



UMEÅ UNIVERSITY

School Journeys

Ideas and Practices of New Education in Portugal (1890–1960)

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Institutionen för idé- och samhällsstudier
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To my parents

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Abstract

In this dissertation I examine school journeys in secondary education in Portugal between 1890 and 1960, focusing on State regulation, educational ideas and school practice. By bringing together the various parts of a broader discourse on a way of thinking and making schooling, I look at how this active method was regulated, argued and reportedly undertaken with a twofold aim: to expand the knowledge on the history of school journeys, and to contribute to the research on the ideas and practices of educational modernity.

School journeys were an activity that was intended to take the students out of the school in order to observe, study and actively experience historical heritage, industrial processes, natural objects and phenomena, and societal achievements *in situ*, i.e. all culture related to what was to be seen, thought about and acted upon. Moreover, these journeys were imbued with the desire to produce a metamorphosis from student to citizen by promoting the students' learning and becoming processes.

The advent of school journeys in Portugal was deeply connected to the aims of New Education and to the idea of education as an instrument of societal renewal and progress of the nation. Their *boom* in the mid-1910s was accompanied by the proliferation of ideas that ultimately referred to the need to accomplish results. This, in turn, led to the strengthening of the teachers' role and to the reliance on once perceived traditional forms of teaching and learning in which the students' engagement was restricted to that of observers, readers, listeners and writers of notes. Although by the 1930s this had already become engrained in the grammar of schooling, it was the meticulous regulations enforced by the recently established dictatorship that crystallised the legal framework, educational ideas and practice of school journeys.

Thus, by taking the particular case of school journeys, I show how ideas of educational modernity became increasingly articulated and blended with long-established practices, and how learning was placed in relation to learning and becoming, both closely connected to narratives of national progress and belonging. Indeed, activities based on observation, study and experience were connected to knowledge transfer as much as to the production of subjectivities. For this reason, I argue that school journeys were part of a '*Reason*' that established objective systems to apprehend both individuals and the world, connecting each other by shaping an idea of cultural empowerment and intellectual emancipation through knowledge and identity.

Keywords: school journeys, educational modernity, '*Reason*' of schooling.

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1. Introduction

Scope and aim

The history of the educational ideas and methods that flourished and spread with an impressive synchronism around the world at the turn of the 20th century provides a prolific insight into the schooling discourses and practices and into the historical conditions that made the present possible.¹ Most of these studies, however, focus on particular aspects that ultimately refer to school spaces, thus overlooking the fact that the scope of schooling is not restricted to what happens inside its walls. Indeed, schooling – understood as both institutional and cultural processes – was also carried out beyond the school spaces in an attempt to bridge them to the world in terms of knowledge transfer and the production of subjectivities, i.e. in an attempt to support the students' learning and becoming processes.²

Some of the vehicles used to build such bridges included study visits, field trips and school excursions, hereby understood *sensu lato* as school journeys. In spite of the different designations, their core is that of an activity intended to take the students out of the school in order to observe, study and actively experience historical heritage, industrial processes, natural objects and phenomena, societal achievements in situ, all culture that is ultimately related to what was to be taught, thought and acted upon.³ Indeed, school journeys required physical displacement

¹ Jorge Ramos do Ó and Luís Miguel Carvalho, *Emergência e Circulação do Conhecimento Psicopedagógico Moderno (1880–1960): Estudos Comparados Portugal-Brasil* [Emergence and Circulation of the Modern Psychopedagogical Knowledge (1880–1960): Comparative Studies Portugal-Brazil] (Lisboa: Educa, 2009).

² Thomas S. Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions. (Re)constituting the nation, the Child & the Teacher in the Educational Sciences* (Lisboa: Educa, 2002); Thomas S. Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform. Science, Education, and Making Society by Making the Child* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Thomas S. Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling. Historicizing Curriculum Studies, Pedagogy, and Teacher Education* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Daniel Tröhler, Thomas S. Popkewitz, and David F. Labaree, *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century. Comparative visions* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Jorge Ramos do Ó, *O governo de si mesmo. Modernidade pedagógica e encenações disciplinares do aluno liceal (último quartel do século XIX – meados do século XX)* [The self-government. Pedagogical modernity and disciplinary scenarios of the lyceum's student (last quarter of the 19th century–mid-20th century)] (Lisboa: Educa, 2003); and Jorge Ramos do Ó, “Government of the soul and genesis of the modern educational discourse (1879–1911),” *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 1–2 (2005): 243–257.

³ Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*.

as a condition for learning and becoming. Furthermore, according to Martin Lawn, since the late 19th century, school activities concerning observation study have played a decisive role in the development of educational systems and were the key drivers of a culture of classification and understanding that enabled the universalization of ways of seeing.⁴ Likewise, they were imbued with the moral concern of governing the subjects, which was connected to the desire to produce a metamorphosis from student to citizen.⁵

The key role of secondary schooling in serving the fabrication of the citizen-to-be is not surprising given that i) elementary school children were considered to be in need of a different ‘moulding’, i.e. of developing the basic skills required for further personal and academic growth (such as reading, writing and arithmetic) and that ii) higher education students were perceived as mature adults.⁶ Indeed, such a metamorphosis was particularly advocated in relation to secondary schooling, especially regarding the Lyceum. Although secondary education in Portugal during this period also included vocational schools, my focus here is on the former. If, on the one hand, the overall mission of secondary schooling – established in Portugal at the turn of the 20th century – was to prepare all students for societal life, the Lyceum, on the other hand, was to achieve this by providing the students with a broad knowledge in order to contribute to their intellectual emancipation.⁷

⁴ Martin Lawn, *Modelling the Future. Exhibitions and the materiality of education* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2009)

⁵ Inês Félix, “Herança e cidadania: Visitas de estudo, excursões escolares e educação estética na educação dos jovens escolares portugueses (1894–1960)” [Heritage and Citizenship: study visits, school excursions and aesthetic education in the Portuguese young pupils’ education] (M.A. thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2011)

⁶ In addition, activities based on scientific observation and methods to develop each person, even though recommended from a very young age to simply expose small children to them, were particularly important for secondary school children. This, in turn, was supported by the growing scientific knowledge of the child, which placed secondary school students’ age range (10 to 17) within the perceived phases of brain development and personality formation that allowed education to intervene in their learning and becoming processes in order to turn certain habits into personal qualities.

⁷ J. Augusto Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], vol. I (S. Paulo: Teixeira & Irmão, 1891); António Faria de Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental* [Lessons of Experimental Paedology and Pedagogy] (Lisboa: Antiga Casa Bertrand, 1909); Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917; Adolfo Lima, “As Escolas Novas” [The New Schools], *Educação Social* 15–16, no. 1 (1924): 277–283; Decreto 20741 of 11/12/1931; Adolfo Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica* [Sociological Pedagogy], vol. I (Lisboa: Couto Martins, 1932); Pais Figueiredo, *Educar e Instruir* [To Educate and to Instruct], vol. II. Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1945; and Carlos Montenegro Miguel, “Visitas de Estudo e Excursões” [Study Visits and Excursions]. *Escolas Técnicas* 38 (1966): 33–49.

By mapping the discourses on a way of thinking and making schooling beyond the classroom, the aim of this study is twofold: On the one hand, it aims to expand knowledge on the introduction, implementation and naturalisation of school journeys in the secondary education system in Portugal between the 1890s and the 1960s, namely, the ways in which New Education ideas were argued and put into practice through school journeys as a new teaching method. Through the analysis of the Portuguese educational discourse, disperse in legislation, monographs, didactical handbooks, school periodicals, principals' records and yearbooks, I examine how this active method was imagined, argued and reportedly implemented and undertaken. On the other hand, it also aims to shed light not only on the history of these activities but also on New Education and modern schooling. In particular, it aims to contribute to the understanding of how activities based on observation, study and experience were connected to the desire to cover and transfer all subjects known in an orderly, systematic and comprehensive way, and to the fabrication of wise and productive students.

The main research questions refer to three foci: (1) State regulation – how were these activities legally framed?; (2) ideas – what were the educational ideas behind school journeys?; (3) educational practice – how were they reportedly organized and undertaken, where and in relation to what?; and, finally, how were the students prepared and assessed?. This allows me to bring together different actors (State, pedagogues, teachers and students), identifying convergences and divergences on different levels of discussion (ideas and practice), presenting how these were displayed over time in relation to the grammar of schooling and discussing how they can be understood. Finally, by addressing both the discontinuities and the continuities, i.e. the desired change towards emancipatory learning processes and the persistence of certain mechanisms of the criticized unproductive teaching tradition, this research discusses how the school journeys were part of a 'reason' of schooling i.e. the 'logic' that orders and governs school subjects.⁸ For these reasons, the examination of school journeys allows a new perspective on the grammar of modern schooling and instigates a critical incursion into one of its most enduring educational activities.

⁸ Popkewitz, *The "Reason" of Schooling*.

Previous research

The abundance and recurrence of historical studies on school and modernity make it an area of research that is almost impossible to map, particularly because it covers a wide range of aspects from different perspectives.⁹ In any case, it appears clear that most of these studies focus on the history of the ideas, institutions and personages of the New and Progressive Education movements.¹⁰ In addition, existing research deals with aspects that ultimately refer to school spaces, thus overlooking the fact that the scope of schooling goes beyond its walls.

For this reason, the chosen perspective for studying modern schooling in order to understand the ideas on learning processes in relation to extramural practices testify to its innovative nature concerning education history research.¹¹

⁹ Historical studies on school and modernity are understood as the study of the “educational changes and pedagogical innovations that took place at the turn of the nineteenth century that produced what has been called ‘pedagogical modernity’ in the context of the process of mass schooling”. Cynthia Pereira de Sousa, Denice Barbara Catani, António Nóvoa, and Frank Simon, “School and modernity: Knowledge, institutions and practices. Introduction,” *Paedagogica Historica* 41, 1–2 (2005): 2.

¹⁰ Also connected to the Reformpädagogik, Éducation Nouvelle, Attivismo or Educación Nueva, Educação Nova, etc. movements. See for example Inés Dussel and Marcelo Caruso, “Specters of Dewey in Latin America: Some Notes on the Reception of Educational Theories,” *Paedagogica Historica* 34, sup1 (1998): 375–399; Celia Jenkins, “New Education and its emancipatory interests (1920–1950),” *History of Education* 29, no. 2 (2000): 139–151; William J. Reese, “The Origins of Progressive Education,” *History of Education Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2001): 1–24; Kevin J. Brehony, “A new education for a new era: the contribution of the conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the disciplinary field of education 1921–1938,” *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 5–6 (2004): 733–755; Daniel Hameline, “L’éducation nouvelle après l’Education nouvelle,” *Paedagogica Historica* 42, no. 1–2 (2006): 263–290; Maria del Mar del Pozo Andrés and J. F. A. Braster, “The Reinvention of the New Education Movement in the Franco Dictatorship (Spain, 1936–1976),” *Paedagogica Historica* 42, no. 1–2 (2006): 109–126; Kristen D. Nawrotzki, “Froebel is Dead; Long Live Froebel! The National Froebel Foundation and English Education,” *History of Education* 35, no. 2 (2006): 209–223; Jürgen Oelkers, “Reformpädagogik vor der Reformpädagogik,” *Paedagogica Historica* 42, no. 1–2 (2006): 15–48; Jürgen Helmchen, “Les savoirs autour de l’Education Nouvelle,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 4–5 (2009): 673–684; Antoine Savoye, “Nouveaux savoirs et Education nouvelle dans les lycées, France 1930–1939,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 4.5 (2009): 503–514; John Howlett, “The formation, development and contribution of the New Ideals in Education conferences, 1914–1937,” *History of Education* 46, no. 4 (2017): 459–479. On what concerns particularly the New Education’s knowledge and its transformation, see Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly, “Contrasted views of New Education on knowledge and its transformation. Anticipation of a new mode or ambivalence?,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, nos. 4–5 (2009): 453–467 and William G. Wraga, “Condescension and critical sympathy: Historians of education on progressive education in the United States and England,” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 1–2 (2014): 59–75. For an ongoing project, see Kristen D. Nawrotzki, “Re-Imagining Teaching. Progressive pedagogies in experimental schools, 1894 to 1932,” <http://www.re-imaginingteaching.com> (2017).

¹¹ “There has been considerable debate around the question of history of education as a discipline”. For this reason I would like to stress that it can also be perceived as a field in the sense that it embraces all kinds of education and educational research – for the distinction, please see Lingard and Gale, 2010 – as long as they are formulated in a historical perspective regardless of other studies that might inform the historical approach, that is, a “scholarship that deals with education in historical settings” often identified as education history research. Joyce Goodman and Ian Grosvenor, “The history of

I argue that its relevance is justified by the scarcity of references that approach schooling issues in historical settings from the standpoint of extramural activities in general and of school journeys in particular. Indeed, not only have these activities been neglected as objects of study by the history of education, understood as a privileged field to question and think our society,¹² as the analysis of educational documents has often been – essentially and merely – a means of disclosing classroom-related aspects, setting aside the potential of school activities beyond the classroom.¹³ In my opinion, such potentiality allows the broadening of education history studies on schooling not only by widening the understanding of the scope of schooling but also by bringing new empirical perspectives and problematisations into this field of research, i.e. by doing what Febvre considered to be History's primary task:

History is built, without exclusion, with all that the ingenuity of man can devise and match to fill the silence of the texts (...) to perpetually negotiate new alliances between neighbouring or distant subjects; to focus on the same subject connecting various heterogeneous sciences: primary task, the most demanding and the most fruitful one for a History impatient with its borders and its compartmentalisation. Notions appropriation? Sometimes. Appropriation of methods and spirit, above all.¹⁴

When expanding the literature to include curriculum history, education ideas appear again at the core of most of the produced research, to the detriment of studies on a micro-level, i.e. on educational practices and methods.¹⁵ A

education: a curious case?" in *Disciplines of Education: their role in the future of education research*, ed. John Furlong and Martin Lawn (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2011), 68. See also Bob Lingard and Trevor Gale, "Defining Educational Research: A Perspective of/on Presidential Addresses and the Australian Association for Research in Education," *The Australian Educational Researcher* 37, no. 1 (2010): 21–49.

¹² Rogério Fernandes, "História da educação e o saber histórico" [History of education and the historical knowledge], in Rogério Fernandes. *Questionar a Sociedade, interrogar a história, (re)pensar a educação*, ed. Margarida Louro Felgueiras and Maria Cristina Menezes (Porto: Afrontamento/FPCEUP, 2000), 789–805.

¹³ Giorgio Agamben, *A Potência do Pensamento* (Lisboa: Relógio D'Água, 2013).

¹⁴ Lucien Febvre, *Combates pela História* (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1985), 32.

¹⁵ For a reflection on the field, please see Bernadette Baker, "The History of Curriculum or Curriculum History? What is the Field and Who Gets to Play on it?," *Curriculum Studies* 4, no. 1 (1996): 105–117. See also: Thomas S. Popkewitz, "Curriculum study, curriculum history, and curriculum theory: the reason of reason," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no. 3 (2009): 301–319, and Daniel Tröhler, "Curriculum History in Europe: A Historiographic Added Value," *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 3, no. 1 (2016): 3–24.

paradigmatic example of this can be drawn from the conclusions of a group of researchers about the ‘themes’ of doctoral theses on the History of Education in France and francophone Switzerland over the last 25 years.¹⁶ Although the authors state that great a part of doctoral thesis referred to “teaching practices and methods”, they point out that most of these studies focused on curriculum texts, such as steering documents and textbooks.¹⁷ This, in turn, fits the critique made by Depaepe almost twenty years ago that, to some extent, education historians have assumed the classroom history as curriculum history, thus drawing direct links between what was the intended education to the didactic ‘reality’.¹⁸ For this reason, despite the ongoing interest in teaching practices and methods, and following Depaepe’s argument, the links between curriculum and educational practice remain unexplored on a micro level by education historians.¹⁹ Yet, in recent years, there has been a “growing interest among UK historians in new methodological approaches, and in enquiry focused around the ‘black box’ of the school that pays attention to space, place, the visual and the body and which is geared to understanding the everyday experience of classrooms, pupils and teachers”.²⁰

The increasing methodological work concerning the visual, the turn to the material, spatial and sensorial aspects of schooling, as well as the development of perspectives on pupils’ emotions within and beyond the classroom, have contributed to new perspectives on everyday school life.²¹ These studies have not

¹⁶ This group of researchers were the convenors of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education’s Standing Working Groups, *Mapping the Discipline History of Education*, from 2014 to 2019. For further information, please see the following websites: <http://www.ische.org/about-ische/standing-working-groups/>; and <http://rhe.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/?q=mapping>.

¹⁷ The main research themes identified by the authors were, in decreasing order, the history of scholastic institutions, followed by teaching practices and methods, philosophy and history of pedagogical ideas, the relationship between education and society and the circulation of knowledge and internationalization. Rita Hofstetter, Alexandre Fontaine, Solenn Huitric and Emmanuelle Picard, “Mapping the discipline history of education,” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 6 (2014): 871–880.

¹⁸ Marc Depaepe, *Order in progress. Everyday Educational Practice in Primary Schools Belgium, 1880–1970* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000).

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Goodman and Grosvenor, “The history of education”, 71.

²¹ See, for example: Ian Grosvenor, Martin Lawn, and Kate Rousmaniere, *Silences and Images: the social history of the classroom* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvenor, “When in doubt, preserve”: exploring the traces of teaching and material culture in English schools,”

only opened up new areas of research in education history, but also the possibilities of diversifying the sources, methods and theories used. Indeed, they “add to the methodological debates in historiography, raising questions about discursive analysis of texts, images, fiction and personal writings in studying the idea of classroom”.²² However, their scope is still primarily confined to the intramural aspects of schools, meaning that research on the materialities and immaterialities of schooling has not left this institutional space *yet*. Nevertheless, other education historians did not confine themselves to the materialities in schooling and have been examining the influences exerted by different out-of-school materialities in relation to education and schooling. Among these are the histories that focus on the relationship between cultural heritage, world fairs and exhibitions, aesthetic governing, nation building and education.²³

History of Education 30, no. 2 (2001): 117–127; Kate Rousmaniere, “Questioning the visual in the history of education,” *History of Education* 30, no. 2 (2001): 109–116; Inés Dussel, “When appearances are not deceptive: A Comparative History of school uniforms in Argentina and the United States (nineteenth–twentieth centuries),” *Paedagogica Historica* 41, nos. 1–2 (2005): 179–195; Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvenor, *Materialities of Schooling. Design, Technology, Objects, Routines* (Oxford: Symposium Books 2005); Catherine Burke and Helena Ribeiro de Castro, “The School Photograph: Portraiture and the Art of Assembling the Body of the Schoolchild,” *History of Education* 36, no. 2 (2007): 213–226; Martin Lawn, *Modelling the Future*; Catherine Burke, “Putting education in its place: mapping the observations of Danish and English architects on 1950s school design,” *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 5 (2010): 655–672; Roy Kozlovsky, “The architecture of educate: motion and emotion in postwar educational spaces,” *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (2010): 695–712; Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor, “The Hearing School: an exploration of sound and listening in the modern school,” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 3 (2011): 323–340; Frederik Herman, Angelo Van Gorp, Frank Simon, and Marc Depaepe, “The school desk: from concept to object,” *History of Education* 40, no. 1 (2011): 97–117; Ian Grosvenor, “Back to the future or towards a sensory history of schooling,” *History of Education* 41, no. 5. (2012): 675–687; Lisa Rosén Rasmussen, “Touching Materiality: Presenting the past of everyday school life,” *Memory Studies* 5, no. 2 (2012): 114–130; Catherine Burke, “Looking back to imagine the future: connecting with the radical past in technologies of school design,” *Technology, Pedagogy and Education* 23, no. 1 (2014): 39–55; Anna Larsson and Björn Norlin, *Beyond the classroom: studies on pupils and informal schooling processes in Modern Europe* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014); Björn Norlin, “School jailhouse: discipline, space and the materiality of school morale in early-modern Sweden,” *History of Education* 45, no. 3 (2016): 263–284; Anna Larsson, Björn Norlin, and Maria Rönnlund, *Den svenska skolgårdens historia: Skolans utemiljö som pedagogiskt och socialt rum* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2017); Karin Priem and Christine Mayer, “Learning how to see and feel: Alfred Lichtwark and his concept of artistic and aesthetic education,” *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no. 3 (2017): 199–213.

²² Grosvenor, Lawn and Rousmaniere, *Silences and Images*, 8–9.

²³ Christian Lundahl and Martin Lawn, “The Swedish schoolhouse: a case study in transnational influences in education at the 1870s world fairs,” *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 3 (2015): 319–334; Christian Lundahl, “Swedish Education Exhibitions and Aesthetic Governing at World’s Fairs in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 3, no. 2 (2016): 3–30; See also Sonsoles Hernández Barbosa, “The 1900 World’s Fair or the Attraction of the Senses,” *The Senses and Society* 10, no. 1 (2015): 39–51; and Katherine Smits and Alix Jansen, “Staging the nation at expos and world’s fairs,” *National Identities* 14, no. 2 (2012): 173–188.

