the practice of Catholic rituals). Qualifications were certified by the principal of the secondary school where the pupil took the exams and/or by the teachers who had taught her throughout her schooling until reaching the admission exam to the Escola Normal. As a result, declarations by the mistresses and teachers at the asylums may be often found. In the case of already being teachers, they presented their teaching certification. A medical certificate and a birth certificate from the parish where the pupil was baptised were also needed.

¹⁴Victor Ribeiro, *História da beneficência pública em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1970): 163.

¹⁵Idem, 165.

¹⁶Fernando Emídio da Silva, *História do Asilo de D. Pedro V. 1857–1957* (Lisbon: Emp. Tip. Casa Portuguesa, 1957), 154.

¹⁷Idem, 168.

¹⁸*Asilo da Ajuda sob a protecção de Sua Majestade a Senhora D. Maria Pia. Gerência de 29 de Março a 30 de Junho de 1896 e dos anos económicos de 1896 a 1897 e 1897 a 1898* (Lisbon: A Liberal), 15.

Pupils were listed according to their classification and their profiles highlighted characteristics such as intelligence, interests, proven capabilities, dedication and previous experience as assistants, mistresses or monitors, often in asylums.

A background of poverty is revealed by the interns' situation but also by the fact that they did not have parents. This would leave the family "reduced to poverty" and the candidates "needing to work without ceasing to acquire means of subsistence".¹⁹ The death of her father prompted Maria da Glória Almada to explain "she is going to help her mother in the future in raising and educating a further six orphans in her care".²⁰

Despite their destitute circumstances, there are cases in which pupils overcame the obstacles and attained high levels of performance. At the Recolhimento do Calvário, Carolina Adelaide Lacerda achieved exam results that revealed "superiority over some of the teachers in the District" as well as exhibiting "capacity ... and an ultimate desire to teach".²¹ On the other hand, some pupils revealed a lack of preparation for the exam but vocation imposed itself: "[The pupil] Maria Leopoldina Lamego achieved low grades in the exam but presented colourful drawings of people and flowers ... she shows a marked vocation and aptitude for drawing.... Although both the candidates [Maria José da Rocha and Maria Benedicta de Ascensão e Sousa], especially the latter, lack the appropriate levels in some of the exam subjects, which the jury attributed to the little schooling they have received, they nevertheless demonstrated intelligence and other qualities which, well nurtured, will qualify them and make them worthy teachers."²²

Luís Filipe Leite²³ later stated that the selection of pupils was not strict, being based on reports of later years (1884–1886). In fact, not all the available places were taken and pupils were subjected to admission exams, or some other kinds of assessment, some being rejected. However, we should bear in mind that the number of applications was not too high and, thus, the school had to make the most of pupils who showed the minimum potential for becoming teachers.

In intermediary situations, the parents' poverty was offset by someone who would assume responsibility for the education costs of the young women who applied to teacher training education. A teacher from Lisbon states that Carolina Garizo "was

¹⁹ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, "Carolina Adelaide Pereira de Lacerda, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls," Box 4212 (1867); see note 4 for more information on this student.

²⁰ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, "Maria da Glória Almada, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls," Box 4213 (1869). This student was a single orphan (no father) and was 16 years and 8 months old when she applied to the Escola Normal. She requested that the minimum age criteria be disregarded.

²¹See notes 4 and 20.

²²ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, "Maria Leopoldina Lamego, Maria José da Rocha e Maria Benedicta de Ascensão e Sousa, applications process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls," Box 4212 (1867). Maria Leopoldina came from the Asylo da Ajuda aged 17, the same age as Maria José; the latter and Maria Benedicta, aged 20, were from Viana do Castelo (North of Portugal) and had been living with their families, respectively.