Finally, and as McCulloch pointed out in his “history of secondary education”, from 1981 to 2001, even if only a few, a number of studies have focused on education policy, particularly “interpretations of secondary education under the Education Act of 1944”, which concerned outdoor education.²⁴ After 2001, two more studies were published in international journals that focused on outdoor education more broadly, neither of which were published in an education history journal.²⁵ Additionally, a 2015 book review by Mark Freeman drew my attention to Ogilvie and Regis’ study on the history of outdoor education and outdoor learning in the UK published in 2013.²⁶ However, most of the research on outdoor education identified mainly focused on informal education and learning, for example, Scouting and Guiding movements, rather than formal schooling-related practices.²⁷

In-between *in* and *out* of school, school journeys appear as an education activity which, having been presented – in the Portuguese context – as *circum-curricular*, are essentially curricular,²⁸ meaning that, although taking place

²⁴ Gary McCulloch, “The history of secondary education in the History of Education,” *History of Education* 41, no. 1 (2012): 38–39. For the research, McCulloch refers to, see R. G. Wallace, “The Origins and Authorship of the 1944 Education Act,” *History of Education* 10, no. 4 (1981): 283–290; Brian Simon, “The 1944 Education Act: A Conservative measure?,” *History of Education* 15, no. 1 (1986): 31–43; Lynn Cook, “The 1944 Education Act and outdoor education: from policy to practice,” *History of Education* 28, no. 2 (1999): 157–172; Penny Tinkler, “Youth’s opportunity? The Education Act of 1944 and proposals for part-time continuation education,” *History of Education* 30, no. 1 (2001): 77–94. For outdoor education regarding elementary education, particularly the teaching of science, see Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, *Teaching Children Science: Hands-On Nature Study in North America, 1890-1930*. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2010), and E.W Jenkins and B.J. Swinnerton, “The School Nature Study Union, 1903-94”, *History of Education* 25, no.2 (1996): 181–198.

²⁵ David Pomfret, “The city of evil and the great outdoors: the modern health movement and the urban young, 1918–40,” *Urban History* 28, no. 3 (2001): 405–427; Simon Beames and Andrew Brown, “Outdoor education in Hong Kong: past, present and future,” *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning* 5, no. 1 (2005): 69–82.

²⁶ Mark Freeman, “Roots and wings: a history of outdoor education and outdoor learning,” *History of Education* 44, no. 4 (2015): 527–528; Ken C. Ogilvie, *Roots and wings: a history of outdoor education and outdoor learning in the UK* (Lyme Regis: Russel House Publishing, 2013). For the history of outdoor education in the UK in relation to the study of geography, see Bill Marsden, “A British Historical Perspective on Geographical Fieldwork from the 1820s to the 1970s” In *Fieldwork in Geography: Reflections, Perspectives and Actions*, ed. by Rod Gerber and Goh Kim Chuan (New York: Springer): 15–36.

²⁷ An exception must be made in regard to Cook’s article. It does mention school journeys as part of the group of activities related to the enactment of the 1944 Education Act in the UK. Cook, “The 1944 Education Act,” 157–172.

²⁸ School journeys were included in a set of activities categorized as *circum-escolar* by Portuguese educators and legislators. Although *circum-escolar* wasn’t explicitly defined itself, it refers to activities designed for student participation outside the classroom and which were understood as complementing ‘true’ and ‘real’ schoolwork, i.e. the lessons. Among other activities, these included

outside of school in order to complement ‘real’ schoolwork, they operate within the schooling’s curricular framework. Likewise, the pedagogical and didactical principles that sustained their need and emergence are the same principles intended to govern indoor classroom activities. In such states of limbo, my research on school journeys appears to be nowhere and everywhere at the same time. For this reason, in the following paragraphs I will focus on the little research that has been produced on this topic.

The few identified references that have school journeys as objects of research mainly comprise short texts (three articles and one book chapter) and one doctoral and one master thesis. They were produced between 1998 and 2013.²⁹ They refer to four national contexts: United Kingdom, Serbia, Sweden and Portugal and cover different periods of time, ranging from the late 19th century to 2001. These studies mainly refer to elementary education and reflect on particular issues such as the relationship between the city and the countryside, travel and tourism, and discuss more broad questions such as education for citizenship and the knowledge and embodiment of national identities.

The articles offer glimpses of school journeys in the UK from different perspectives at different periods of time. However, only a few adopted an extended chronology in order to identify changes and continuities over time in relation to school journeys as an educational practice. Marsden, as the author with the longest timeline (c. 1886–1940), used it to quickly trace the origins of school journeys as a concept in order to generally discuss it in relation to the work of the School Journey Association in Britain from 1911 to 1940 in particular,

several sections organised under the student associations’ work, such as a literary and photography clubs and school exhibitions. Given their complementary nature, all these activities were presented as being outside the curriculum to a certain extent. Thus, *circum-escolar* will henceforth be referred to as *circum-curricular*.

²⁹ W. E. Marsden, “The School Journey Movement to 1940,” *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 30, no. 2 (1998): 75–95; Petra Rantatalo, “Den resande eleven: Folkskolans skolreserörelse 1890–1940” (Ph.D. thesis, Umeå universitet, 2002); Ian Grosvenor and Martin Lawn, “Days out of school: secondary education, citizenship and public space in 1950s England,” *History of Education* 33, no. 4 (2004): 377–389; Noah W. Sobe, “Embodied Knowledge and the Nation: The School Field Trip,” in *Recapturing the Personal: Education, Embodied Knowledge and Comparative Inquiry*, ed. Irving Epstein (Greenwich, Connecticut: Information Age Publishing, 2006), 143–162; Félix, “Herança e cidadania”; Hester Barron, “‘Little prisoners of city streets’: London elementary schools and the School Journey Movement, 1918–1939,” *History of Education* 42, no. 2 (2013): 166–181.

especially regarding what concerned geography education.³⁰ Barron, drawing on Marsden's research, focused on the experience of school journeys in elementary schools during the interwar period in order to problematize the "idyllic notion of the rural countryside" in connection with "a wider ideological message around national identity or patriotism".³¹ Finally, Grosvenor and Lawn brought to light an "operational guide for a major expedition by an elementary school to London" produced in 1951 to write an essay intended to "place the visit in the context of its time, pedagogy and ambition".³²

On the other hand, Sobe's chapter comprises a "diachronic comparison" of three "school field trips of Serbian students to the Banat/Vojvodina region" in 1920, 1925 and 2001 to discuss "school field trips and their relation to the construction of national identities", as well as "illuminating the national ways of acting and thinking that educational practices inscribe on the bodies of schoolchildren".³³ Following a Foucauldian tradition, his question concerns the extent to which "educational travel outside the classroom represents an extension of (...) or a divergence from" the disciplinary power exerted by the institutional organisation of school spaces.³⁴

In her dissertation, Rantatalo addressed "the presumptions for the implementation of school journeys", how they "became a part of elementary school education", and "the content of the school journeys in combination with a discussion about their intentions" in Sweden between 1890 and 1940.³⁵ Within this extended timeframe, her analysis of the texts in relation to the Swedish context led her to focus on "the culture of mobility and especially the growing interest for nature tourism and outdoor activities (...) within a middleclass culture", embracing the work of organisations outside of schooling.³⁶ Conversely, the Portuguese context does not allow such an approach. This is why my research

³⁰ Marsden, "The School Journey Movement," 75–95.

³¹ Barron, "'Little prisoners of city streets,'" 166.

³² Grosvenor and Lawn, "Days out of school," 377.

³³ Sobe, "Embodied Knowledge and the Nation," 145.

³⁴ Ibid., 144.

³⁵ Rantatalo, *Den resande eleven*, 193–194.

³⁶ Ibid., 194.

is limited to secondary school actors and institutions. Notwithstanding, the focus on schooling allows a particular problematisation of school journeys in relation to the New Education discourse in Portugal, built upon a critique of a traditional way of making schooling, to examine the circulating ideas and reported practice about *what* and *how* students were to learn and become during school journeys.³⁷

Ultimately, most of the conclusions of these researchers, even if framed within their particular national contexts, are close to my own in the sense that in their excerpts from source material, analyses and problematisations I recognise associations with my own findings. For example, they bring to light the undeniable shared influence of the globally circulating discourse of New and Progressive Education movements that prompted the appearance and implementation of school journeys, as well as the ways in which these activities were mobilised within the nation-state's agenda. When digging into the Portuguese context, all existing research on school journeys is restricted to contemporary case studies and lack historical perspectives on empirical data.³⁸ Apart from my Master thesis, in which I studied the connection between education and cultural heritage – focusing on the political and educational desire for the metamorphosis from student to citizen through aesthetic education during study visits to monuments between 1894 and 1960 – no other education history research on school journeys in Portugal has been conducted.³⁹

On the one hand, my Master thesis allowed me to conceive that the scope of schooling does not deplete itself within its physical space; on the other hand, it triggered the desire to rethink school journeys under the New Education notion of active learning and its practice. For this reason, and contrary to the studies presented above, the present dissertation does not focus on one particular aspect of school journeys (e.g. the learning of school subjects, citizenship education,

³⁷ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*; Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*; Adolfo Lima, “As Escolas Novas”; Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*.

³⁸ Fernando António Galvão, “Visitas de Estudo – Aulas de campo: no ensino básico e secundário” [Study Visits – Field lessons: in primary and secondary education] (M.A. Thesis, Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, 2006); Maria Manuela Oliveira, “As visitas de estudo e o ensino e a aprendizagem das ciências físico-químicas: um estudo sobre concepções e práticas de professores e alunos” [Study visits and teaching and learning of physics and chemistry sciences: a study about the conceptions and practices of teachers and students] (M.A. thesis, Universidade do Minho, 2008).

³⁹ Félix, “Herança e cidadania”.

health benefits, planning, teachers' writings, etc.) but aims to provide an overview of these activities as a whole. This, in turn, is done through the empirical exercise of collecting widely scattered pieces and, through the analytical and interpretative effort of putting those pieces together, to make sense of a fragmented corpus. Despite the limitations and difficulties of this enterprise, which was used by other researchers to justify their focus on a small part of a greater object, I understand the contribution of my thesis as being a systematic methodological attempt to understand the sum of the parts in order to expand the research on the history of the ideas, enactment and practice of school journeys and of the everyday life of modern schooling.⁴⁰

Theoretical framework

Poststructuralism and social epistemology

This research is closely linked to the theoretical frameworks of António Nóvoa, Jorge Ramos do Ó and Thomas Popkewitz.⁴¹ These authors provide a matrix for ways of reasoning on both educational and historical subjects that enable the critical understanding of naturalised routines that became invisible in their most obvious aspects and consequences. Nonetheless, I intend to bring together other authors in a hybrid way so that I can “build intelligible relationships capable of apprehending the sensitive data” in the elaboration of a particular point of view.⁴² Indeed, “[h]istory is what it is (...) because it took a certain way of knowing”.⁴³

For this reason, I draw on poststructuralist theoretical approaches and critical theory.⁴⁴ Given the various meanings of ‘critical’ within different

⁴⁰ Barron, ““Little prisoners of city streets””.

⁴¹ António Nóvoa, *História da Educação* (Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa, 1994); Ó, *O governo de si mesmo*; Ó, “Government of the soul”; Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*. Jorge Ramos do Ó, “Republican Deliveries for the Modernization of Secondary Education in Portugal in the 19th Century. From Alexandre Herculano, Ramalho Ortigão and Bernardino Machado to Jaime Moniz,” in *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century. Comparative visions*, Daniel Tröhler, Thomas S. Popkewitz and David F. Labaree (New York: Routledge, 2011): 70–93; Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism*; Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*.

⁴² Pierre Bourdieu, *As Regras da Arte. Gênese e estrutura do campo literário* (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1996), 17.

⁴³ Paul Veyne, *Como se escreve a história* (Lisboa: Edições 70, 1971), 13.

⁴⁴ Thomas S. Popkewitz and Lynn Fendler, *Critical Theories in Education. Changing terrains of knowledge and politics* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999); Thomas S. Popkewitz and Marie

traditions, I want to make it clear that I understand it here as the possibility of bringing together intellectual contributions regardless of the tradition or disciplinary field to which they belong, in order to question and deconstruct historically naturalised assumptions and to produce research that is capable of problematizing schooling issues.⁴⁵ On the one hand, looking at education in historical settings through a poststructuralist lens could enable and enhance a critical perspective on the history of school journeys in the first half of the 20th century in Portugal. On the other hand, such critical positioning also instigates the pursuit of education history research as something which, instead of revealing the ‘truth’ of what happened by interpreting ‘pure facts’, serves the purpose of problematizing old subjects as we have come to know and think about them, i.e. to “challenge realist assumptions that there is a world ‘out there’ waiting to be discovered” and to question the binary oppositions that are embedded in systems of reason.⁴⁶

For my part, examining the ways in which school journeys were discussed and implemented in relation to *what* the students were to learn and to become and *how* is about rethinking, for example, the binary opposition between modernity and tradition within which these activities were framed and to understand how apparent discontinuities contain continuities, and vice-versa,

Brennan, eds., *Foucault's challenge: Discourse, Knowledge and Power in Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1998); Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry Franklin, and Miguel Pereyra *Cultural history and education. Critical essays on knowledge and schooling* (New York and London: Routledge Falmer, 2001). See also Michel Foucault, *L'Orde du Discours* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970); Michel Foucault, “What is Enlightenment?,” in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. P. Rabinow. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984). Concerning particularly the plurality of the meanings of critical in different traditions, see: Popkewitz and Fendler, *Critical Theories in Education*; and Nicholas C. Burbules and Rupert Berk, “Critical Thinking and Critical Pedagogy: Relations, Differences and Limits,” in *Critical Theories in Education*, eds. Thomas S. Popkewitz and Lynn Fendler (New York and London: Routledge, 1999): 45–65.

⁴⁵ I recognise the problem associated with the term ‘deconstruction’ in contemporary research. Coined by Jacques Derrida in *Of Grammatology* and subsequently developed in *Letter to a Japanese Friend*, this concept has been mobilised and appropriated by innumerable researchers and thinkers and has therefore been subject to multiple meaning mutations. For this reason, it seems pertinent to clarify that my understanding of deconstruction is a “project of critical thought whose task is to locate and ‘take apart’ those concepts which serve as the axioms or rules for a period of thought, those concepts which command the unfolding of an entire epoch”. David B. Allison, “Translator’s Introduction” Jacques Derrida *Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Husserl’s Theory of Signs* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), XXXII. See also: Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); and Jacques Derrida, “Letter to a Japanese Friend,” in *Derrida and Difference*, eds. Robert Bernasconi and David Wood (Warwick: Parousia Press, 1985): 71–82.

⁴⁶ David Scott, *Critical essays on major curriculum theorists* (London: Routledge, 2008), 139.

that is, how new ways of thinking about teaching and learning emerged and developed in combination with the existing frameworks. In this sense, I also understand the criticality of my study as the “reasoned analysis based on an examination of evidence and argument” which intends to look beyond the binaries that govern discourses and systems of reason in order to question the “naturalised assumptions” about school journeys and modern schooling.⁴⁷ To do so, I work closely with the theoretical contributions of Thomas S. Popkewitz.

Drawing on Foucault’s theoretical framework, Popkewitz has been researching the “challenges” posed by “[t]he premises about progress and agents in the philosophy of consciousness” to both social and educational theory, particularly focusing “on the relation of power, knowledge, and change”.⁴⁸ He explains that such philosophy of consciousness encompasses “two ideological legacies of the nineteenth-century social thought in contemporary social and educational theory”. One, Popkewitz argues, is the “inscription of progress as a foundational assumption of intellectual knowledge” and the second is “an assumption that disciplinary knowledge has a subject” and that in “contemporary school reforms, these foundational assumptions are deeply embedded as doxa”.⁴⁹ He then presents this approach as that of a social epistemology rather than the ‘linguistic turn’, as it “locates the objects constituted as the knowledge of schooling as historical practices through which power relations can be understood”.⁵⁰ Furthermore, social epistemology is “to historicize the present to understand the complex historical relations and changes in ideas, knowledge and ‘reason’ organising the practices of making the self and social worlds”.⁵¹

On the one hand, I take the premises outlined by Popkewitz in his vast work and his way of historicizing the present as my own in the sense that I regard them as an integral part of a wider instigating critical project that looks at the past in

⁴⁷ Hilary Janks, *Literacy and Power* (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), 12–13.

⁴⁸ Popkewitz and Brennan, *Foucault’s challenge*, 8–9.

⁴⁹ Popkewitz and Brennan, *Foucault’s challenge*, 6–7. For further information on how the philosophy of conscious relates to historical traditions, see Thomas S. Popkewitz, “The production of reason and power: Curriculum history and intellectual traditions,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 29, no. 2 (1997): 131–164.

⁵⁰ Popkewitz and Brennan, *Foucault’s challenge*, 8–9.

⁵¹ Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*, 3.

order to think differently about the ways in which the present came to be.⁵² On the other hand, though, and even if this dissertation is developed within his theoretical framework and therefore wishes to contribute to a history of the present to some extent, it is important to clarify the visibility given here to power relations and to the explicit use – or, in this case, the absence – of theoretical concepts referring to *power*.

As pointed out, I stand by his postulations and arguments regarding the philosophy of consciousness as well as by his endeavour to historicize the present by discussing power, knowledge and change in the making of the self and of the social world. This means, therefore, that I acknowledge the crucial relevance of exploring power relations embedded in historical practices in education history research. Nevertheless, it is not my intention for power relations to be the object of scrutiny in this study. They are visible in my empirical material, particularly concerning the tensions identified within and between ideas and practices that ultimately refer to binary oppositions and entanglements, and therefore acknowledged as part of what constitutes these tensions but, at the same time, they are not the object of this research. This means that I do not aim to examine them but rather depart from the acknowledgement of their existence and from the premise that power is productive to understand how school journeys were framed by and positioned within these tensions and power relations.⁵³

⁵² Understood as the inquiry of “how the present embodies different governing practices that relate to the knowledge and system of reason of schooling”. Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*, 5. “Why call this approach a history of the present? It is to understand the conditions in which the objects of schooling are made possible for thought and action. This historicising of the past, however, is not to suggest the repeating and replicating of the past; it is not, however, a presentism. It is a method for understanding change through exploring how the objects of thought and action are assembled, connected and disconnected over time/space. (...) Historicising the systems of reason makes possible the locating of continuities and discontinuities in the rules and standards that order what is seen, talked about, felt and acted upon, thus providing ways that can differentiate change from mere motion and activity”. Popkewitz, Franklin and Pereyra, *Cultural History and Education*, 18. For further information on how Popkewitz thinks about historicizing as a style of reason distinct from historicism, see chapter 1 of Thomas S. Popkewitz, *Rethinking the History of Education. Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods and Knowledge* (New York: Palgrave, 2013), 1–26.

⁵³ In Popkewitz’s words: “Power is not so much a negative power that imposes constraints upon the citizen but one that fabricates a subject by disciplining the rules of conduct”. Popkewitz, *Cultural productions*, 9. Following Foucault’s notion of *effects of power*, Popkewitz explained that the “productive characteristics” of power relate to the ways in which it works at the “disciplining of individuals as they approach the everyday practices of their lives” and therefore it is “inscribed in the rule through which people ‘reason’ about the world and self as they act and participate”. Popkewitz and Fendler, *Critical theories in education*, 5.

To examine the discussion and implementation of school journeys, I centred the analysis on the concepts of *grammar of schooling* and *pedagogical paradox*.⁵⁴ The first concept allows the understanding of school journeys to be underpinned in relation to secondary schooling in Portugal over time, i.e. the ways in which these activities were introduced and became naturalised. The second, in turn, encourages looking at the ideas and practices of school journeys in order to identify convergences and divergences across the different perceived levels of discussion, i.e. to contribute to a comprehensive understanding of what might have been the everyday school life in relation to the ideas and discourses to which they refer. Additionally, the understanding of these activities in relation to what the students were to learn and to become was aided by the *alchemy of school subjects*.⁵⁵ Following the analysis, which made visible the tensions, discontinuities and continuities, I argue that most aspects of school journeys can be explained by the '*reason*' of schooling.⁵⁶ This, in turn, highlights how school journeys were framed by and positioned within tensions and power relations.

Grammar of schooling

The concept of *grammar of schooling*, coined by Tyack and Tobin in 1994 following the work of Cuban, has been widely used by education historians and researchers as an analytical tool to investigate the continuities and discontinuities in schooling as an institution and to problematize them.⁵⁷ The concept refers to the “regular structures and rules that organize the work of instruction”, understood, for example, as the “standardized organisational practices in dividing time and space, classifying students and allocating them into classrooms and splintering knowledge into ‘subjects’”, i.e. it refers to the “organisational

⁵⁴ See, respectively, David Tyack and William Tobin, “The ‘grammar’ of schooling: why has it been so hard to change?,” *American Educational Research Journal* 31, no. 1 (1994): 453–479, Depaepe, *Order in Progress*.

⁵⁵ Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*; Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism*; Idem, “The Limits of Teacher Education Reforms: School Subjects, Alchemies, and an Alternative Possibility,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 61, no. 5 (2010): 413–421; Idem, “Curriculum history, schooling and the history of the present,” *History of Education* 40, no. 1 (2011): 1–19; and Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*.

⁵⁶ Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*.

⁵⁷ See, respectively, Tyack and Tobin, “The ‘grammar’ of schooling,” 453–479; and Larry Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890–1980* (New York: Longman, 1984).

framework that shapes the conditions under which teachers instruct students”.⁵⁸ According to the authors, this organisational framework reveals “striking regularities over time in how teachers taught within institutional arrangements”, which have “frustrated generations of reformers who have sought to change these standardized organisational forms”.⁵⁹ In their understanding, “despite many assaults on the standard grammar of schooling, it seems remarkably durable”, given how novelty was often “rapidly assimilated to the traditional structures and rules”.⁶⁰

Their conclusions are supported by tracing the origins of the graded school and the Carnegie Unit to the 19th century and through the analyses of the history of three attempts at reforming this grammar in the 1960s. They showed how the grammar of schooling is a “historical product of particular groups with particular interests and values at particular times – hence *political* in origin” and how “educators have learned over generations” to work “within these traditional organisational patterns”.⁶¹ As they have become so well established, these patterns were taken for granted and became the naturalised “*cultural construction* of what constitutes a ‘real school’”.⁶² As they pointed out, this is not to say that schooling is unchangeable. On the one hand, it is less a matter of how reforms change schooling but how schools change reforms through the action of teachers who have attempted to implement such changes while adapting them to the schools’ everyday life needs and requirements. On the other hand, cultural constructions – though deeply engraved in our ways of reasoning about ourselves and the world – are also susceptible to change. Furthermore, the change of cultural construction requires an “intense and continual public dialogue about the ends and means of schooling, including re-examination of cultural assumptions about what a ‘real school’ is and what sort of improved schooling could realize new aspirations”.⁶³ This means that changing the grammar of

⁵⁸ Tyack and Tobin, “The ‘grammar’ of schooling,” 454, 454–455.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 454–455, 454.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 455, 456.

⁶¹ Ibid., 476.

⁶² Ibid., 478.

⁶³ Ibid., 478.

schooling depends less on reforms and more on a wider public discussion about education issues “questioning what is taken for granted but also preserving what is valuable in existing practice”, itself understood to be an “engine of change” of the public debate towards a “commitment to a new sense of the common good”.⁶⁴

In this dissertation, however, I am less concerned about the ways in which schooling can be changed and more about: 1) how school journeys emerged within a wide discourse on education and instruction that organised the cultural construction of what a ‘real school’ was expected to be and which framed the establishment of a modern grammar of secondary schooling in the late 19th century Portugal; 2) how these activities were slowly implemented within such organisational frameworks, either conforming with or challenging them in light of what was expected of them and of the needs of everyday practice; and 3) how they became eventually naturalised within the ‘system’, to a point where they appear unchanged and unchangeable.

Pedagogical paradox

Following the premise that “little is known about actual developments at the ‘chalkface’” and considering the difficulties entering the classroom ‘black box’, Depaepe argued that education historians have mainly focused on discourses concerned with education policy, theories and curriculum. He further argued that this results in “blind spots towards pedagogical reality at the micro-level”.⁶⁵ In my understanding, grasping “reality at the micro-level” is less about simply knowing what happened and more about being able to bring reported practices together with the aforementioned discourses into broader discussions of education and history. Considering that the “history of education displays greater continuity than discontinuity” and that education reforms were often absorbed into existing forms of schooling, Depaepe suggested that the explanations of how the ‘desired outcomes’ were gradually met must be found in the “organisational and structural framework of pedagogical practice rather than simply the cultural legacy and

⁶⁴ Ibid., 478, 479.

⁶⁵ Depaepe, *Order in Progress*, 9.

social function of education”.⁶⁶ Thus, he proposed the endeavour of bringing together educational theory and practice, i.e. the circulating discourses and the steady *grammar of schooling*, to explore an “ever-present paradox” – the pedagogical paradox –, i.e. the evident gap between educational ideas, proposed reforms and everyday school practice.⁶⁷ Of course, such investigation should not be interpreted as “pursuing dichotomies ad infinitum” since it is “more a question of ‘both’ rather than ‘either-or’”.⁶⁸ In this sense, I understand this endeavour and exploratory work in three interconnected ways:

First, on a methodological level, it is about creating the conditions to shed light on the different aspects of schooling: educational aims and desired methods, prescribed curricula and undertaken activities, meaning that it requires sources that provide the contexts and discourses in which pedagogical innovations were advocated and regulated as well as sources that give access to the study of the *reported* everyday practices. Second, on an analytical level, the moment diverse series of sources are under scrutiny; exploring the pedagogical paradox is about identifying convergent and divergent aspects of schooling theory and practice and bringing them forward for further “nuanced consideration”.⁶⁹ Third, such consideration requires a theoretical exploration. As Depaepe pointed out, some postmodern historiography has already shown how, for example, “the great dream of emancipation is considerably more problematic than anticipated” despite focusing mainly on discourses.⁷⁰

In this context, it is important to note that Popkewitz, Pereyra and Franklin pointed out that

the distinction that takes different forms as in the dichotomy between text and reality, but also in the distinction between the context of policy formation and context of policy realization [...] carry a particular

⁶⁶ Ibid., 11

⁶⁷ Ibid., 13

⁶⁸ Ibid., 49.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 12.

epistemology that inscribes a perceived break between what people say (discourse) and what people actually do.⁷¹

This means that, for them, such a distinction between theory and practice implies that they are “outside of the ways in which ideas or discourses construct (and construe) the world”.⁷² However, my understanding is that the identification, mapping and analysis of schooling aspects inscribed in these layers contribute to a comprehensive understanding of what might have been the everyday school life in relation to the discourses to which they refer, i.e. it pushes forward instigating interpretative efforts and theoretical problematisations that put the findings in relation to broader issues. For this reason, this divide, this distinction between theory and practice, is useful in terms of the systematic and thorough analysis of the sources precisely because it allows the dissection of intertwined parts which, in their words, construct and construe the world, and its mobilisation towards the understanding of continuities and discontinuities over time in relation to the “systems of reason that order and classify what is known and acted on”.⁷³

The alchemy of school subjects and the ‘Reason’ of schooling

When framing my research, the question addressed by Popkewitz: ‘what were students to be taught?’ resonated with one of my own questions: What were the students to learn during school journeys?⁷⁴ In his work, he puts it in terms of the “alchemy of school subjects”, i.e. the process by which pedagogy, connected with the psychological knowledge of the child, re-labelled and reconfigured disciplinary knowledge into that of the school subjects.⁷⁵ From the 19th century onwards, these no longer reflected disciplinary knowledge, but were rather an adapted version “formed in relation to the expectations related to the school

⁷¹ Popkewitz, Pereyra and Franklin, *Cultural history and education*, 27.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*, 1.

⁷⁴ Popkewitz, “Curriculum history,” 1–19.

⁷⁵ Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*; Idem., *Cosmopolitanism*; Idem., “Limits of Teacher Education Reforms”, 413–421; Idem., “Curriculum history”, 1–19; and Idem., *The “Reason” of Schooling*.

timetable, conceptions of childhood, and organisational theories of teacher's management of the child".⁷⁶

On the one hand, at the end of the 19th century, "school subjects were taught to discipline the mind by training it in the rules of logic and reason and by shaping the powers of observation". On the other hand, Popkewitz argues, the "curriculum emphasized the child's membership in a world community, but that world community" which was "realized through the technological sublime which emphasized the triumph of science in making the nation as apotheosis of cosmopolitan reason".⁷⁷ In his understanding, "the content of school subjects had a normative function. It signified the moral grace bestowed on the nation and the promise of progress".⁷⁸

Thus, the belief in psychology as the scientific basis of education in connection with the concern about moral conduct and the narratives of progress and belonging also established what students ought to become: citizens. In this sense, and because "pedagogy is directed to the planning of biography that links the self and society" and because "modern school functions to reterritorialize the individual through stories that link the development of the child to that of the nation", asking 'what were the students to learn?' is also asking 'what were students to become?'. Thus, any attempt to answer these questions requires an investigation of the ways in which such learning and becoming was to occur, how it was discussed and undertaken.⁷⁹

Indeed, school journeys appeared during the period within which the "standards of a curriculum [were] retrofitted into psychologies of the child" and were therefore presented in relation to a new way of thinking and making schooling that prescribed active and attractive learning as a means of achieving the complete and balanced development of the child in the present, itself understood as the means of fostering the society and nation of the future.⁸⁰ Given this, the study of these activities is indissociable from the desired outcome of

⁷⁶ Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*, 21.

⁷⁷ Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism*, 104.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 104.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 95; Popkewitz, Franklin and Pereyra, *Cultural History and Education*, 17.

⁸⁰ Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*, 22.

schooling: the making of the citizen. Moreover, it was in the context of the “establishment of modern school systems” at end of the 19th century, of which school journeys are a product, that schooling was “understood as a key institution to secure the making of the citizen and the progress of the nations”.⁸¹

Thus, the “making of the citizen” relates not only to the curriculum and learning practices, but to how all educational aspects that, from the late 19th century onwards, served the purpose of governing the citizens-to-be.⁸² Both Ramos do Ó and Popkewitz take into consideration Foucault’s ideas on governmentality and on the technologies of the self in their research by discussing the ways in which the students’ self-knowledge and mastery related to the moral and disciplinary goals of schooling.⁸³ Although it is not my intention to focus on governmentality *per se*, thereby looking at school journeys as a means of pupil government and self-government, this certainly forms a significant part of the desired metamorphosis from student to citizen, inscribed in the circulating discourses at the turn of the 20th century, and which framed these activities.⁸⁴ In this sense, such a metamorphosis requires the understanding of how these activities served the fabrication of emancipated and productive people, and thus how they were part of the ways in which pedagogical modernity enabled the government of the child “through the systems of reason that fabricate kinds of people”.⁸⁵

This then brings us to what Popkewitz defined as the ‘*reason*’ of schooling, i.e. the “system of reason that orders and classifies the objects of schooling – what is seen, thought about, and acted”, meaning the system that governs both

⁸¹ Tröhler, Popkewitz and Labaree, *Schooling and the Making of Citizens*, xiii.

⁸² Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism*; Idem., *The “Reason” of Schooling*; and Tröhler, Popkewitz and Labaree, *Schooling and the Making of Citizens*.

⁸³ “[W]hat one might call the ‘techniques of the self’, which is to say, the procedures, which no doubt exist in every civilization; suggested or prescribed to individuals in order to determine their identity, maintain it, or transform it in terms of a certain number of ends, through relations of self-mastery or self-knowledge” Michel Foucault, “Subjectivity and Truth,” in *The Essential Works of Foucault: Ethics, Subjectivity and Truth*, ed. Paul Rabinow (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 87. See also: Ó, *O governo de si mesmo*; Ó, “Government of the soul”; Jorge Ramos do Ó, “Republican Deliveries”; Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*; Idem., *Cosmopolitanism*; Idem., *The “Reason” of Schooling*; Popkewitz and Brennan, *Foucault’s challenge*; and Tröhler, Popkewitz and Labaree, *Schooling and the Making of Citizens*.

⁸⁴ Félix, “Herança e cidadania”.

⁸⁵ Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*, 33.

“reflection and action” and thereby makes “children into particular kinds of people that they would not be if they didn’t go to school”. In my understanding, a crucial aspect of the “making of kinds of people” in schooling are the “principles about how one should know (didactics and learning theories) and what one should know (the school curriculum)”.⁸⁶ These, in turn, are connected to the alchemy of the school subjects and their normative function, within which how and what one should *know* is intertwined with how and what one should *be*. In addition, the ‘reason’ of schooling must be understood in relation to the construction of modernity, its “romantic concern with moral conduct” and “scientific concerns” related to progress:

First, science has embodied a salvation narrative of modernity. [...] When brought into the social realm, science embodied a millennialist belief in rational knowledge as a positive force for action and the progress that was called forth as part of the heritage of the Enlightenment. The social sciences, like the physical sciences in ordering the mastery of the natural world, were to describe, explain and give direction for solving social problems to enable social improvement and individual happiness. Second, science has provided the theories and knowledge to order and plan daily life itself.⁸⁷

Besides the faith in science as a means of progress, within which “human agency is enacted as the social project that orders the past and present in order to secure the future”,⁸⁸ “new modes of governance and Nation-States affirmation” were also emerging that made schooling a “key element of the cultural homogenisation process and of the invention of a national citizenship”.⁸⁹ In this sense, understanding the ‘reason’ of schooling is taking in consideration that:

The modern schooling from the 19th century to the present is a strategic site in which different cultural practices are brought together to produce the cosmopolitan individual. The pedagogy of schooling joins individual commitment and responsibilities with collective narratives of progress and belonging. Notions of child development, of learning, and achievement

⁸⁶ Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*, 1, 2.

⁸⁷ Thomas S. Popkewitz, “Social Epistemology, the Reason of “Reason” and the Curriculum Studies,” *Arquivos analíticos de políticas educativas* 22, no. 22 (2014), 8.

⁸⁸ Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*, 7.

⁸⁹ António Nóvoa, “Uma Educação que se diz ‘nova’,” in *Sobre a Educação Nova. Cartas de Adolfo Lima a Álvaro Viana de Lemos (1923–1941)*, ed. António Nóvoa, Manuel Henrique Figueira and António Candeias (Lisboa: Educa, 1995), 26.

captures the redemptive themes of salvation and progress of a universal humanity and reason that resembled the ideals of the Enlightenment cosmopolitan. But these ideas are reformatted and fashioned into the calculated reason of child psychology, sociology, and school administration.⁹⁰

Thus, the process by which a psychologized idea of education together with narratives of progress and belonging generated a “reason” to which schooling adhered in order to fulfil its mission is essential to understanding school journeys, first and foremost, as practices of modern schooling themselves, but also as naturalised present practices. Ultimately, such understanding of naturalised practices is also the problematization of the “structures of history that embody who we are and have become”.⁹¹

The critical ontology of ourselves has to be considered not, certainly, as a theory, a doctrine, nor even as a permanent body of knowledge that is accumulating; it has to be conceived as an attitude, an ethos, a philosophical life in which the critique of what we are is at one and the same time the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them.⁹²

Methodological considerations

Methods of collection: sources and archives

The writings on school journeys are widely scattered through multiple educational documents, from pedagogues’ monographs, didactical handbooks and educational press articles to legislation and school records. Being regarded as *circum-curricular* activities, school journeys were seldom in focus and were virtually always put in relation to the larger framework of educational issues. In order to identify, select and collect these writings, it was necessary to map as much as possible, within a potential series of sources, all documents relating to New Education in Portugal and ascertain, individually, those documents that

⁹⁰ Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*, 9.

⁹¹ Popkewitz and Fendler, *Critical Theories in Education*, 3.

⁹² Foucault, “What is Enlightenment?,” 13–14.

referred to school journeys. For this reason, the documents collected for analysis include legal documents, education press articles, monographs, didactical handbooks, school principals' records and school yearbooks, and adopted different procedures for identification and selection.

Legislation

The selection of the legal documents relevant to my study was conducted with the help of Jorge Ramos do Ó's systematisation of all the educational legal documents relating to secondary education that were promulgated in Portugal between 1836 and 1954. The list and reproductions of some of these documents were added as an appendix to his published doctoral thesis.⁹³ The list includes the document type, its date of promulgation, identification number (when available) and primary aim.

From such a point of departure, the criteria I used for the selection of the legal documents were the date of promulgation, between 1894 and 1954, and an explicit reference to at least one of the following combinations: "study visits/excursions/trips", "school visits/excursions/trips".⁹⁴ In addition, all the documents referring to major secondary education reforms and curricula were included in this corpus. Occasionally, documents that regulated particular school practices that had no direct link to or impact on school journeys were included because they still related to the profusion of certain types of documents in particular periods, thereby supporting my methodological choices. A particular case is the compulsory writing of an annual report by the school principals, which was implemented in 1897 and was gradually regulated in form and content.⁹⁵ This helps to understand, for example, why and how school journeys became visible in the principals' reports or why some of them included short texts produced by students and teachers. Thus, the documents included for scrutiny comprise: decrees, i.e. the laws drafted by the government and discussed, improved and approved by the parliament; *portarias*, i.e. governmental orders which further

⁹³ See annex 1. in Ó, *O governo de si mesmo*.

⁹⁴ In the original "visitas/excursões/viagens de estudo" and "visitas/excursões/viagens escolares".

⁹⁵ Portaria of 20/9/1897. See also: Circular of 25/10/1906; and Circular aos reitores de 17/8/1935.

regulate certain aspects of previously promulgated decrees; and circulars, i.e. commands issued by the Ministry responsible for education and distributed to the schools.

Overall, Portuguese legislation supports describing the ways in which school journeys were presented in relation to educational aims and learning processes on a regulatory level. It also allows the understanding of how circulating educational ideas and practices were mobilized by the Portuguese State in order to modernise the education system, thus providing the contextual legal and political frameworks of educational change and stability.

Education press articles

Similar to the legislation, the education press articles were also approached in accordance with a previous systematization, in this case, António Nóvoa's analytical repertoire of all the education periodicals published in Portugal in the 19th and 20th centuries.⁹⁶ Firstly, the selection of periodicals (journals, reviews, bulletins, etc.) to be examined was limited to the chronology of my study. Thus, if the publication dates were beyond such a period, the rule adopted was that only articles published between the 1890s and the 1960s were to be collected. Secondly, this selection was to include all the periodicals relating to secondary education that were referenced in the repertoire's index as including articles about "study visits" and/or "school excursions". Finally, the periodicals associated with ideas of the Progressive and New Education movements, to active learning methods (theory and use) and to the didactics of history, geography and the natural sciences were also included. The page-by-page scrutiny of the 36 publications identified resulted in 151 articles, 86 on school journeys and 65 concerning education in general.⁹⁷ Their selection observed the same criteria used for the periodicals and was conducted at the National Library of Portugal.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ António Nóvoa, *A Imprensa de Educação e Ensino. Repertório Analítico (séculos XIX e XX)* [Education and Teaching Press. Analytical repertoire (XIX and XX)] (Lisboa: Instituto de Inovação Educacional, 1993).

⁹⁷ The criterion was the explicit reference to a "study" or "school" in connection with "visit(s)/excursion(s)/trip(s)", singular or plural, in the article's title, headlines or text.

⁹⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, available at <http://www.bnportugal.pt/>.

Overall, the articles collected can be characterized according to the author – pedagogues or teachers, student or group of students and State – and according to the content: i) pedagogical, when addressing and/or reflecting on learning theories or general educational issues; ii) methodological, when addressing and/or reflecting on educational learning processes and methods; iii) news, when reporting activity/ies succinctly; iv) reports, when describing school activities in detail; and v) official, when reproducing directives from the State. Although some categories overlap, it is possible to ascertain that most of the articles collected fall into either pedagogical or methodological categories and quite a few are informative only. As for the reports, they strongly correspond to students' writings about their school journeys. Finally, with regard to the 86 articles about these activities in particular, 33 were written by pedagogues or teachers, 51 by students and two were reproductions of State directives.

Even if all sources are considered equal for the purposes of this research, the educational press articles can – to some extent – be regarded as an exceptional source in this study. Firstly, because they cover the entire chronology and, secondly, because their heterogeneity provides information from multiple perspectives. Indeed, the press articles offer an insight into the different school actors' and institutions' discourses, on learning theories and curriculum, and on the educational ideas and practice. In this sense, they offer the possibility of building bridges between all sources, thus expanding the analytical scope, the problematization and understanding of school journeys throughout the 20th century.

Educational monographs and didactical handbooks

While the identification of the legal documents and press articles was supported by existing inventories, collecting educational monographs and handbooks produced within the period under study required a Herculean effort for just a few 'substantial' findings. Indeed, only one monograph about school journeys in secondary school settings was identified when searching the keywords "study visits/excursions/trips", "school visits/excursions/trips" in the catalogue of the

National Library of Portugal.⁹⁹ For this reason, I decided to map and analyse the books published by pedagogues who are recognised today as having been highly influential at the time.¹⁰⁰ Again, the identification of such authors was aided by the *Dictionary of Portuguese Educators* edited by Nóvoa and Bandeira.¹⁰¹ As a result, the selection of eight pedagogues allowed the identification at the National Library of Portugal of educational monographs and didactical handbooks published between 1891 and 1936 which, despite the scant references to school journeys, were nevertheless included in this study due to the significant information they provided on active methods and/or progressive educational ideas in Portugal.