²³See Luiz Filipe Leite, *Do ensino normal em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1892), 15–18.

taught by me in the subjects of primary education, sewing, embroidery and other accomplishments suitable for a girl and, given that her parents were very poor, she was educated and helped by her godmother who paid me some fees on a monthly basis for this service".²⁴

The situation of pupils handed over to someone at the beginning of their lives (they were "under the guardianship of"), being supported and educated as they grew up, is rather specific. Through the Escola Normal they clearly sought to guarantee a future and means of subsistence, in case the protection of the person on whom they depended failed:

José António Marques says that, having taken on the guardianship of Maria José Aguilar, now aged 17, since her infancy, and desiring to further educate her, so that she may be assured honest work and a decent future subsistence, would like her to be admitted ... he supports this request by saying that his protégée has a good knowledge of the Portuguese language and is capable of satisfying the literary requirements for admission but she is not so advanced in her mother tongue as in English, since her first years were spent with an English governess who took a particular interest in educating her.²⁵

Another significant case is that of Carolina Lima, who was adopted by a public school teacher from Rio Maior and applied for admission to the Escola Normal in order to follow the same profession as her adoptive mother, whom she in fact had already been assisting during classes:

Without any means of subsistence in the future should her adoptive mother become unable to support her, she seeks admission to the same career as her above-mentioned surrogate mother and for this purpose applies for a state scholarship to attend the Lisbon teacher training school.²⁶

As mentioned earlier, many pupils attached declarations from the asylums vouching for their behaviour, dedication and good school results, highlighting their cooking and embroidery skills and their performance in other female and domestic chores. These documents reveal a standardisation that is not found in certificates passed by other authorities and institutions. This reflects a common practice and care in providing information regarding former pupils not used by other institutions:

I, Antónia Adelaide, Principal of the Recolhimento [of Esperança], Porto ... vouch that Joana Pinheiro ... has been assiduous and zealous in fulfilling her duties, devoted to her

²⁴ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, "Carolina da Conceição Garizo, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls," Box 4219 (1878). Carolina C. Garizo was 17 years old.

²⁵ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, "Maria José de Aguilar, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls," Box 4213 (1869).

²⁶ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, "Carolina de Assumpção Lima, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls," Box 4221 (1880). Carolina A. Lima is referred to as a diligent student. After she was born, she was left at the Antiga Roda de Santarém (a place where it was typical for mothers to abandon babies they could not raise for various reasons). She was 18 years old in 1880.

studies and well behaved, having performed well in the different subjects which are customarily taught at this refuge and are suitable for the education of her gender.²⁷

At the Asylo [S. João, they attest that Maria Oliveira] has a kind, obedient and compliant nature, not only in relation to her superiors but also to the other interns living in this asylum.²⁸

I, Anna Adelaide Mulher, Principal of the Asylo da Ajuda, certify [that Belmira Conceição] ... is endowed with very good manners, having always performed well in all the subjects covered by the academic tuition.²⁹

The Principal of the Recolhimento ... de Alcântara ... declares that [Georgina Santos] ... always behaved in an exemplary fashion while she was a student here, fulfilling her obligations and distinguishing herself in her studies, resulting in various prizes and eulogies.³⁰

I, Philomena Judicibus, a graduate of the Escola Normal for girls' course and teacher at the Asylo de D. Maria Pia, certify that [Amélia Silva] ... who lives at this asylum has assiduously attended the school for which I am responsible and has performed well enough to undertake the exams required.³¹

Some pupils who were admitted as tuition-paying students subsequently requested to become beneficiaries of the State bursary, claiming they were financially incapable of supporting their training and had a great desire to complete the course:

Maria Lopes ... having completed the first year at the teacher training school for her gender in Calvário, applied for one of the available places for state-supported students at the above-mentioned school during the next year ... however, she was not lucky enough to be admitted in this capacity. But being unable to resist her great desire and natural talent to complete the course at the mentioned school, she felt it imperative to request admission as a tuition-paying student and she currently attends the school in that condition.... However ... she has the misfortune to be the daughter of extremely poor parents who, by no means can continue to overcome the hardships they have been facing so far, in order to meet the monthly fees.... [She] requests that Your Majesty graciously

²⁷ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, “Joana Angelica Pinheiro, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls,” Box 4212 (1867). Joana A. Pinheiro was 17 and an orphan living in Recolhimento da Senhora da Esperança. The Misericórdia do Porto (charity institution) was in charge of her.

²⁸ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, “Maria Jesuína de Oliveira, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls,” Box 4214 (1872).

²⁹ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, “Belmira da Conceição, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls,” *idem*.

³⁰ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, “Georgina da Assumpção Santos, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls,” Box 4216 (1875). Georgina A. Santos was 17 and considered a very good student.