School principals' reports

The school principals' annual reports about school journeys were prescribed by law in 1897 and then again in 1906, and were constantly reinforced after this time until 1935.¹⁰² They formed part of a larger annual report about the overall activities of each secondary school that were published in the school's yearbook during the first two decades of the 20th century, and which was subsequently sent directly to the Ministry of Education. For this reason, the school principals' records used in this dissertation can be divided into: i) an incomplete collection of records published in the secondary schools' yearbooks that were found: Pedro Nunes (1906–1916), Alexandre Herculano (1909/1910, 1912/1913) and Alves Martins (1913/1914); and ii) the complete series registered in the Ministry of Education's archive (1932–1960).¹⁰³

⁹⁹ The catalogue of the National Library of Portugal is available in Portuguese at <http://catalogo.bnportugal.pt/>.

¹⁰⁰ Adolfo Lima (1874–1943), Alberto Pimentel, Filho (1875–1950), Álvaro Viana de Lemos (1881–1972), António Faria de Vasconcelos (1880–1939), Bernardino Machado (1851–1944), Francisco Adolfo Coelho (1847–1919), José Augusto Coelho (1850–1925) and Manuel Ferreira Deusdado (1857–1918).

¹⁰¹ António Nóvoa and Filomena Bandeira, “Dicionário de Educadores Portugueses” [Dictionary of Portuguese Educators], in *A Educação Portuguesa. Corpus Documental (Séc. XIX–XX)* [The Portuguese Education. Documental Corpus (19–20th cent.)]. CD-ROM. (Porto: Edições Asa, 2005).

¹⁰² See, respectively: Portaria of 20/9/1897; Circular of 25/10/1906; and Circular aos Reitores of 17/08/1935.

¹⁰³ The archive is currently called *Centro de Documentação da Secretaria-Geral de Educação e Ciência* (CDSGEC). For the sake of the intelligibility of this dissertation I refer to it as the Ministry of Education's Archive. The archive's online catalogue, *Sistema Integrado de Informação do Ministério da Educação e Ciência*, is available at <http://www.sec-geral.mec.pt/documentos-arquivo>.

Regarding the first, the selection comprises all the writings found that referred to school journeys, regardless of the author (school principal, teachers or students). These writings were identified through the *Catalogue of Education and Teaching* and selected at the National Library of Portugal based on whether or not they mentioned school journeys.¹⁰⁴ Despite being a highly fragmented series, their inclusion is supported by the certainty that the examples selected complement the information on the schools' activities and organisation, that is, the school journeys' connections to students' associations and/or schools' journals for the earlier part of the period under study.

Regarding the latter, however, all 748 reports produced and sent to the Ministry by the principals of 41 secondary schools in Portugal between 1932 and 1960 were mapped. Such mapping was very focused and looked exclusively at the section called "School Journeys" in order to identify the most relevant reports in terms of content. Given that each school principal reported the school journeys differently, it was important to gather a corpus of data useful to understanding these activities in practice as much as possible. For this reason, the reports on school journeys produced by teachers, which were included in the school principals' reports, were also included for analysis. This means that all the reports – regardless of the author – that provided relatively extensive information on the organisational framework of school journeys before, during and/or after they were conducted were selected. Likewise, I also focused on selecting examples that enabled an understanding of the changes and continuities regarding the patterns of frequency, places visited, participants' school year and school subjects involved over time. This resulted in an in-depth analysis of around 200 reports.

Hiatuses and solutions

The documents on school journeys are not only significantly dispersed through different types of sources but also unevenly distributed throughout the period under study. Whereas the former might be explained by their perceived circum-curricular nature, the latter relates to the contingency of the sources available in

¹⁰⁴ António Nóvoa and Filomena Bandeira, "Catálogo de Educação e Ensino" [Catalogue of Education and Teaching], in *A Educação Portuguesa. Corpus Documental (Séc. XIX–XX)* [The Portuguese Education. Documental Corpus (19–20th cent.)]. CD-ROM. (Porto: Edições Asa, 2005).

relation to their publication and/or production dates. With the exception of the legal documents and education press, which cover the entire chronology, the monographs selected for analysis are concentrated between 1891 and 1936, the school yearbooks between the mid-1900s and mid-1910s and the principals' reports between 1932 and 1960. However, even though they cover the entire period, the legislation and the education press do not always explicitly mention school journeys. This means that the legal documents promulgated about school journeys extended from 1895 to 1942; and the education press articles, though ranging from 1906 to 1960, are considerably concentrated in the 1930s.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, even though no decade was left uncovered, this shows that my series of sources mainly overlap between the 1910s and the 1940s.

In any case, the extended chronology was retained and the overall analysis of all these documents enabled the identification of two periods in which the writings about school journeys can be discussed. In the first period, from the late 19th century until the early 1930s, school journeys were often discussed from the teachers and pedagogues' perspectives and within the New Education's position, whereas in the second period – from the mid-1930s to the 1960s – they were increasingly less 'idealised' and 'discussed', and continuously more presented in lists, summaries and reports of the activities undertaken.

Methods of analysis

Despite being deeply entangled, the focus of the analysis in this research is on school journeys rather than on the modern educational discourse *per se*. While the understanding of the latter makes it possible to place the first in the big picture, the particular attention to the school journeys' specific case will potentiate not only their understanding but that of the bigger picture as well.

To do so, a heterogeneous and varied corpus of data is scrutinized. The analysis of such a corpus is carried out with a threefold focus on text, themes and discourse, and responds to the need for systematism and deepening as much as

¹⁰⁵ This can be explained by the promulgation of Decree 18486 of 18/06/1930 which established the provisions for the organisation of study visits and excursions and made the production of written reports by students, teachers and school principals mandatory. As a consequence, some schools decided to publish in their journals the reports produced as a way of publicising their activities. This was the case for the Liceu de Pedro Nunes and the Liceu de Aveiro.

follows the organic flow of the research process in its back-and-forth movements, displacements and restructurings. Thus, despite being described separately below, the different levels of text analysis can be understood as being complementary, as they serve the interconnected purposes of bringing to light, relating and understanding the data analysis in terms of what was written, how, and in relation to what. Also, such combined foci analysis is supported by an analytical grid that I created in order to map the themes, tensions and key ideas to which the texts referred and from which they can be discussed.

The first plane of analysis is that of the text and is guided by the question “what was mentioned when school journeys were being discussed?”. This resulted in the identification of key ideas referring to integral education, active learning, experience, observation, school subjects and interdisciplinarity, students’ and teachers’ roles, and procedural aspects such as students’ preparation and assessment, planning, the places visited and the activities conducted during school journeys. Although these primarily arise from the perspectives of the legislators, pedagogues and teachers, the students’ reports on their school journeys, either published as articles in the educational press or included in the principals’ reports, are also useful for understanding, for example, forms of assessment, method and aims, thereby providing a supplementary perspective on these activities.

In the second level of analysis, the results of the first prompt the question: “to what themes do these key ideas refer?” Thus, such analysis corresponds to the examination of the themes to which the key ideas of the text analysis correspond. These themes, in turn, echoed what Popkewitz defined as the two “central” schooling principles for the “making of kinds of people”: “the principles about how one should know (didactics and learning theories) and what one should know (the school curriculum)”.¹⁰⁶ In addition to these two themes, which can be discussed from the writings of all the education agents, a third theme emerged that particularly concerns the pupils’ experience during school journeys. Different from the key idea of experience, which defined *what* was to be experienced and with what aim, experience as a theme appears on the students’

¹⁰⁶ Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*, 2.

reports as *how* they perceived their participation in school journeys. In this dissertation, however, I focus on the first two themes, thereby leaving unexplored the study of the students' perspectives on their experience during school journeys.

The cross-analysis of the documents highlights the existence of binary tensions such as traditional/modern, passive/active, collective/individual, memorization/learning by doing, school subjects/interdisciplinarity, circum-curricular/curricular, and so on. These binary tensions instigates questioning the “educational panacea of change” and problematizing the way in which school journeys were described as a means of educational change while preserving the characteristics of the educational paradigm to be changed.¹⁰⁷ Thus, the third plane of analysis is about *how* school journeys were positioned within these tensions, produced in-between different educational ideas and discourses, and were part of the ‘reason’ of schooling.¹⁰⁸

However, it is important to explain how I focus on discourse, understood here as the “systems of thought composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak”.¹⁰⁹ I am less concerned about its critical analysis *per se*¹¹⁰ and more concerned about the methodical examination of the texts and their patterns in order to explore how theses “systems of thought” in Portugal constructed and regulated my empirical object – school journeys – over half a century.¹¹¹ Such an approach to discourse was defined by Bridges as “a system which is primarily procedural, methodological and which frames the form of an enquiry rather than its content”, i.e. an approach that looks at “how people think about e.g. educational practice”.¹¹² In this sense, I depart from the identification of tensions and binary oppositions within the ideas and practices of school journeys to examine the similarities/differences, continuities/discontinuities and to put

¹⁰⁷ Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*, 1.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Iara Lessa, “Discursive Struggles Within Social Welfare: Restaging teen motherhood,” *British Journal of Social Work* 36, no. 2 (2006): 285

¹¹⁰ See, for example: Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (London: Routledge, 2010).

¹¹¹ Constituted themselves of circulating psychological, moral, scientific, political, etc. discourses.

¹¹² David Bridges, “The Disciplines and the Discipline of Educational Research,” *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 40, no. 2 (2006): 269.

them in relation to “discursive rules and categories that were, *a priori*, assumed as a constituent part of discourse and therefore of knowledge, and so fundamental that they remained unvoiced and unthought”.¹¹³ Ultimately, this threefold analysis not only supports the scrutiny of sources regarding different analytical levels, it also potentiates the multifaceted understanding of school journeys and their historical conditions.

Translation as interpretation

One of the challenges posed by writing a dissertation in a language other than the language of one’s empirical material is the translation of such material. Indeed, while I aim to look at *what* was written about my object and *how* in order to analyse it in one language, I must explain it in another. The moment the empirical material is translated in order for it to be visible to the reader, such visibility becomes mediated because the reader is never viewing the original material, i.e. the authors’ exact words, but an interpretation whose author is the translator. This has implications for the transparency of the scrutiny of the sources for those readers who are only fluent in English. For my part, it is not only a matter of wording and meaning, but particularly the process by which such wording and meaning are produced and how they can be made visible.

The process of translation was described by Charles Bingham in the afterword of his translation of Rancière’s essay *On ignorant schoolmasters*¹¹⁴ as fumbling between languages, as a comparison between a text in one language and a text “under composition” in another language. Within this movement between one language and another, he explained that

One experiences defamiliarization, and, yes, the exhilaration, that ensues as soon as one decides to proceed, by leap of faith, from one language to another. This leap of faith is all too familiar to one who must ‘try on’ a new language for the first time, whether it be ‘trying on’ the French language by

¹¹³ Robert J. C. Young, *Untying the text: a post-structuralist reader* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 48.

¹¹⁴ Rancière’s essay is a reflection on his own work *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, a philosophical text about an unusual educational method originated by the participants’ language defamiliarization, about its premises and implications for the common master-pupil relationship and roles, and for one’s intellectual emancipation. Jacques Rancière, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster. Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991).

students who have never known any French before, whether it be ‘trying on’ a new language when one finds oneself in a country where no one understands the words you speak, or whether it be ‘trying on’ a translation from one language to another in order to see if an original text speaks, in one language, the way the text speaks in another.¹¹⁵

In the particular case of this dissertation, this experience is both the ‘trying on’ of a language other than my mother tongue, the ‘trying on’ of translation to make the texts speak close to each other and the ‘trying on’ of the range of potential interpretations present in the texts I analysed so that the information I want to present is both intelligible and reliable. In Benjamin’s words, my effort “consists in finding that intended effect [*Intention*] upon the language into which [I am] translating which produces it in the echo of the original”.¹¹⁶ This is particularly the case because, unless otherwise stated, I translated *all* quotes from the sources and literature originally published in Portuguese. And because, as Bingham notes, such a process is a “leap of faith” this means that, ultimately, all translations are interpretations whose fidelity to the original can always be questioned.

In any case, even if the original isn’t accessible to those who are only fluent in English, I decided to provide a translation in square brackets following the original titles of the documents analysed, both in the first footnote of the citation to which they refer. However, three exceptions must be mentioned: the school yearbooks and reports and the legal documents. The translation of the first two seems irrelevant given that the reader can easily identify that the document cited is either a yearbook (*anuário*) or a report (*relatório*), the school to which it refers, and, in the case of the reports, the places visited mentioned therein. As for the translation of the legal documents, requires a very specific terminology and expertise that I lack. With the exception of the term ‘decree’ in the text, which I recognise as a close equivalent to the Portuguese word ‘decreto’, the designations of the legal documents used were kept in Portuguese because their translation

¹¹⁵ Charles Bingham and Gert Biesta, *Jacques Rancière. Education, Truth, Emancipation* (London and New York: Continuum, 2010), 17.

¹¹⁶ Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (London: Pimlico, 1999), 77.

required specialized knowledge on how to best correlate the translated terms to the original terms' legal function/force.

Furthermore, I would like to briefly comment on the use of certain expressions to the detriment of others. This may depend not only on linguistic particularities but also on the methodological options that were taken within the 'trying on' experience. Indeed, the use of specific terms or expressions requires further explanation. For example, this applies to the apparent interchangeability of the terms 'modern', 'new' and 'progressive' in connection with 'schooling', 'education', 'movements' and 'ideas'. While a distinction between the first three terms may seem unnecessary, their use in this dissertation follows a logic that attempts to avoid – as much as possible – inaccuracies or misunderstandings that derive from the linguistic and/or historical contexts to which the reader may be connected. Thus, when referring to *modernity* I refer to the discussion of Cynthia Pereira de Sousa, Denice Barbara Catani, António Nóvoa and Frank Simon on school and modernity and not to the Modern School Movement, which appeared and developed in Portugal from the mid-1960s.¹¹⁷ Regarding the terms 'progressive' or 'new', the distinction of meaning is made visible by capitalizing each word when referring specifically to the educational movements that appeared and developed either in the USA or in Europe and by using lower case when referring to broader ideas and practices that were either defined as or can be discussed as 'new' or 'progressive'. Finally, the choice of situating school journeys in direct relation to the New Education movement, rather than to that of Progressive Education or the New Schools movements is supported by the specific context within which these activities are analysed and discussed: Portugal.

Finally, I would like to provide a few details that could intrigue or puzzle readers who are attentive to the use of language, i.e. how language constructs the objects and subjects that it describes. The Portuguese language is highly gendered: every word has either a masculine or a feminine form and no gender-neutral linguistic form. This means that it does not formally refer to *the* student

¹¹⁷ Pereira de Sousa, Catani, Nóvoa, and Simon, "School and modernity," 2. For information on the Modern School Movement (Movimento Escola Moderna), see: www.movimentoescolamoderna.pt

or teacher in gender neutral terms. When referring to *a* student or teacher and to the abstract idea that these words represent, the Portuguese language uses the masculine form in the singular. Likewise, to designate – for example – a group of students and/or teachers in general terms, i.e. comprising both sexes, such designation is made by using the masculine plural form of these words. *The* students/teachers in general terms are therefore referred to as *Os* estudantes/professores and it is up to the reader to interpret whether or not the author is referring to male students/teachers exclusively or in general, depending on the context of such words in the text. For this reason, I have deliberately chosen to avoid following the Portuguese linguistic rule and use *they* as a gender-neutral pronoun, whenever appropriate.

Chronology

Coverage of over fifty years of the history of school journeys in Portugal from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century is justified by the intention of mapping the discourses that gave rise to and naturalised school journeys and is supported by the existing literature on educational modernity in Portugal. It is undisputed among Portuguese education historians that discussions about education and modernity started in the 1880s and that they were reinforced by an extensive reform of the education system in 1894/95, which led to their increasing proliferation in the first three decades of the 20th century, gradually becoming naturalised until the 1960s, when the claims associated with New Education ideals and methods appears to have lost their strength.¹¹⁸

Thus, the study of the gradual establishment of active methods in general and school journeys in particular in Portuguese secondary schools in the long term will enable a critical incursion into the discussion of how new educational technologies were created, how they reinforced old mechanisms and on the

¹¹⁸ Áurea Adão, “O ensino secundário-liceal nos debates parlamentares: o projecto de 1880, precursor da ‘reforma Jaime Moniz’,” *Revista de humanidades e tecnologias* 3 (2000): 66–72; Rogério Fernandes, *O Pensamento Pedagógico em Portugal. Lisboa: Ministério da Educação* (Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1992); Justino Magalhães, *Da Cadeira ao Banco. Escola e Modernização (Séculos XVIII–XX)* (Lisboa: Educa, 2010); António Nóvoa and Jürgen Schriewer, eds., *A Difusão Mundial da Escola* (Lisboa: Educa, 2000); António Nóvoa, *Evidentemente: Histórias de Educação* (Porto: Asa, 2005); Ó, *O governo de si mesmo.*; Ó, “Government of the soul”; Ó and Carvalho. 2009. *Emergência e Circulação*.

discursive grounds on which these mechanisms kept working. Moreover, I think that both the explicit paradox on which my arguments rest and a critical perspective on education history can only be visible through an extended chronology in which “revisiting the past contributes to finding transformations, but also the continuities”.¹¹⁹ In other words, such an extended overview allows the identification and understanding of both changes and disruptions as much as the continuities and naturalisations entailed by the discourses and practices of school journeys. This includes special attention being paid to, for example, the transformations and continuities that took place over three different political regimes: until 1910, a Constitutional Monarchy; from 1910 to 1926, a Republic; and from 1926 onwards, a Dictatorship.¹²⁰

Research outline

This dissertation is structured in eight chapters. The first chapter corresponds to the introduction where I describe the scope and aim of the research, the previous research identified, the theoretical framework, the methodology of collecting the sources and of their analysis, the problems and solutions concerning the source material, the chronology adopted and now the structure and organisation of the research. The second chapter, ‘New Education ideas in Portugal’, concerns the background of the study and is presented chronologically. By addressing the connection between school and modernity focusing on the public debate, the aim of the chapter is to understand the conditions that contributed to the construction and strengthening of a modern grammar of secondary schooling which, in turn, enabled the emergence and consolidation of school journeys in the schools’ everyday life, i.e. the historical and discursive conditions that framed school journeys in Portugal between the late 19th and the mid-20th centuries.

¹¹⁹ Fernandes, “História da educação e o saber histórico,” 803.

¹²⁰ An important distinction must be made concerning the dictatorship. The *Estado Novo*, a fascist dictatorship similar to those across Europe in the same period, only started in 1933 when a new constitution came into force. Before this time, Portugal was under a military dictatorship – *Ditadura Nacional* – which was established after a military coup on 28 May, 1926.

In accordance with the research questions posed, the following five chapters correspond to the three foci of the analysis of the school journeys: State regulation, educational ideas and practice. Thus, the third chapter, ‘Legal framework of school journeys’, addresses the question “how were school journeys legally framed?” and is organised chronologically in order to understand: 1) how these activities first appeared in the State’s agenda for modernising education; 2) how they were progressively regulated in order to accomplish the desired results; and 3) how they became naturalised; all three questions were approached not only in relation to the circulating ideas on school and modernity but particularly in relation to the gradually established grammar of secondary schooling.

The fourth chapter, ‘Ideas on school journeys’, poses the question “what were the ideas behind school journeys?”. It departs from the systematised work of a recognised Portuguese pedagogue – Faria de Vasconcelos – in his didactical handbook *Natural Sciences Didactics* in 1923 in order to connect and underpin them with the writings of other Portuguese pedagogues and teachers. The chapter is organised thematically as it aims to provide an overview of the ideas discussed in connection with school journeys throughout the first half of the 20th century. It therefore focuses on the circulating discourses conveyed by Portuguese pedagogues and teachers regarding the educational relevance of these activities, i.e. in terms of their purpose and structure as a method. The chapter allows an understanding of what one end of the pedagogical paradox’s spectrum comprised, i.e. what school journeys were to be within the desired modern and progressive education.

The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters correspond to the third analytical focus – school journeys’ practice – and are also presented thematically in order to grasp the other end of the pedagogical paradox’s spectrum, which is what school journeys reportedly were. The fifth chapter concerns the organisational framework of these activities, i.e. their planning, reported aims and funding strategies to show how their practical potentialities and limitations were conveyed by teachers and school principals in relation to the foundations laid by the educational discourses and legislation. The sixth chapter, ‘Places and practices of school journeys’, looks into the places visited and puts them in relation to the undertaken activities and their reported aims and/or results: 1) to

expand the knowledge of schooling at the ‘chalkface’; and 2) to understand what the visits to particular spaces entailed, i.e. how school journeys were enclosed in the alchemy of school subjects and how the activities ascribed and inscribed particular roles to teachers and students. These two chapters, then, try to answer the questions “how were school journeys reportedly organised and undertaken, where and in relation to what?”. The seventh chapter, ‘Students’ preparation and assessment’, builds on issues raised by the educational discourses in the mid-1910s regarding the importance of preparing and assessing the students as a means of ensuring the desired success of school journeys. It therefore aims to shed light on what might have been common practices in this respect and how the instruments used reflect the pedagogical paradox, particularly the persistence of *old* mechanisms in the *new* grammar of schooling.

Because the chapters follow two distinct organisational procedures – chronological or thematic – depending on what made more sense in relation to their particular aims – and because, as pointed out in the section ‘Methodological considerations’, the documents on school journeys are unevenly distributed throughout the period under study, each chapter concludes with a summary of the findings, i.e. the relevant themes to be discussed in the final chapter, and with a chronological overview in order to put the findings in relation to changes and continuities over time by connecting the fragmented pieces together. It is also worth mentioning that the empirical chapters (three to seven) are highly analytical and less theoretical. This means that I focus on providing an analytical account of the data rather than on investing in the potential theoretical explorations called for by the empirical material. However, that is not to say that such analysis is without theory as I consider it impossible to disregard one’s theoretical lenses even when looking at the empirical material, when selecting what issues to raise and how to write about them. In the end, I favoured the building up of evidence that allowed me to pursue one specific line of inquiry in order to briefly discuss it theoretically in the final chapter, leaving other explorations open for others to engage in.

Finally, the last chapter aims to bring together the flow of ideas present in the analysed sources in order to: 1) provide a chronological overview of the different but connected periods that signal turning points and overlapping

aspects throughout the overall period under study, thus uncovering discontinuities and continuities that allow an understanding of the emergence, implementation and naturalization of school journeys in context; 2) bring together the analysis of policy, pedagogical ideas and everyday practice in transversal and intersecting themes in order to discuss school journeys in relation to the 'reason' of schooling. Altogether, both the chronological overview and the thematic discussion aim to provide a summary of the research findings, describe the core ideas to which they refer, offer a possible problematization of one of the most enduring modern schooling practices and suggest spaces for further empirical investigation and theoretical exploration.

2. New Education ideas in Portugal

The study of school journeys in Portugal throughout the first half of the 20th century calls for an understanding of the connection between school and modernity,¹²¹ i.e. the emergence and development of modern educational ideas¹²² in relation to the Portuguese political, social and economic contexts during this period. On the one hand, these ideas echoed globally circulating discourses that advocated a ‘new’ way of doing education and, on the other hand, they referred to specific opinions about schooling in Portugal. Regarding secondary education in particular, the articulation between these international and national ideas resulted in legislative attempts to establish a ‘modern’ grammar of schooling which, in turn, was gradually implemented in relation to the slowly changing societal reality in Portugal throughout the entire period.

In this chapter I focus on the intellectuals’ public debates on the ‘decadent’ state of public instruction and the need for change in the 19th century, the growing discussion on the aim of a modern education and the importance of its implementation in the first decades of the 20th century, as well as the appropriation by the authoritarian regime of the past ideas, aims and practices from the 1930s onwards. By articulating texts produced by intellectuals, pedagogues and legislators, as well as previous research conducted by Portuguese historians, the aim is to understand the conditions that contributed to the construction and strengthening of a modern grammar of secondary schooling in Portugal which, in turn, enabled the emergence and consolidation of school journeys in the everyday life of schools.

¹²¹ Understood as the study of the “educational changes and pedagogical innovations” that started to take place at the turn of the nineteenth century and “that produced what has been called ‘pedagogical modernity’ in the context of the process of mass schooling”. Cynthia Pereira de Sousa, Denice Barbara Catani, António Nóvoa and Frank Simon, “School and modernity: Knowledge, institutions and practices. Introduction,” *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 1–2 (2005): 2. According to Ramos do Ó and Carvalho, “when we talk about educational modernity we are always, willing or not, translating the premises and arguments provided by the historical context in which pedagogy was established as an autonomous scientific field”. Jorge Ramos do Ó and Luís Miguel Carvalho, *Emergência e Circulação do Conhecimento Psicopedagógico Moderno (1880–1960): Estudos Comparados Portugal-Brasil* [Emergence and Circulation of the Modern Psychopedagogical Knowledge (1880–1960): Comparative Studies Portugal-Brazil] (Lisboa: Educa, 2009), 17.

¹²² These ideas ultimately relate to the educational movements that spread around the globe, such as the Attivismo or Educación Nueva, Éducation Nouvelle, Educação Nova, New Education, Progressive Education, and Reformpädagogik movements.

The emergence of a new idea of education (1820–1894)

Despite the political instability resulting from the Liberal Revolution of 1820,¹²³ a group of intellectuals stood out in the decades that followed and throughout the 19th century. They advocated that the new political context – a Constitutional Monarchy – required a new education model, particularly regarding the “immediate need to reduce illiteracy” to end Portugal’s “general and shameful ignorance” and “industrial delay”.¹²⁴ For those people who had lived in France and England, and who knew “the real value of scientific and technical progress”, the comparison between countries was striking and both Portugal’s poverty and its State inertia made urgent the establishment of an education project.¹²⁵ Among others, Mouzinho da Silveira,¹²⁶ Alexandre Herculano,¹²⁷ Ramalho Ortigão,¹²⁸ and

¹²³ After three invasions by French troops in the early 19th century that had led to the king and court’s escape to Brazil, Portugal was overseen by the British military and faced a deep economic crisis. This led to a peaceful revolution that erupted in Oporto, then spread to the rest of the country, which forced the King’s immediate return to the ‘metropolis’. Besides this return and the end of the British regency, the revolutionaries also demanded the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. Although the Constitution was approved in 1822, the political situation remained unstable and even deteriorated after the king’s death in 1826, leading to civil war. Also known as the War of the Two Brothers or the Liberal War, the civil war opposed the two heirs to the throne, D. Miguel, who favoured safeguarding the absolutist regime and D. Pedro, who insisted that a constitutional monarchy should prevail. Peace was restored in 1834, with D. Miguel renouncing his claim to the throne.

¹²⁴ Rómulo de Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal desde a fundação da nacionalidade até ao fim do regime de Salazar Caetano* [History of Teaching in Portugal since the Foundation of the nation until the end of the Salazar Caetano regime] (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985), 549. See also: Jorge Ramos do Ó, *O governo de si mesmo. Modernidade pedagógica e encenações disciplinares do aluno liceal (último quartel do século XIX – meados do século XX)* [The self-government. Pedagogical modernity and disciplinary scenarios of the lyceum’s students (last quarter of the 19th century–mid-20th century)] (Lisboa: Educa, 2003).

¹²⁵ By the end of the century, the percentage of illiterates was estimated to be 74%. Although there was a constant concern for an education project that could raise the intellectual level of the country and that supported legislative efforts to change this situation, by 1930, 61.8% of the population was still illiterate. Marques, A.H de Oliveira. *Portugal – Da Monarquia para a República* [Portugal – From the Monarchy to the Republic]. (Lisboa: Presença, 1991). Concerning school age children specifically (7 to 14 year olds), the literacy rate was 20% in 1900 and 30% in 1930. However, this situation changed during the *Estado Novo* and, by 1960, the literacy rate among elementary school age children was 97%. António Candeias, *Alfabetização e Escola em Portugal nos Séculos XIX e XX. Os Censos e as Estatísticas* [Literacy and School in Portugal in the 19 and 20 centuries. Census and Statistics] (Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2004).

¹²⁶ Mouzinho da Silveira (1780–1849) was a statesman and one of the most prominent figures of the Liberal Revolution.

¹²⁷ Alexandre Herculano (1810–1877) was a novelist, poet, journalist and historian.

¹²⁸ Ramalho Ortigão (1836–1915) was a writer and literary critic and one of the main personalities of the *Geração de 70*, an academic movement aiming to revolutionise Portuguese political and cultural life.

Bernardino Machado,¹²⁹ all of whom were influenced by positivist ideas and theories, not only voiced the importance of scientific knowledge in general, they also connected it to the need to modernise education in order to “generate the society of the future – industrial, democratic and urban”.¹³⁰

This was to be achieved by structuring the school curriculum according to the intuitive method, i.e. from simple to complex, from concrete things to abstract ideas, in which empirical observation was to be the basis of any scientific education that aimed to produce emancipated people. Thus, this *reflexive extension*¹³¹ of the students’ own experiences was to be the main aim of secondary education in its double function of: i) preparing students for life in general and ii) enabling students to access higher education. In this sense, the argument of these intellectuals was that secondary schooling should have a curriculum capable of fostering each student’s character, i.e. the curriculum should mirror the encyclopaedic reality in order to allow the students to understand the social world and to become active citizens and, therefore, agents of change and progress.¹³²

The first attempt to reform secondary education in Portugal was made as early as 1836 with the so-called *Passos Manuel* reform which formally established secondary schooling through the foundation of several lyceums across the country.¹³³ In addition, this reform expressed concern about the technical and scientific aspects of education, thereby opening the possibility for the implementation of active methods in schooling. However, in spite of articulating

¹²⁹ Bernardino Machado (1851–1944) was a politician and President of Portugal initially between 1915–1917 and then from 1925 to 28 May, 1926, when a military revolution led to a military dictatorship, *Dictadura Nacional*, which preceded the establishment of *Estado Novo*.

¹³⁰ Ó, *O Governo de si mesmo*, 183.

¹³¹ Ó and Carvalho, *Emergência e Circulação*.

¹³² Ó, *O Governo de si mesmo*.

¹³³ The Passos Manuel reform was named after the politician Manuel da Silva Passos, most commonly known as Passos Manuel. As Minister of the Kingdom in 1826, he was responsible for the first legislative efforts to modernise the education system in Portugal, namely, secondary education. He is therefore recognised as the founding father of the *Lyceum* – as an institution – in Portugal. The Portuguese Lyceum was projected and instituted using France’s secondary schooling model, established 34 years previously, as a reference. For further information on the Passos Manuel reform, see: Áurea Adão, *A criação e instalação dos primeiros liceus portugueses: Organização administrativa e pedagógica (1836–1860)* [The creation and establishment of the first Portuguese lyceums: Administrative and pedagogical organisation (1836–1860)] (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982); Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal*; Jorge Ramos do Ó, *Ensino Liceal (1836–1975)* [Education at the Lyceum] (Lisboa: Secretaria-Geral do Ministério da educação, 2009); and Ó, *O Governo de si mesmo*.

the modern “curricular, pedagogical and administrative aspects”, the legal document lacked pragmatic organisational directives. This not only made the development of an education based on experimentation, observation and scientific-based understanding of the phenomena impossible, it also ended up failing to be implemented at all.¹³⁴ In addition, the continuous socio-political instability contributed to the “impossibility of recovering from the cultural delay we [were] experiencing in comparison to the Europe beyond the Pyrenees” and to the postponement of any legal attempt to expand and modernize secondary schooling.¹³⁵

Nevertheless, the constant presence of this group of intellectuals in the public debate calling attention to the “decadent state of an entire people”¹³⁶ and their growing influence among educationalists spread the belief that it was not only “a properly organised secondary instruction that constitutes the intellectual level of a people”¹³⁷ but also that “the people’s ignorance and brutishness” made easier its “oppression rather than its governance”.¹³⁸ For this reason, even if the education system in Portugal at the time lacked a rigorous structure and organisation capable of enabling a progressive education, it was their critique of a “generation of useless [people]” of “impaired mental activity”¹³⁹ due to an encyclopaedic rather than a scientific education that enabled the slow build-up of a set of arguments for educational modernity which, in turn, re-activated the political efforts to modernize secondary schooling later that century. Indeed, according to Nóvoa, at the same time that “new modes of governance and Nation-

¹³⁴ Áurea Adão, “O ensino secundário-liceal nos debates parlamentares: o projecto de 1880, precursor da ‘reforma Jaime Moniz’,” [Secondary Education in the parliament debates: 1880 project, precursor of the Jaime Moniz reform] *Revista de humanidades e tecnologias* 3 (2000): 55. See also Adão, *A criação e instalação dos primeiros liceus*.

¹³⁵ Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal*, 547. The political instability of the country derived from the constant rebellions and the consequent volatility of the governments that were replaced one after the other over short periods of time. Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal*.

¹³⁶ Ramalho Ortigão, *O Culto da Arte em Portugal* (Lisboa: A.M. Pereira, 1896), 109.

¹³⁷ Ramalho Ortigão, *As Farpas*, vol. XV (Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1946 [1882]), 45.

¹³⁸ Alexandre Herculano, “Da educação e instrução das classes laboriosas,” in *Antologia de textos pedagógicos do século XIX português*, org. Alberto Ferreira, Vol 1. (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1971 [1838]): 152.

¹³⁹ Ortigão, *As Farpas*, vol. XV, 50.

State's affirmation" were emerging, schooling became a "key element of the cultural homogenisation process and of the invention of a national citizenship".¹⁴⁰

By the end of the 19th century, the growing vision of what education *should* be reflected, to a great extent, two aspects: on the one hand, the expansion of positivistic ideas and the understanding of scientific methods as 'the' way of thinking about, acquiring and producing knowledge; and, on the other hand, the emergence of an international discourse on education that claimed to be science-based. Rooted in Psychology, from which it borrowed its theories, methods and instruments for understanding, evaluating and leading the students, the Educational Sciences were progressively established as a scientific field, first by consolidating educational theories and, later, by intertwining them with practices based on the scientific knowledge of the child.¹⁴¹

As a consequence, the discourses that advocated educational modernity were not only built on the arguments that supported those two aspects but also on a strong critique of the traditional way of making schooling, i.e. about what education should *not* be. This clear divide between tradition and modernity, that opposed the country's perceived reality to the standards the country should aim at, produced multiple dichotomies such as passive *vs.* active learning and memorization *vs.* experimentation, for example. In the "old tradition the student memorized mechanically the imposed contents" which referred to "instruction,

¹⁴⁰ António Nóvoa, "Uma Educação que se diz 'nova' [An Education that calls itself 'new']," in *Sobre a Educação Nova. Cartas de Adolfo Lima a Álvaro Viana de Lemos (1923–1941)*, ed. António Nóvoa, Manuel Henrique Figueira and António Candeias (Lisboa: Educa, 1995), 26.

¹⁴¹ Following Nanine Charbonnel and António Nóvoa, Jorge do Ó pointed out that between the 1880s and the 1920s there were two overlapping "moments": the Compayré Moment and Experimental Pedagogy Moment. The first moment corresponded with the "attempt to institutionalize the Educational Sciences" and can be framed between the publication of Gabriel Compayré's *Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France* in 1879 and the articles published by Émile Durkheim on "Education e Pédagogie" in the *Nouveau dictionnaire de pédagogie* in 1911. The latter referred to the undertaking of "paedology practices" concerning the observation and study of children's behaviour and development, which started with investigations and experiences "in the last years of the 19th century" and which resulted in "all the [educational] movements that appeared during the First World War in favour of a New School which had the student as their principle and the promotion of the students' autonomy as their desire". Ó, *O governo de si mesmo*, 113. See also: Nanine Charbonnel, *Pour une critique de la raison éducative* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1988); António Nóvoa, "As ciências da educação e os processos de mudança" [The educational sciences and the processes of change], in *Ciências da educação e mudança*, ed. António Nóvoa, João Pedro Ponte and Maria Emília Brederode Santos, (Porto: Sociedade Portuguesa de Ciências da Educação, 1991), 18–67; and António Nóvoa, "Regards nouveaux sur l'éducation nouvelle," in *Le don de la parole*, ed. Nanine Charbonnel (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997), 71–96.

not education” and therefore constituted an “artificial and sterile process”.¹⁴² In modern education the student was no longer understood as being a passive recipient of knowledge transmitted either by the teacher or read in textbooks. The student was regarded as a subject who was growing in relation to specific biological, psychological and cognitive phases of development that were to be taken into account in the teaching-learning process in order to enable the subject’s preparation for societal life and produce an active agent and intellectually emancipated person.¹⁴³

This dichotomous rationale that is present in most discourses that advocated a modern and progressive education allowed Portuguese intellectuals and educationalists to continuously argue for educational innovation and change.¹⁴⁴ The understanding of education as a fundamental condition of progress, both individual, collective, societal and thereby for the progress of the nation as a whole, i.e. as an instrument for the *metamorphosis* from student to citizen,¹⁴⁵ was developed throughout the 19th century. Such understanding led to the increasing political mobilization by nation-states of the emergent idea of education and respective discourses. Both these ideas and the intention of establishing mass education through schooling were connected to national projects of production of a new ideal type of citizen, educated, and a promoter of the nation’s regeneration and progress on various levels: social, economic, cultural, moral, etc.¹⁴⁶ Under the label of modernity, this new way of thinking and

¹⁴² J. Augusto Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], vol. I (S. Paulo: Teixeira & Irmão, 1891), 67.

¹⁴³ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I; John Dewey, *Democracia e Educação* [Democracy and Education]. (S. Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1936); Adolphe Férrière, *A Escola Activa* [The Active School] (Lisboa: Aster, 1965); Adolfo Lima, “As Escolas Novas” [The New Schools], *Educação Social* 15–16, no. 1 (1924): 277–283; António Faria de Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental* [Lessons of Experimental Paedology and Pedagogy] (Lisboa: Antiga Casa Bertrand, 1909).

¹⁴⁴ See Nóvoa, “Uma Educação que se diz ‘nova’”.

¹⁴⁵ Inês Félix, “Herança e cidadania: Visitas de estudo, excursões escolares e educação estética na educação dos jovens escolares portugueses (1894–1960)” [Heritage and Citizenship: study visits, school excursions and aesthetic education in Portuguese young pupils’ education] (M.A. thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2011).

¹⁴⁶ Although discussed since the early 19th century, and attempted several times since 1835, it was only during the dictatorship that mass schooling at the elementary schooling level was accomplished in Portugal. Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal*.

making education and schooling was appropriated by the states as a means of national social improvement and perfection.

The launch of a modern grammar of schooling (1894–1895)

After a long century of debates developing a rationale advocating for change, educational modernity in secondary education in Portugal was established by Jaime Moniz in a series of decrees intended to reform the Lyceum through its rigorous reorganisation in terms of both school system organisation and how modern education principles were to be implemented.¹⁴⁷ To Moniz, combating the failure of the established system wasn't enough. A clear, methodical and grounded regulation of the education system was imperative, as well as the specification of proposals which, once implemented, could lead to the system's reform in accordance with new, modern educational principles. Thus, the cornerstone of the reform was the integral and active education of the child. By seeking to influence each person's ontological plurality, i.e. the intellectual, physical and moral aspects of the self, it would be possible to enable the transference of the focus of schooling's function in regard to each pupil from *knowing* to *being*.¹⁴⁸

Following the Passos Manuel reform of 1836, the Jaime Moniz reform retained the overall structure of the Lyceum, which comprised two types of lyceums, classified according to the education levels they offered: the central lyceum and the national lyceum. Both provided a general programme for all pupils from the first to the fifth grade, whereas the complementary programme for pupils of the sixth and seventh grades was only provided by the central

¹⁴⁷ Overall, secondary education in Portugal comprised two types of secondary schools: the lyceums and the vocational schools, in Portuguese, *liceu* and *escolas técnicas*. It is thus important to note that this reform did not cover the latter and to remind the reader that the present dissertation focuses on the former.

¹⁴⁸ Ó and Carvalho, *Emergência e Circulação*; Jorge Ramos do Ó, "Republican Deliveries for the Modernization of Secondary Education in Portugal in the 19th Century. From Alexandre Herculano, Ramalho Ortigão, and Bernardino Machado to Jaime Moniz," in *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century. Comparative visions*, Daniel Tröhler, Thomas S. Popkewitz, and David F. Labaree (New York: Routledge, 2011): 70–93.

lyceums. The complementary programme, in turn, was divided into two sections: *Letters* and *Sciences*, each one giving access to subject-related higher education programmes. The lyceum was further organised into three education cycles: the first cycle included first to third grades (aged 10 to 12), the second covered fourth and fifth grades (aged 13 and 14) and the third corresponded to upper secondary schooling – the complementary programme – and included the sixth and seventh grades (aged 15 and 16).¹⁴⁹

It is also important to note that very few children attended secondary education in the late 19th century, and the vast majority of those who did were boys. For the most part, girls of equivalent status were schooled at home and those who received secondary education attended private institutions. The overall number of lyceum students increased during the 20th century and their social background therefore slowly expanded from upper classes to middle class children and, by the 1940s, to some working-class children as well. Likewise, the number of girls studying at lyceums also gradually increased during the 20th century. However, since secondary education was not compulsory, the number of boys was always much higher than girls.¹⁵⁰ Since not all students were to attend higher education, there were more national lyceums than central lyceums. While the former were to be established in each of the country's districts, the latter were to be scattered across the territory: one for each of the Azores and Madeira Archipelagos and up to five on the mainland, that is, in Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra, and later in Braga and Guimarães as well. While the overall structure was that of Passos Manuel reform, the success of the Jaime Moniz reform is attributed to the organisation of the Lyceum. Because such organisation was so minutely done, I will focus on the aspects connected to circulating ideas on modern education that contributed to the advent of school journeys.¹⁵¹

To modernise schooling, the system was organised into *classes* – school grades –,¹⁵² i.e. sets of pupils grouped according to their age and therefore

¹⁴⁹ Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal*; Ó, *O Governo de si mesmo*; and Idem., *Ensino Liceal*.