³¹ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, “Amélia Augusta da Silva, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls,” *idem*.

order ... her transferral from a tuition-paying student to a State bursary beneficiary, at the teacher training school for girls. 24 August 1873.³²

Philomena ... pupil at the Escola Normal do Calvário ... wishes to become a State bursary student and be released of the monthly fees because her family, subject to the obligations established by the law, does not have the resources necessary [to her maintenance].³³

In the confined space of the Escola do Calvário there were two different views of the world. One was marked by boarding school life at the asylums and by the limitations of poverty, the latter being a structured model followed by the institution itself. The other, a minority and a supplement, was supported by pupils from different family contexts and more flexible forms of education of a more bourgeois nature. The confrontation between these two lifestyles penalised the second sort of students, who did not adapt to life as trainee teachers and dropped out of school:

Catarina Rita and Maria Carlota ... requested her Majesty's government permission to leave that school because they were not able to conform to the regime practised there. Maria Carlota ... said she had no complaints in relation to the way in which she was treated by the Principal, teachers and pupils and wished to leave because of health issues and because she missed her family; she complained only of the food which she found very different to that usually served in her family's house and that she was not given enough bread.... The second pupil ... Catarina ... said that she wished to leave the school because she felt there was not enough food and it was ill-prepared. She got on very well with the Principal, teachers and pupils but recognised that she did not have the strength to study to the extent required of her.³⁴

Your Excellency ordered that Maria Rosário, a pupil ... should be delivered to her family and that she should be heard as to why she was requesting to leave this establishment.... Having questioned her ... she replied that she did not like the food although she recognised it was enough and well prepared, she found the work of sweeping the dormitory which she had to undertake every three weeks repulsive and, finally, it was hard to spend a long time in class.³⁵

Missing their families, aversion to domestic work (and to domestic education in the more manual sense in which it was imposed on the poor), dislike for the food and complete refusal to undertake the lower tasks were combined with a lack of interest in studying. It was the refusal of an educational model that the Escola do Calvário implemented with the purpose of training professionals with a specific profile.

³²ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, “Maria das Dores Lopes, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls,” Box 4214 (1873).

³³ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, “Philomena Geronyma de Freitas, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls,” *idem*.

³⁴ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, “Catarina Rita Guanilho Lopes e Maria Carlota Moura, applications process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls,” Box 4215 (1873).

³⁵ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of the Tower of the Tombo), Ministry of the Kingdom, Directorate-General for Public Education, “Maria do Rosário e Aragão, application process for admission at the Escola Normal in Lisbon for girls,” *idem*.

Conclusion

Teachers were expected to be versed in the specific *skills* of their profession. This included *tasks* specific to women, which were essential to the children they were supposed to bring up and to their families. This profile followed a strong moral and ethical sense, required upon admission to the school and perpetuated throughout it. Being a teacher meant being able to master all these aspects within a training process marked by the school's *overall project* to socialise its pupils according to very disciplinary parameters.³⁶ The boarding school regime rendered students completely dependent on the institution³⁷ and, having been adapted from the same model that was in force in many asylums, suited the profile of the young girls who had already lived and studied in similar environments.

Therefore, D. António da Costa's words are extremely appropriate: "the woman is the educator par excellence".³⁸ Defending the boarding school regime, Mariano Ghira explained that the woman was:

... the first teacher of her offspring: The instruction and education of teachers must be methodical and undertaken in such a way that they might become capable of shaping the hearts and minds of the children who will later be committed to their care; apart from academic education they should know the principles of home economics so that these children might become subservient and intelligent family mothers, who will be most interested in contributing to the education and instruction of their children.... The trained and educated woman shall produce results more efficiently in influencing schools than all the laws of compulsory education.³⁹

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³⁶See Michel Foucault, *Tecnologías del yo* (Barcelona: Paidós, 1996).

³⁷See Erving Goffman, *Asiles. Études sur la condition sociale des malades mentaux et autres reclus* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1968).

³⁸António Costa, *Instrução nacional* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1870), 213.

³⁹Mariano Ghira, *Relatório sobre a visita de inspecção extraordinária às escolas do districto de Lisboa feita no anno lectivo de 1863–1864* (Lisbon: Typographia da Gazeta de Portugal, 1866), 259–261.