¹⁵⁰ Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal*; Marques, *Portugal*; and Candeias, *Alfabetização e Escola*.

¹⁵¹ Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal*; Ó, *O Governo de si mesmo*; and Idem., *Ensino Liceal*.

¹⁵² The *classes* will henceforth be referred to as grades.

according to their stage of development. In addition, the syllabi of the various school subjects were designed from simple to complex and thereby adapted to suit the abilities of the students in relation to their age group. Likewise, their distribution in the timetable was to observe the scientific principles derived from child studies that regarded the morning as the most suitable time of day for subjects such as mathematics and the afternoon as the most suitable time of day for arts, for example.¹⁵³ Furthermore, school subjects were described as being connected by a “common intention”, thereby reflecting a unified vision of multidisciplinary, about which the teachers were to collaborate with each other in order to build bridges between the different disciplines.¹⁵⁴ Finally, the everyday schooling practices were to serve an education based on experimentation and observation for which the use of scientific methodologies was mandatory. Among these, school journeys featured as a suggested practice.¹⁵⁵ Consequently, this reform not only restructured secondary schooling, it legislated the means by which knowledge transfer and acquisition would occur, connecting it to the ways in which each individual would be able to develop their own personality. To the legislator’s understanding, this way of “acquiring knowledge” would “convert itself in an individuality factor and become a matrix of personal qualities”, meaning that “the noble function of education” required “healthy influences” of which “beneficial results” were a direct consequence of each student’s “precious personal efforts as if they were natural”.¹⁵⁶

As a result, the effective implementation of such a schooling system and the guarantee of educational modernity depended, for example, on the creation of instruments capable of organising and regulating everyday educational practice, i.e. it depended on the establishment of a complex grammar of schooling that enabled the students’ personal commitment to the efforts of secondary education to “promote the general culture and even the dignity of the nation”.¹⁵⁷ For this reason, and according to Ramos do Ó, the “apparatus created by the

¹⁵³ Ó, *O Governo de si mesmo*; and Ó, *Ensino Liceal*.

¹⁵⁴ Decreto of 22/12/1894.

¹⁵⁵ Decreto of 14/08/1895. See the chapter “School Journeys in the legal documents”.

¹⁵⁶ Decreto of 22/12/1894.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

Reform of Jaime Moniz at the end of the 19th century showed its structural strength in the following decades” as the educational paradigm thereby established did not change in essence but was appropriated by different political regimes which demanded the “training of a model citizen, productive and responsible” throughout the 20th century.¹⁵⁸

The New Education movement (1909–1936)

Although the Reform of Jaime Moniz materialized the desired progressive and modern education ideals, in the beginning, the complex and detailed reform did not have many supporters among the agents of education involved in its implementation, who suddenly saw their actions being sophisticatedly regulated in order to correctly apply the established curriculum and the principles and methods of active learning. On the one hand, the teachers were expected to have the ability to immediately comply with the new law and, on the other hand, the school principals – particularly after the revision of secondary education in 1905 – were overwhelmed by bureaucratic duties, such as the requirement to produce an increasingly detailed annual report, describing and justifying all the information related to the organisation and functioning of their schools, as well as disclosing all the circum-curricular activities being promoted indoors and outdoors. These included, for example, activities of the school’s student association, school journeys, exhibitions and celebrations, and were justified according to the reform’s logic: they comprised educational opportunities articulated with the school subjects’ syllabi to conduct objective and active learning in which the students’ participation triggered their will to know and to do, thereby promoting their initiative to learn and to become.

Besides triggering new ways of educating in school settings, the annual report that was demanded from the schools’ principals contributed to a growing systematised reflection on the lyceums’ everyday practices and, in the long term, served as an “instrument of description and construction of the secondary

¹⁵⁸ Ó and Carvalho, *Emergência e Circulação*, 43. See also: Ó, *O Governo de si*; and Marques, *Portugal*.

schools' reality".¹⁵⁹ However, even if writing and publishing the annual report as a school yearbook and sending it to the Secondary Education State Office¹⁶⁰ was mandatory in order to allow the supervision of the correct application of the regulations and the evaluation of the success of circum-curricular activities, it appears that these reports were seldom produced until the 1930s. In any case, the legislators' concerns in determining the need for this kind of reflection showed the importance that was attached not only to the overall everyday life of secondary schools but also to circum-curricular activities as means for accomplishing educational modernity.

In addition to the legislative efforts, during the first two decades of the 20th century, the educational discourse in Portugal became increasingly structured. The appearance of a number of organisations related to education and instruction, such as the Society of Pedagogical Studies, the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology of the University of Coimbra and the Medical and Pedagogical Institute, contributed to the emergence of a specialised discourse which, thus far, had been absent from both universities and other scientific spaces of discussion.¹⁶¹ In addition, the creation of the *Liga Nacional de Instrução* (LNI) in 1907,¹⁶² an association similar to the *Ligue de l'enseignement* created in France in 1865, "embodied the dominant social reformist agenda that existed within intellectual and political spheres" in Portugal at the time.¹⁶³ Although mainly focusing on primary and popular education, the overall aim of the LNI was to "promote the improvement of national instruction at all levels" through various activities.¹⁶⁴ These activities, including its annual Pedagogical Congress designed as a conference for educationalists, doctors, politicians, teachers, etc., became

¹⁵⁹ Ó and Carvalho, *Emergência e Circulação*, 60.

¹⁶⁰ Direção Geral de Instrução Secundária.

¹⁶¹ Luís Miguel Carvalho and Ana Lúcia Fernandes, *O Conhecimento sobre a Educação e os Problemas Nacionais: Os Congressos Pedagógicos da Liga Nacional de Instrução (Lisboa, 1908–1914)* [The Knowledge about Education and the National Problems: The Pedagogical Conferences of the National Instruction Union] (Lisboa: Educa, 2004).

¹⁶² The National Instruction Union was an organisation created by the Association of Journalists and Writers of Portugal, whose statutes established the promotion of instruction and sciences via the democratisation of information, for example. Carvalho and Fernandes, *Conhecimento sobre a Educação*.

¹⁶³ Carvalho and Fernandes, *O Conhecimento sobre a Educação*, 8.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

“spaces of convergence, debate and coordination of various discourses and actors”.¹⁶⁵ According to Carvalho and Fernandes, neither the LNI nor its congresses were scientific, but were hybrid spaces concerned about the adoption of measures and plans of action with political implications.

The focus on a reformist agenda with political implications by the LNI’s action and its congresses was about the growing prevalence of progressive ideas in Portuguese intellectual and political circles and the slow establishment of a modern education system. While, on the one hand, the first decades of the 20th century Portugal saw a rise in republican ideals based on “liberal, nationalist, secular, positivist” ideas with social concerns regarding the nation’s progress through education,¹⁶⁶ on the other hand, the establishment of a modern education system was not only slow, it was also “rhetorically constructed”. This meant that there was a clear gap between the progressiveness of the legal ambitions and their implementation due to the “frail efficacy of the material device”, i.e. the endemic weakness of the education system, thereby incapable of meeting the international educational references upon which both the ideas and the form of a ‘true’ modern education system were to be constructed.¹⁶⁷ In any case, it was through the work of these organisations that a “reflection on the social significance of education” germinated, thereby encouraging the “appearance of innovative pedagogical experiments” connected to the New Education international movement.¹⁶⁸

However, New Education in Portugal differed from its counterparts across the borders. While most European countries had numerous “school experiences that were extremely consistent from a technical and pedagogical viewpoint and almost always conducted by private schools” that were model institutions, in Portugal, however, few such institutions existed.¹⁶⁹ At the time, the failure to create and implement New Schools in Portugal was attributed to “indifference” and ignorance and to the “cult of the diploma and wordy knowledge” that “denied [one’s] personal efforts” in a schooling system in which “pedagogy is more or less

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 9.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 15.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 12.

¹⁶⁸ Nóvoa, “Uma Educação que se diz ‘nova’,” 34.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 34–35.

mechanical” and in which “traditional flaws and vices accumulate”.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the lack of a consistent effort to establish New Schools in Portugal does not mean there was no New Education project. In fact, New Education in Portugal was diffuse and was brought into the general education system, allowing it a “greater osmosis with the schools’ quotidian life”.¹⁷¹ According to Nóvoa, this “took away part of a theoretical consistency and conceptual rigour” but allowed, in turn, a greater “propagation of ideas” among teachers.¹⁷²

In turn, the propagation of these progressive educational ideas among teachers allowed their dissemination through the education system and, consequently, the growing use of modern education methods and activities in everyday school life. Without diverting the students’ attention from the subject-specific learning goals, these complemented the classroom work by expanding the modes of learning to experimental ones, therefore creating the means for the students to actively engage in *learning* and *becoming*. On the one hand, learning was to be the result of a combined action between the students’ attention and action, and the teachers’ expertise in directing the pupils’ focus and in creating opportunities for integral education; on the other hand, becoming would be potentiated by enjoyable activities, designed as educational resources, in order to foster the students’ will to participate in both the present learning process and in societal life in the future.

Even though in the eyes of the students’ parents, some of the circum-curricular activities could appear to be more entertaining than having educational goals, it was argued that continuous participation in such educational and socializing activities would encourage each individual to reflect on themselves in an “articulation between body and spirit that would lead to the ability to assimilate the world around”.¹⁷³ Consequently, the educational discourses advocated that it was through a combination of pleasure and work that the students would be able to discover their vocation and direct themselves to actively

¹⁷⁰ Álvaro Viana de Lemos, “O movimento internacional em volta do ensino e da educação,” [The international movement on teaching and education] *Arquivo Pedagógico* III, no. 1 (1930): 36.

¹⁷¹ Nóvoa, “Uma Educação que se diz ‘nova’,” 35.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁷³ Ó, *O Governo de si mesmo*, 142.

engage in their integral education, thereby justifying the need and importance of implementing active methods – such as school journeys – in secondary schooling in Portugal. For this reason, the Lyceum appeared as an “institution in which people teach and learn” but mainly as a space, “a home in which the concern to educate is constant”, whose results derive from the “efforts of both students and teachers”.¹⁷⁴

In its double function of instructing and educating, of providing the students with general knowledge and preparing them for societal life, secondary education put in place a set of modern instruments whose importance relied on their contract with the ‘traditional’ ways of schooling. For legislators, educationalists and teachers, these activities were to be the cornerstone that supported the establishment and the effectiveness of modern education, i.e. through the promotion of the students’ moral and civic consciousness. In this sense, the commitment and the “belief in the regenerating potential of schooling” of the New Education movement in Portugal, paradoxically based on a mistrust of schooling *as it was*, made a “decisive contribution to the social dissemination of new ways of seeing educational issues” that were slowly incorporated into the school system in Portugal.¹⁷⁵ Consequently, even though educational modernity was defined through comparing it with a caricature of traditional instruction, and even though it advocated and promoted the use of innovative methods, in the first decades of the 20th century, the New Education movement “didn’t question the grammar of schooling as it was established” at the end of the 19th century.¹⁷⁶ For this reason, despite the “contradictions and ambiguities”, New Education ideas were extended and invested in different ways by various projects, meaning they were relocated and mobilised by different and even antagonistic political regimes.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ António de Sá Oliveira, “10^o aniversário do Liceu de Pedro Nunes” [10th Anniversary of the Liceu Pedro Nunes], *Os Novos. Revista mensal da Associação Escolar do Liceu de Pedro Nunes* 81 (1915): 1.

¹⁷⁵ Nóvoa, “Uma Educação que se diz ‘nova’,” 30, 33.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

The political mobilization of ideas, aims and practices (1931–1960)

From the late 19th century and through the first decades of the 20th century, the increase and spread of a set of educational activities connected to progressive ideas supported the nation-states' aim of producing their future citizens. Similar to this period's political discourses that had mobilised the idea of a 'new' way of doing education as opposed to 'tradition' as means of progress, from the 1930s onwards, a *new order* was established and consolidated in which education appeared, once again, as the cornerstone of the national regeneration project. The *Estado Novo*, conceived and headed by António Oliveira Salazar, consisted of a corporatist fascist dictatorship, inspired by Mussolini's fascist regime, and was based on a Catholic matrix that "included all the aspects of individual and social behaviour" and whose slogan was 'God, Homeland and Family'.¹⁷⁸ As a consequence, the formal educational responsibility of the State was extended to the duty of training its future citizens in a particular doctrine that was intended to impose new social ways of thinking and behaving characterised by a patriotic fervour.¹⁷⁹

On the one hand, the authoritarian regime intended to present itself as new in multiple ways: politically, economically, socially, etc.¹⁸⁰ On the other hand, however, it borrowed the previous regime's idea of education in terms of its importance as an instrument for the consolidation of the state and nation, and it reproduced the established function of secondary education of "providing the elements of general knowledge that simultaneously serve as preparation for societal life and enable progress to higher education" which was to be "carried out through the normal development of body and spirit influencing the education of the character".¹⁸¹ To a great extent, when looking at the legal documents and regulations on education that were produced and enacted after 1931, it is evident that the new regime appropriated past educational solutions, such as the school

¹⁷⁸ Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal*, 724.

¹⁷⁹ Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal*.

¹⁸⁰ Starting with its' own name – *Estado Novo* – New State.

¹⁸¹ Decreto 20741 of 11/12/1931.

associations, school journeys, films, exhibitions, sports and celebrations, to foster the complete and balanced development of educated citizens and mobilised them to the creation of a new ideological paradigm. The school was to embody the principles of New Education and, together with the family, was to “imprint on the developing souls the high and noble feelings that distinguish our civilization and the profound love for their Homeland of those who built and dignified it throughout the centuries so that it cannot be erased”.¹⁸² Finally, the Portuguese Youth, established in 1936¹⁸³ and aimed at everyone between 7 and 25 years of age to promote their physical abilities, their character and commitment to the country by fostering their fondness for discipline and the cultivation of moral, civic and military duties, was tasked with “cooperating with educational institutions” specifically “in the education of the character and the devotion to the homeland” by exploring the potential of the “attractive nature of circum-curricular activities”.¹⁸⁴

The cooperation between the Portuguese Youth and secondary schools not only preserved the latter’s ‘old’ function of preparing the students for life as it reinforced the mission of formal education to foster the love of country and of producing strong and healthy citizens – by amplifying its importance. In this sense, the construction of a new unified social state, formatted according to a nationalist ideology, was built upon the old arguments for an integral and active education, in which the intellectual, physical and moral education of the pupils materialised through both instructive and socialising activities. Indeed, although from 1936 onwards, the Portuguese Youth contributed to the “reinforcement of the doctrinarian component of secondary schools”,¹⁸⁵ the *Estado Novo* arguments for national progress in relation to education reiterated the arguments that had been enunciated by Jaime Moniz in the late 19th century, i.e. the

¹⁸² António Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos (1928–1934)* [Speeches], Vol. I. (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1961), 309.

¹⁸³ Decreto 26611 of 19/05/1936

¹⁸⁴ Luís Viana, *A Mocidade Portuguesa e o Liceu... Lá vamos contando (1936–1974)* (Lisboa: Educa, 2001), 133–134.

¹⁸⁵ Luís Viana, *A Mocidade Portuguesa*, 141. According to Jorge Ramos do Ó, “this infant-juvenile organisation would aggregate, during the 1940s, all (...) the educational domains which, being outside the curricular plans, were built over the foundations laid by the Reform of Jaime Moniz”. Ó, *O governo de si mesmo*, 610.

secondary education aim to “develop the love for the homeland, for nationality, [and] for humankind as noble values of moral consciousness”.¹⁸⁶ Consequently, even if the authoritarian regime’s intention was to perform a total renovation of formal schooling, what changed took place “without commotion” since the main educational principles that had been established by the reform of Jaime Moniz and implemented during the first decades of the 20th century were already in place in the everyday life of secondary schools.¹⁸⁷

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The idea of a new way of making schooling in Portugal emerged in the early 19th century as a result of an enlightened elite’s views that brought the education’s function of national regeneration to the public debate. Operating within a dichotomous rationale that opposed a traditional way of making schooling – wordy and passive, based on memorization – to a progressive one – experimental and active, based on scientific observations –, these intellectuals not only contributed to the proliferation of ideas and possible ways in which schooling could be transformed, they also contributed to the establishment of a common understanding regarding the importance of schooling as an instrument of progress.

Regarding secondary education in particular, despite failed attempts throughout the century, from 1894–5 an exhaustive reform was finally implemented. It focused on the structure, organisation, curriculum and educational methods and aimed to convert knowledge transfer into an ‘individuality factor’, thereby producing the regeneration of the nation by making the student. Such a legislative effort instituted a school grammar paradigm that remained, in essence, the same throughout three quarters of the 20th century. Additionally, the appearance of several organisations related to educational issues in the first decades of the 20th century contributed to the emergence and proliferation of a specialized educational discourse with a strong social reform claim and agenda. Despite the gap between the progressiveness of the circulating ideas and the country’s capacity to implement them, the reflection on the social

¹⁸⁶ Decreto of 14/08/1895.

¹⁸⁷ Luís Viana, *A Mocidade Portuguesa*, 140.

significance of education through the education of each individual increased and some isolated innovative pedagogical experiments appeared. Nevertheless, the Portuguese case of New Education is, to some extent, different from others in Europe. Instead of comprising specific educational organisations, such as New Schools, that movement's ideas were appropriated as broad educational modernity ideas and spread through the general education system. Likewise, the use of new methods and activities also increased in the schools' quotidian life, thereby contributing to the incorporation of new ways of seeing educational issues in the grammar of schooling throughout the first three decades of the 20th century.

However, the persistence of a dichotomous rationale – new *vs.* old, progress *vs.* tradition – supporting modernity and the idea of schooling as an instrument for the progress of the nation, facilitated the mobilisation of ideas, aims and practices by different and antagonistic political regimes. Indeed, the fascist dictatorship not only borrowed the existing education arguments that were built upon said dichotomies, particularly the argument of the social importance of schooling in regenerating the nation by fostering each and every future citizen, it also appropriated past educational practices and mobilised them – ideas, aims and practices – under a new ideological paradigm, intended to impose new social ways of thinking and behaving. This means that the educational instruments that supported a modern way of doing schooling in Portugal, of which school journeys were an important part, were systematically appropriated by different political regimes throughout the period under study in order to perform a transfer from *knowing* to *being*, i.e. a metamorphosis from student to citizen.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ Félix, “Herança e cidadania”.

3. Legal framework of school journeys

After a long century of debates that put education at the centre of societal renewal and national progress, arguing for the *new* to overcome the *old*, a modern grammar of secondary schooling was finally established in 1894, paving the way for new educational methods to be implemented and to flourish. In this context, an examination of how school journeys were legally framed is fundamental to understanding their emergence, gradual implementation and naturalization as one of the most undisputed progressive education methods, not only in relation to the discourses on schooling and modernity, but also in connection with the gradual establishment of a modern grammar in secondary education in Portugal.

In this chapter I draw heavily on the legislation produced and promulgated from 1894 onwards: secondary education reforms, subsequent decrees regulating aspects of these reforms, and other legal documents enforcing certain directives or changing them. This, in turn, allows me to show the periods from which school journeys can be understood and discussed, i.e. the need for and educational importance of introducing them into the secondary education system for the sake of its modernisation, the attempt of progressively regulating them as a method in order to guarantee their educational nature, and the crystallisation of their legal framework.

The introduction of school journeys in secondary education

School journeys were first mentioned in a law in 1895 in relation to how the lyceums should organize their timetables. It was made clear that the weekly schedule of each grade should ensure that there were conditions for school journeys to happen, particularly for the study of the school subjects of the natural sciences, geography and history:

When there are excursions for the study of physical or natural sciences, geography or history, the necessary precautions must be taken so that these journeys are made in the most appropriate weather conditions and without harming other [school] activities. For these reasons, and also for other

school conveniences, the afternoons should be free of lessons as early as possible.¹⁸⁹

Although there were no other explicit references to school journeys in the Jaime Moniz reform, the legal documents comprising the reform clearly conveyed modern education principles of integral education and active learning which, in turn, were connected to the broader educational ideas that supported the emergence of school journeys in the Portuguese school system. Indeed, the reform of Jaime Moniz (1894–5) established that “for the most part” and “whenever possible”, “the first auxiliary material” for the “transmission of knowledge” was “the presence of objects”, suggesting the need to either bring objects into school or to take students outside of the said space. When it was not possible to be in the presence of objects, the legislator suggested that the second material through which students should learn would be that of a “graphic portrayal (written or drawn)”, relegating the teachers’ oral explanation to the last resource to be employed.¹⁹⁰ Even if this document does not clearly state the means by which the presence of objects was to occur, such use had already been justified in a previous bill of the same reform. When arguing for the educational importance of national, cultural and historical heritage, for example, the presence of objects was said to promote an “artistic feeling through the understanding of the greatness, the impression of the sublime and beautiful in some of its most visible manifestations universally celebrated” and the “development of the love of the country, the nationality, the humanity, as valuable elements of moral conscience”.¹⁹¹ Thus, from the legislator’s perspective, such “acquisition of knowledge” would “convert into an individuality factor or constitute a matrix of personal qualities” and promote “a broad culture of one’s spirit and even the decorum of the nation”.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Decreto of 14/08/1895.

¹⁹⁰ Decreto of 22/12/1894. Interestingly, the principle of the need of the presence of objects as the main means for the learning process was later retrieved and almost entirely transcribed in another decree in 1917: Decreto of 17/04/1917.

¹⁹¹ Decreto of 22/12/1894.

¹⁹² Ibid.

In a subsequent document, the concern with the pupils' personality and character was directly connected with the need to stimulate the students and to reduce the lessons' overall duration so that other educational aspects besides intellectual skills could be put into practice.¹⁹³ In this context, the "need to rest", the "introduction of physical education", the "importance we attribute to moral education and even to aesthetic education" was put in relation to drawing and school journeys, thus justifying "the reasons why we [were] determined to clear Thursdays of lessons and limit the remaining working days to four lessons". Indeed, when regulating the schools' timetables, which were to be sent to the government "for approval", the decree established that such weekday had to be "free of lessons as much as possible, except for those of drawing", because Thursdays were "specially designated to physical exercises, practical exercises at the labs, school excursions and other educational means".¹⁹⁴

This need to guarantee the conditions for school activities other than lessons that was expressed in a short clause about the school's schedules always referred to school journeys and was present throughout the period.¹⁹⁵ Every time, this clause more or less 'recycled' the words and expressions used in the previous documents stating the "convenience" of "freeing up lessons as soon as possible on one of the weekdays",¹⁹⁶ or to "free up lessons as early as possible on one of the weekdays in order to undertake study visits and school excursions",¹⁹⁷ or even "one [afternoon] period on one of the weekdays must be as light as possible as it is designated to study visits, school excursions or educational games".¹⁹⁸ In any case, by 1930 it was agreed that "study visits and short excursions should be undertaken as much as possible without impairing the school work. As legislated, during weekdays, each school grade has an afternoon that is free of lessons".¹⁹⁹

¹⁹³ Decreto of 29/08/1905.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917; Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918; Decreto 6675 of 12/06/1920; Decreto 7558 of 18/06/1921; Decreto 15974 of 12/09/1928; and Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

¹⁹⁶ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917; Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918.

¹⁹⁷ Decreto 6675 of 12/06/1920; Decreto 7558 of 18/06/1921.

¹⁹⁸ Decreto 15974 of 12/09/1928.

¹⁹⁹ Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

Even though this concern had been around since the late 19th century, school journeys appear to have taken some time to become part of schooling practices and remained under-regulated. The first legal document to be produced in which school journeys were put in focus was the Circular of 5 October, 1906.²⁰⁰ This was mainly intended to “call to attention” the school principals to the “legal orders referring to school excursions whose observance [was] urgently required”. It focused on the “school subjects of the natural sciences” to convey the importance of secondary education ensuring the

objective trait that only observation and experience can provide, and without which the teaching of these school subjects cannot captivate the students’ interest nor will their spirits mature conveniently for the in-depth study of the natural sciences.²⁰¹

Moreover, the imperative of observation and experience as conditions of the modern learning process was often referred to in different legal documents throughout the 20th century.²⁰² In this document from 1906 in particular, it justified the “need of directing education” in a practical and objective way that is prone to instigate the students’ interest and was also addressed to the teachers of “geography and history”. These teachers were to “make arrangements” in order for students to go on school journeys “in the present school year and in the future” to visit the “countryside, the zoological collections and botanical gardens wherever they exist, the characteristic places for the observation of geographical aspects and phenomena, the museums, monuments and public and private institutions”.

In order to enforce the implementation of such activities, this document determined that the principals should “present” the Ministry of the Realm with “a special report about the school outings” by the end of each school year, in which “it can be clearly seen how the teachers understood and undertook this important

²⁰⁰ A circular is a command issued by the ministry responsible for education, at this time it was the Ministry of the Realm, or by one of its subdivisions and distributed to education institutions. In this case, it was issued by the *Direcção-Geral de Instrução Publica* [General Directorate of Public Instruction].

²⁰¹ Circular of 25/10/1906.

²⁰² Decreto 4650 of 14/07/1918; Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918; and Decreto-Lei 27084 of 14/10/1936.

part of the mission of which they are in charge”. However, this was as far as this document went in relation to these activities, consigning “the details of its undertaking” to the school principal and the teachers’ consideration.²⁰³

In spite of the order to produce annual reports, there are few documents that report school excursions taking place in the subsequent years, and it is difficult to assert the extent to which this Circular produced any immediate results in the implementation of these activities.²⁰⁴ Besides, the Lyceum’s restructuring in 1894–5 was both extensive and detailed. Its sophistication relied on the complex aim of enacting an articulation between the new curricula, the principles of modern education and the use of a wide set of active methods.²⁰⁵ Not only is it difficult to imagine how the teachers were expected to have had the ability and competence to perform such changes promptly, as these changes required funding. This obstacle was made obvious following this Circular in one short article published in the bulletin of the secondary education teachers’ association:

The General Directorate of Public Instruction ordered the principals of secondary schools (...), in agreement with the teachers of geography and natural sciences, to promote school excursions and study visits. The Circular’s determinations are entirely fair. (...) We would even like to express the hope that the Circular’s suggestions are followed as much as possible, despite the observations that we point out. (...) It is not enough to demand, the necessary elements to comply with the given orders must be provided. (...) [School journeys] are not possible without money. (...) The General Directorate, who knows all this, demands excursions but doesn’t give the funding for such useful purposes, nor provides the teachers with the spare time needed to carry them out. (...) To demand excursions without paying teachers regularly, to order excursions without money for the

²⁰³ Circular of 25/10/1906.

²⁰⁴ From 1907 to 1910 there were only six articles published in the educational press about school journeys, all related to two private schools: Colégio Nacional in Coimbra (2) and Instituto Nun’Alvres in Caldas da Saúde (4). Regarding public secondary education, the only documents I found referring to school journeys were the school yearbooks of the lyceum Pedro Nunes in Lisbon and Alexandre Herculano in Oporto, from 1906 to 1918.

²⁰⁵ Jorge Ramos do Ó, *O governo de si mesmo. Modernidade pedagógica e encenações disciplinares do aluno liceal (último quartel do século XIX – meados do século XX)* [The self-government. Pedagogical modernity and disciplinary scenarios of the lyceum’s student (last quarter of the 19th century–mid-20th century)] (Lisboa: Educa, 2003).

expenses they require is to uselessly waste paper and throw dust into the eyes of those who are unaware of the lyceums' misery.²⁰⁶

Indeed, the lack of funds in secondary education might have been the reason why these activities appear to have had an unsteady enactment in schooling in the early 20th century. In addition, they were seldom explicitly mentioned in the legal documents and therefore remained under-regulated for a long time, i.e. until decree 3091 of 17 April, 1917 came into force.

First attempts to regulate an educational method

Decree 3091 was promulgated in 1917 and aimed to “compile, coordinate and systematize” the regulations on secondary education that were present in “numerous” legal documents and “provide regulations to some issues not yet regulated”.²⁰⁷ One of these “issues” concerned school journeys and was the reason why an entire chapter was devoted to them, thus opening an intense period of progressive enrichment of the regulation of these activities. The chapter started by describing the four main aims of the activities:

a) to provide objective trait to the teaching of the natural sciences and geography that only observation and experience can offer, and without which the teaching of these school subjects cannot captivate the students' interest, nor will their spirits mature conveniently for the in-depth study of the natural sciences; b) to instil in the students' spirit a respect for artistic monuments and to call their attention to the places in which important historical events took place; c) to provide them [the students] with the knowledge of work in all its forms and of charity initiatives, making them used to respecting human labour and solidarity; d) generally, to assist their preparation for every aspect of practical life.²⁰⁸

It is interesting to note that Bernardino Machado, who was responsible for this document, used the exact words of the Circular of 1906, adding a few more aims which, in turn, resulted from a systematization of scattered ideas in previous

²⁰⁶ Anon., “Excursões Escolares” [School Excursions], *Boletim da Associação do Magistério Secundário Oficial* II, no. 12 (1906): 384.

²⁰⁷ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917.

²⁰⁸ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917.

documents that were less explicitly connected to school journeys and more obviously formulated in relation to the desired modernisation of education.²⁰⁹ Moreover, the list of the “specially recommended places” to be visited was almost exactly the same as the list presented in 1906.²¹⁰ Also interesting to note is that this formulation of the aims of school journeys and the places listed, as structured and presented by Machado in this document, never changed during the period under study. Indeed, this is visible in several documents during the Republican regime until the last document focusing on school journeys only, which was produced during the fascist dictatorship, as all these documents reiterated the exact same words.²¹¹ However, despite the traveling ideas that were retrieved every now and then and that were retained or reconfigured throughout the period, I understand decree 3091 of 1917 to be a turning point in which, for the first time, an attempt was made to regulate school journeys as an educational method.

Following the description of the school journeys’ aims and recommended places to visit, the decree established that the school principal, in accordance with the grade director²¹² and the “teachers who intend to conduct the excursion or study visit”, are responsible for ensuring that such activities were undertaken so that the students would gain “all the educational benefits”. According to the legislator, this meant that all school journeys should happen “according to the general plan approved by the school council”. Even though this decree did not differentiate between study visits and excursions, and despite having made clear what the recommended places to be visited were, the document clearly stated

²⁰⁹ In another chapter of the same decree, dedicated to “civic education”, school journeys appear as a means for such education, particularly those journeys which took students to visit “monuments and national landscapes” and “buildings with administrative offices and social organisations”. It appears as if the school journeys’ main aims were presented as a broad general umbrella under which other aims would fit. For this reason, it is reasonable to assume that the school journeys’ aim to “to instil in the students’ spirit a respect for artistic monuments and call their attention to the places at which important historical events took place” was very much connected to the idea of educating the future citizen, which, in turn, was often put in relation to Portuguese and history school subjects. Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917.

²¹⁰ In the decree of 1917, “educational institutions” were added to the list of places to be visited. Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917.

²¹¹ Circular of 25/10/1906; Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917; Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918; Decreto 6675 of 12/06/1920; Decreto 7558 of 18/06/1921; and Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

²¹² Each school grade (*classe* in Portuguese), had one teacher who was responsible for all the pupils in that grade and who was known as *director de classe*, hereafter, roughly translated as *grade director*.

what these activities were *not*: “students’ travels with performative aims, without an effective orientation, or in such crowded places that it would be impossible to ensure discipline and socialization with the teachers, as well as the educational and instructive aims of study field trips”.²¹³

Machado further regulated school journeys in terms of the procedural aspects to be taken into account, such as the importance of organizing the programme and itinerary beforehand, which should not be changed if not for “any other than unpredictable motives”, and the need to “properly prepare the students” who should be “motivated to take notes of their observations and to present short reports in the classroom, documented with photographs or in any other way that pleases them”. He further added the usefulness of reading “some of these reports” in school sessions “in front of the school’s students”. The pupils’ participation was, again, a preoccupation shown in the decree by stating that for “the maximum benefit for the students’ education” they were “asked to collaborate through their associations”, which was to happen in accordance with each lyceum’s “life”.²¹⁴ While avoiding to dictate the conditions under which the student associations’ participation was to occur, it defined – for the first time – the circumstances that made the individual’s participation not only desirable but also mandatory.

However, making attendance and participation in school journeys mandatory required funding. For this reason, the document established that “a sum to support school excursions and study visits shall be considered in the school budget”. It further added that the “remaining costs” should be covered by the students “either individually or via their associations” through the fees paid by their members. Although it is unclear whether the secondary schools’ funding was increased, it seems more likely that, from this moment forward, they were obliged to either save part of their budget to partially fund school journeys or to rely on the school associations’ membership so that compulsory attendance was feasible.

²¹³ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

The terms of such mandatory participation in school journeys were defined by putting in relation the grade of the students and the distance between the school and the place to be visited. Hence, these activities were compulsory for students of the first two grades, aged 10 and 11 years, when visiting “the school surroundings”, to students from the third to the fifth grades, aged 12 to 14 years when visiting “any place at a distance of 10 kilometres” and to students from the sixth and seventh grades, aged 15 and 16 years, when visiting “any place at a distance of 30 kilometres”. Such preoccupation with the relationship between the students’ grade, their age and the distance to be travelled was previously mentioned in the same decree when referring to the school principals’ responsibility to apply “common sense” when undertaking these activities. Indeed, the legislator made clear that the principal was responsible, “according to his cautious criterion”, of denying “participation by younger students in school excursions that are distant from the school”.²¹⁵

If the decision to legislate part of the budget to those activities justified making the students’ participation mandatory, this, in turn, allowed the legislator to rule that such participation (or absence) and the students’ behaviour was to be taken into account in the assessment of the students. Although not mentioned in the chapter on school journeys, the students’ behaviour during these activities was taken into consideration in the section that regulated the students’ duties. It stated clearly that “every action related to school life, even if undertaken outside of the lyceums will, as matter of a fact, be considered, as if it had happened in the lyceum, particularly if such activity takes place in the vicinity of the school or during study visits and excursions”. Finally, the decree stipulated that the school principals should “mention the ways in which school excursions and study visits were undertaken” in their reports and school yearbooks “making the government aware of the teachers who directed the school excursions and study visits with the greatest interest and competence”.²¹⁶ Again, this was not included in the decree’s section on school journeys but was specified in the section that regulated the schools’ yearbook as something to be presented as a “summary” and/or “reports”.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

Despite the fact that the main structure and wording of the chapter regarding school journeys in decree 3091 of 17 April, 1917 remained the same in subsequent years, it was decree 4799 of 12 September of the following year that was largely ‘reiterated’ regarding the ruling of these activities until 1930. In this decree, no longer signed by Bernardino Machado but by the State Secretary of Public Instruction, José de Magalhães, some clauses were introduced. While two clauses referred to the need to regulate specific aspects, one clause introduced a subtle yet important change to the previous regulations. Regarding the first two, they referred 1) to the role of teachers – which was no longer that of a “guide” – i.e. by adding that “school excursions and study visits will always be directed by teachers and organized for small groups of students”; and 2) to the need to compensate the “teachers who direct school excursions outside of the school’s vicinity”. This was to cover travel expenses and daily allowances. As for the teachers who directed “study visits within the school’s vicinity”, they were to be paid a small sum for each study visit.²¹⁷

In such small additions, two different aspects are visible which, not being obviously stated, draw attention to what lies beneath the surface. The first aspect is an implicit distinction between study visits and school excursions, put in relation to the distance travelled away from the school, which was never visible before and which would remain ‘implicit’ until 1930. The second aspect is the enforcement of the teachers’ leading role relating to the students’ need to receive “all the educational benefits”.²¹⁸ Additionally, it was ruled that these activities were to be “organized for small groups of students”. This contradicts the previous document in which the attendance and participation of students of all grades was made mandatory, depending on the distance to be travelled. And this brings us to the third clause introduced.

The major change in the school journeys’ regulation introduced in this decree was the annulment of what had been the major introduction of the preceding document. Indeed, while in 1917, participation in school journeys was made mandatory, one year later it was established in law that these activities were

²¹⁷ Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

mandatory “under the terms of the lyceum’s own regulations”.²¹⁹ It appears that the introduction of clauses securing the school budget and the compulsory attendance made the undertaking of school journeys impossible due to the large number of attendees/participants. However, by limiting the number of students, the process of selection became unclear, as well as who would receive the privilege of an objective education, which was so necessary to develop each student’s knowledge and spirit. Additionally, the importance of observation and experimentation that was often referred to in previous documents was once again raised in 1920 and put in relation to the regulation of students’ individual work which was to be orientated towards their “scientific education” in order to “create habits of research and critique in the students” and cultivate their “personality and initiative”.²²⁰ In any case, such regulations were in place for over a decade, when decree 18486 of 18 June, 1930 was promulgated, signalling the final turning point in the legislation of school journeys.

The crystallisation of the legal framework of school journeys

Until the end of the period under study, decree 18486 of 1930 signed by the Minister of Public Instruction, Cordeiro Ramos, was the last document to be promulgated that was solely dedicated to school journeys. The need for such regulation was justified in order to “to gain the maximum benefit out of these kinds of exercises while assuring the proper functioning of school services”.²²¹ Additionally, the need for it to be brought into force can be confirmed by its publication in the official bulletin of the Ministry the following year.²²² Despite not being the first decree intended to regulate school journeys as an educational method, it was by far the most extensive and detailed one. Besides the reinforcement of the aims and the recommended places to be visited that had

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Decreto 6675 of 12/06/1920.

²²¹ Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

²²² Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos, “Decreto 18486,” *Boletim Oficial do Ministério de Instrução Pública* II (1931): 75–92.

been previously formulated, it detailed the teachers' and the students' roles, the latter's preparation and assessment, and the materials to be handed out. Furthermore, it made clear the distinction between study visits and excursions and the implications of such a differentiation regarding compulsory attendance, articulation with the curriculum, frequency and relation to the schools' schedule.

Regarding the aims and places to be visited, they equally concerned both "school excursions and study visits" and were exactly the same as what had been previously stipulated. However, once the legislator was finished with the general aspects that related to both activities, he then proceeded to distinguish one from the other. Although prescribed by law since the late nineteenth century, the designation of these activities remained confusing as 'study visits', 'excursions' and 'school trips' and were often used indiscriminately until this decree was promulgated. In the decree, the former was defined as "study visits or short excursions undertaken in the vicinity of the school" and the latter as "longer excursions undertaken outside of the school's vicinity".²²³ Finally, the term 'school trip' was never referred to in this document. Among the teachers it appears to have fallen into disuse in the mid-1920s, although it was still used by some students in their reports in the late 1930s. One explanation could be that it had a 'lighter' connotation than the other terms, meaning that it might have been perceived as being more connected to a leisure activity than a school/educational activity. At first sight, the distinction between visits and excursions appears to be merely a matter of the distance travelled. However, a greater distinction becomes clear as Cordeiro Ramos unfolded the implications of each point of this regulation in relation to these "two types of activities".

The first differential directive was that the council of each grade was to prepare a "general plan of study visits and short excursions" to be submitted to the school's principal by the grade director, that is, the teacher responsible for that school year's grade, whereas regarding the excursions, the preparation of a similar plan was to be made by the "council of the grade's directors along with the school principal".²²⁴ The second and third directives were presented separately

²²³ Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

²²⁴ Ibid.

and concerned the articulation with the curriculum, the person responsible for the activity, the people allowed to participate, the conditions required for the activity to be authorized and whether it was compulsory or optional.

Thus, “all study visits or short excursions” were to be related to “any subject taught or to be taught” in the lessons of the “grade of the participating students” as a “preparation, complement or proof” of the subject under study. In contrast, the excursions were to “have an educational purpose, even if their aim was not related to any particular subject”. While the former were to be “directed” by the “teacher of the school subject” to which the study visits referred, the latter were to be “directed by a teacher appointed by the school principal”, who – “in case it was convenient for the excursion’s aims” – could be “assisted by another teacher, also appointed by the principal”.

Regarding the students’ participation in the study visits, only students from the same grade could participate, meaning that “students from different classrooms of the same grade” were allowed to go on the study visits together “as long as the number of participants does not exceed the maximum number of students allowed in a classroom”.²²⁵ What at first appeared to be a reasonable directive – if study visits were to be optional – soon became ambiguous as it stipulated that study visits “were compulsory for all students of all grades” and that those students who missed the study visit were to be “registered”. Thus, it was unclear how several students from different classrooms in the same grade could participate in the same visit if the number of participants was limited to one classroom and the visit was mandatory for every student, unless the teachers accompanied each classroom on the same study visit on different days. Finally, even if only the principal was permitted to “excuse” a student from a study visit if they had “justifiable grounds”, the procedures by which the absent student could be ‘replaced’ by a fellow student from a different classroom are unclear.

As for the excursions, since they were “optional”, students could take part in the same excursion from the third to the fifth grade, or from the sixth to the seventh grade. However, “no student can participate in any excursion if they have

²²⁵ Each grade, *classe*, could have up to four *turmas*, i.e. groups of pupils who shared the same timetable and attended lessons together in the same classroom.

not taken part in some of the study visits or short excursions” and “on none of these excursions can the number of participants exceed that of a classroom”. In any case, the document did not establish how the selection of the participating students should be done, or the principles by which such selection should occur. Finally, the decree stipulated that study visits “should happen with no detrimental effect on school services” and as much as possible during “each class-free afternoon”, whereas excursions “should preferably be undertaken during the holiday period”.²²⁶

Thus, this distinction was more complex than just referring to the distance to be travelled. On the one hand, the study visit was defined as an outing restricted to the school surroundings and lasting no more than one day, preferably taking place only in the morning or the afternoon. The study visit should have a regular frequency in order to fulfil the active learning goals, since it would be easy to prepare and carry out, and was also less expensive. An excursion, on the other hand, was defined as an investment in taking the students to places far from the school. It should be of a longer duration, primarily three to five days, but this could also be increased to eight days in the case of trips to neighbouring Spain. Taking into account the financial resources and the logistics required, the frequency of excursions was considerably reduced and such journeys should take place only once or twice a year. Notwithstanding, it is interesting to note that in the late 1960s this differentiation had become ‘intuitively’ naturalised:

Accurately describing the meaning of these two terms is not an easy task. However, if I asked each one of my colleagues, all of them would surely give me an idea of what a study visit is and what an excursion is. For my part, I think the concept of study visit applies to a session beyond the school walls in which the students are outside their everyday environment in order to observe natural landscapes or monuments, paintings and other objects of created by the man, which may be of interest for their training. Thus, a “study visit” has a limited and narrow sense, whereas an “excursion” applies to a more prolonged stay in places outside of the city in which their

²²⁶ Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

educational institution is located, thereby having broad and varied objectives.²²⁷

The decree also regulated the study visits and excursions as a method in regard to their preparation, undertaking and assessment. Regarding preparation, study visits “should be conveniently planned” during the “lessons of the school subject to which they are related” and, in the case of excursions, “however the principal, in accordance with the director of the excursion, understands as being adequate”. In any case, “before any study visit or excursion, the students must be familiar with the schedule and itinerary” and must be given “monographs, drawings, prints, illustrated postcards or any other means that allow them to examine the region to be visited”. This included information about the “places, museums, monuments, historical sites, factories and other institutions” that were to be visited. In addition, the director of the school journeys had to distribute “questionnaires” to guide their “observations during the excursion”. As for the undertaking of both study visits and excursions, the decree explicitly stated that the directors of the activities had to “ensure that the students observe” and to “provide clarification” so that the students could “take notes about their observations” while documenting them with “photographs, blueprints, drawings, [and/or] particular objects relating to the places visited”.²²⁸

Finally, regarding the students’ assessment, the decree made clear that the teacher of the school subject to which the study visits were related was responsible for the students’ assessments, i.e. through “short reports that all students are obligated to submit”. The same assessment was expected from those students who went on excursions and was to be handed in to the excursion’s director within ten days of their return. In addition, those students who took part in an excursion were expected to read and discuss their reports, preferably during “small conferences”, the attendance of which was compulsory. These reports and “all documents” were to be “archived and kept at school in order to assist in

²²⁷ Carlos Montenegro Miguel, “Visitas de Estudo e Excursões” [Study Visits and Excursions], *Escolas Técnicas* 38 (1966), 33.

²²⁸ Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

further outings". It was thus clear that both "study visits and excursions" were, "for all intents and purposes", considered "schoolwork".²²⁹

Interestingly, the New Education principle concerning the students' active participation and engagement – omitted in this detailed regulation – was briefly referred to as "highly convenient" following previous legislation. Once again, such "collaboration" was said to be made "through the schools' students' associations" in the way that "is most suited to the school's life". And again, this "collaboration" was indirectly related to the funding of these activities. Like previously, a "sum" from the school's annual budget was "destined to support excursions and study visits" and the remaining costs were to be "paid by the students, individually or through their associations".²³⁰ Dissimilar to the modern education principle of active engagement and initiative, my understanding of the students' participation in school journeys during the dictatorship relies on the particular relationship between the participants' collaboration through school associations and the ways in which it "is most suited to the school's life". This means that, though restricted, the students' participation could – to some extent – be made visible in the publication of their reports about such activities in the school's journal, often a responsibility of the school's association. This, in turn, could explain the *boom* of students' articles on their school journeys published in their school journals in the 1930s.²³¹

Finally, the decree reiterated that "trips" to "any shows" such as "recitals" or "sports events" were not considered to be study visits or excursions and needed to be "authorized". Additionally, "whenever the principal considers it useful to the students' education to undertake such trips" he must submit as detailed information as possible to the ministry regarding "the aim, number of participants and their grades, name of the accompanying teachers and the teacher in charge of the study visit, the itinerary, the dates of departure and return, and the programme".²³² Curiously, contrary to the Republic's prohibition of any kind

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Unfortunately, the abundance of articles written by students about their study field trips that were published in their school journals decreased in the 1940s when the activities of the Portuguese Youth started to be put in focus.

²³² Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

of outings than those considered to be school journeys, the dictatorship allowed such outings on the condition of receiving the prior approval of the ministry.²³³

The detail of this document was considered sufficient from this moment onwards. This may be the reason why no other legal documents focusing on the regulation of school journeys were promulgated until the end of the period under study. Moreover, this was subsequently clearly stated the following year in a document summarizing the main changes in the secondary education system since the establishment of the dictatorship, by claiming that “decree 18486 of 18 June, 1930 regulated meticulously the organisation of study visits and excursions – objective means of education, safe means of making Portugal known to the Portuguese [people]”.²³⁴ On the one hand, this statement puts a stop to the continuous ‘nonsense’ of repeating the same regulations over and over again through the decades, assuming that that decree will be complied with as legislated. On the other hand, it highlights the nationalistic ideology which, until then, had been vague in relation to these activities by making it part of their aims, alongside the modern principle of objective learning. Finally, because it assumes that the decree in question will be observed and there is no point in repeating it, this document only highlighted two aspects when regulating these circum-curricular activities: 1) study visits and school excursions are two different things; and 2) every study visit or short excursion must be related to the syllabus of a school subject and must be undertaken either to prepare for the teaching of a particular subject or as a means of prove, whereas an excursion, though educational, did not have to relate to a particular school subject.²³⁵

From the 1930 onwards, or at least until 1956, the essence of the legislation on school journeys did not change but became more intertwined with the nationalistic goals of the fascist dictatorship, although still connected – to some extent – to the modern education ideas about learning through observation. In 1936, for example, they appear as an “auxiliary means of education” to which the importance of visiting “national monuments” related to “taking every opportunity

²³³ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917; Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918; Decreto 6675 of 12/06/1920; Decreto 7558 of 18/06/1921; and Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

²³⁴ Decreto 20741 of 11/12/1931.

²³⁵ Ibid.

to know the monuments from the motherland's history, as a means of both general instruction and for moral and civic education".²³⁶ The only structural aspect that changed was the transfer of the provenance of the funds that supported school journeys from the school's annual budget to the coffers of the Portuguese Youth.²³⁷ Indeed, despite such a transfer, the decree which stipulated it made clear that the activities *per se* should continue to be "suggested by the teachers of school subjects to which such a study visit might be of relevance" as long as it was "approved by the school principal".²³⁸ For this reason, the legal regulation of school journeys as a method, defined in 1930, remained stable and unaltered afterwards, thus contributing to a period of gradual and progressive naturalisation of the ideas on and practices of school journeys.

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The reform of Jaime Moniz, i.e. the "structure and rules"²³⁹ established in 1894–5, which reorganised secondary education in detail according to the principles of a modern and active education, also heralded the start of the appearance of school journeys in legal documents. Put in relation to the schools' timetables as an example of a potential activity to be undertaken in connection with the school subjects of the natural sciences, geography and history, school journeys were mainly regarded as an active method that needed to be enacted for the sake of the modernisation of schooling. Nevertheless, they remained largely under-regulated until 1917. From that year and up until 1930, school journeys still appeared in relation to the broader discourse of pedagogical modernity but were increasingly seen as a method in need of regulation in order to guarantee all of their "educational benefits".²⁴⁰ These, in turn, related to the four main aims of these activities, which were finally made explicit: 1) an objective learning process based

²³⁶ Decreto-Lei 27084 of 14/10/1936.

²³⁷ Founded in 1936 by decree 27301 of December 1936, the Portuguese Youth [Mocidade Portuguesa] was inspired by its Italian and German equivalents and required compulsory attendance of all male students and children between 7 and 14 years of age, and of voluntary participation until the age of 25. One year after its foundation, an equivalent youth institution was founded for girls [Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina]. Both functioned until the end of the dictatorship in 1974.

²³⁸ Decreto-Lei 32234 of 31/08/1942; Decreto 36508 of 17/09/1947

²³⁹ David Tyack and William Tobin, "The 'grammar' of schooling: why has it been so hard to change?," *American Educational Research Journal* 31, no. 1 (1994), 454.

²⁴⁰ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917.

on personal observations and experience; 2) instilling respect for monuments while learning about historical facts; 3) providing knowledge about society; and 4) preparing students for societal life.²⁴¹ The preoccupation with ensuring educational benefits also led, in 1918, to the establishment of the role of the teacher and its clarification in the face of previous documents. The teacher was no longer a ‘guide’, but the person responsible for the preparation, undertaking and assessment of these activities. Finally, from 1930 onwards, school journeys as an educational method were *specifically* defined in their different possible forms – study visits and excursions – and were meticulously directed from above, i.e. unerringly regulated in terms of what was strictly allowed and possible. From preparation to assessment, school journeys were dissected and were considered “for all intents and purposes schoolwork”.²⁴²

This, in turn, introduced a shift – which was so subtle that it is almost imperceptible. Throughout the first decades of the 20th century, school journeys were presented and discussed, and were thus considered circum-curricular activities. And although *circum-curricular* was never defined in the legal documents or in the pedagogues’ and teachers’ writings, it appeared as something that was complementary to ‘proper’ schoolwork: the curricular aspects connected to the school subjects. In this sense, school journeys were a supplement intended to boost classroom work. By being defined, in 1930, as schoolwork, these activities were no longer perceived as an addition but as an integral part of school activities and were therefore in need of stricter regulation and control. This shows an intensification of the State’s directives, departing from broad ideas of education and modernity towards its methodological regulation and, finally, its legal control.

In the third period, though, it is possible to see a moment of transition between 1936 and 1942 in which some changes occurred. Although the nature of school journeys as a method remained, the provenance of their funding was no longer the secondary schools’ resources but the Portuguese Youth Movement. Due to the lack of references to school journeys in the legal documents from the

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

latest part of this period, it is safe to assume that from 1930 onwards, these activities remained attached to the methodological regulation then being stipulated, thus becoming crystallised. This means that they were fully part of the “organisational framework” of the established grammar of schooling.²⁴³ For this reason, further legal details that were added were simply concerned with the enforcement, regulation and control of the articulation between Portuguese youths and the education system rather than with the ideas behind or with the use of school journeys as a method in secondary education.

Overall, the analysis of all the legislation that was produced about school journeys shows that while a modern grammar of secondary schooling was progressively being established, school journeys appeared as an undisputed part of the schools’ activities to be implemented. Indeed, the naturalness of these activities becomes visible not only because they were first mentioned as an obvious potential activity to be undertaken in order to implement active learning methods, but also because – once introduced – they were not subjected to any major restructuring throughout the period. Instead, the documents regulated them gradually, by retrieving parts of previous documents and by building on them to deepen and complete the regulations in terms of their use as a method.

²⁴³ Tyack and Tobin, “The ‘grammar’ of schooling,” 455.

4. Ideas on school journeys

When Faria de Vasconcelosⁱ published *Natural Sciences Didactics* in 1923, the educational role of school journeys was put in focus for the first time in a systematic way. Vasconcelos' argument was that they were “one of the most powerful and effective means of physical, intellectual and moral culture that the school has” and that they should therefore be organized “regularly and frequently”. In fact, for him, “the number and quality of the excursions constitute a precise indicator of not only the vitality of the school's spirit, but also of the morality and pedagogical competence of its teachers”.²⁴⁴ He further unfolded the benefits of school journeys regarding the various aspects of the individual's development in relation to modern education principles, as well as suggested the ways in which this active method should be organised and used.

Departing from his systematized ideas, I connect and underpin them with the writings of other Portuguese pedagogues and teachers, both monographs and education press articles published between 1891 and 1964. I follow the two main themes addressed by these educators and therefore focus on the discourses on the purposes and method of school journeys. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the ideas about these activities and their educational relevance, i.e. by showing how the circulating ideas were connected to educational modernity, how the ideas on purposes were gradually substituted by a concern with method and results, and how these ideas became naturalised. This allows an understanding of what comprised one end of the pedagogical paradox's spectrum, i.e. what school journeys were supposed to be within the desired modern and progressive education.

²⁴⁴ António Faria de Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais* [Natural Sciences Didactics] (Paris-Lisboa: Aillaud and Bertrand, 1923), 87.

Discourses on purposes

Integral education

At the turn of the 20th century, the circulating educational ideas aimed to legitimize the field of education by providing it with scientism. This is why pedagogy became closely intertwined with the field of psychology. In Portugal, the latter was often presented as allowing education to be defined “in a new way” by providing the “most fundamental notions of a true modern and positive psychology”.²⁴⁵ As noted by other Portuguese historians, pedagogy aspired to be a form of applied psychology.²⁴⁶ Pedagogy was also connected with morality, in order to be able to intervene in every aspect of the children’s development. To Ferreira-Deusdadoⁱⁱ, pedagogy was based on both “psychology and morality” because the former allowed “knowledge of the natural mechanism of the intellectual faculties” and through intelligence it was possible to “know the nature of feelings”²⁴⁷. Thus, these two aspects, intellectual faculties and feelings, were regarded as education’s main objects of action for which “pedagogy” was to “show the way that the educator must pursue for the systematic development” of each student.²⁴⁸ This concern about the individual as a ‘whole’ to which education must fully attend was extensively presented by José Augusto Coelhoⁱⁱⁱ in his *Principles of Pedagogy*.²⁴⁹ In this work, he explored the three main areas of personal

²⁴⁵ J. Augusto Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], vol. IV (S. Paulo: Teixeira & Irmão, 1893), 598.

²⁴⁶ Jorge Ramos do Ó, *O governo de si mesmo. Modernidade pedagógica e encenações disciplinares do aluno liceal (último quartel do século XIX – meados do século XX)* [The self-government. Pedagogical modernity and disciplinary scenarios of the lyceum’s student (last quarter of the 19th century – mid-20th century)] (Lisboa: Educa, 2003); and Rui Ramos, *A Segunda Fundação (1890–1926)* [The Second Foundation], vol. VI of *História de Portugal*, dir. by José Mattoso (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1994).

²⁴⁷ Manuel António Ferreira-Deusdado, “A necessidade da preparação pedagógica do professorado português,” [the need of pedagogical preparation of Portuguese teachers] *Revista de Educação e Ensino* 4 (1887): 155.

²⁴⁸ J. Augusto Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], vol. I (S. Paulo: Teixeira & Irmão, 1891), 387.

²⁴⁹ See J. Augusto Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], vol. I (S. Paulo: Teixeira & Irmão, 1891); Idem., *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], vol. II (S. Paulo: Teixeira & Irmão, 1892); Idem., *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], vol. III (S. Paulo: Teixeira & Irmão, 1893); and Idem., *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], vol. IV (S. Paulo: Teixeira & Irmão, 1893). Comprising four volumes published between 1891 and 1893 in S. Paulo by Teixeira & Irmão, J. A. Coelho explained in the “Preface” of the first volume that the “conception of the object” of the books, intended to be a “treaty of pedagogy”, “originated in the reading of the book [written] by H. Spencer, called *Education: Physical, Intellectual and Moral* [sic]” (1891, vii) and aimed to

maturation which, in turn, referred to the human faculties upon which education should act: physical, intellectual and moral, to which a fourth was added: aesthetic. Accordingly, Faria de Vasconcelos also presented the benefits of school journeys for each one of these categories.

Regarding the physical aspect, to which Coelho only devoted a short part of his writings, education intended to “guide” the student in order to “develop, as much as possible, his vital energy” and to “proportionally redistribute” such energy through all the [human body’s] systems and organs”, taking into account the particular “physical, economic, social, etc.” conditions of each student.²⁵⁰ Faria de Vasconcelos, on the other hand, was less vague and argued the role of school journeys as “an exercise of culture and hygiene” in which “health and invigorating joy” were fomented by

walking, the countryside’s pure air, the games that take place during field trips, the distractions provided when leaving school, the fecund sensation of freedom of movement, the spontaneous and natural activity.²⁵¹

The educational concern with the body of the child, his physical ability and health was justified, for example, by the close “dependence” and “mutual influence” between “physical and mental functions”.²⁵² Accordingly, the principal of the lyceum Pedro Nunes also stated that “we don’t want to make wise people in weak

“systematize pedagogical science”, taking psychology as its “fundamental basis” (1891, viii). Interestingly, Coelho’s translation did not follow the original title of Spencer’s book, which is arranged in a different order: *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical*. It was first published as a book in London by Williams and Norgate in 1861, but its four chapters “I. What is Knowledge Most Worth?”, “II. Intellectual Education”, “III. Moral Education” and “IV. Physical Education” were previously published as articles in different reviews: the first in the *Westminster Review* in 1859, the second in the *North British Review* in 1854 and the last two in the *British Quarterly Review* in 1858 and 1859, respectively. Herbert Spencer, *Education: intellectual, moral, and physical* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1866).

²⁵⁰ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I, 404, 406. According to Coelho, the ultimate aim of physical education was also civilizational because “the exuberance of strength and such harmonious distribution of energy will result not only in the toughness and vigour of the individual, but also, through a natural repercussion, in the purification of the race” as well as moral: “this way, pedagogy with morality and aesthetics, aims to cleanse humanity of morbid affections as much as possible”. Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I, 404. This idea was later recovered and made visible in the educational discourse of the Portuguese fascist dictatorship, *Estado Novo*, particularly regarding what concerned the Portuguese Youth. See Ó, *O governo de si mesmo*; and Luís Viana, *A Mocidade Portuguesa e o Liceu... Lá vamos contando* (1936–1974) (Lisboa: Educa, 2001).

²⁵¹ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 87–88.

²⁵² Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*, 30.

bodies” and that out of “strong boys” the school could “make useful citizens”.²⁵³ In this sense, physical education, intended to produce healthy subjects, was not only regarded as a means of potentiating one’s intellectual development, but also their future ability to be productive in society.

Regarding the intellectual faculty in relation to secondary education, Coelho explained that, following the acquisition of empirical knowledge of the world acquired through objects and experiences, the student was to articulate the different aspects of such precise and clear knowledge in order to grasp “the scientific and unitary notion of the dynamics and structure of the world”.²⁵⁴ Such intellectual skills and “knowledge” were considered “necessary” to becoming “emancipated, to have the freedom to think and opine”.²⁵⁵ To both pedagogues (almost 40 years apart) and all the intellectuals engaged in Progressive and New Education movements throughout the 20th century, the acquisition of knowledge and the development of critical skills were intimately connected to a personal, practical scientific learning process. Thus, the student was expected to be actively involved in observations and experiences, to be able to associate ideas and engage in logical analytical reasoning in order to reach the abstract notions that would allow him to ‘formulate’ general laws and think critically. The contribution of school journeys to the students’ intellectual training was to provide the means of triggering scientific curiosity from which a complex set of skills would then emerge. According to Vasconcelos:

Excursions evoke the spirit of observation, feed the curiosity [and] provide numerous objects for experimentation and study which call for intelligence, awake the attention [and] ask for imagination.²⁵⁶

In this sense, their aim in relation to the intellectual development of the children was two-fold: on the one hand, they were the means by which students were able to be in the presence of objects, thereby providing them with direct observation,

²⁵³ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908* (Lisboa: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1908): 13.

²⁵⁴ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. II, 348.

²⁵⁵ Adolfo Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica* [Sociological Pedagogy], vol. I (Lisboa: Couto Martins, 1932), 10.

²⁵⁶ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 88.

which was closely connected to the idea of scientific method as *the* way of knowing and reasoning about the world; and, on the other hand, as a means of developing the students' spirit and personality, by influencing their curiosity and will to learn and hence actively engage in the learning process.

Accordingly, regarding “moral aptitudes”, these pedagogues argued that the educators' task was to “transform a certain number of actions into habits”. If the students' “moral structure” was “sufficiently malleable”, the teacher should easily “succeed”, otherwise he should employ his “efforts to modify” the said structure in order to “fortify” it until these modifications were “deeply stratified in the student”, i.e. embodied habits.²⁵⁷ Coelho therefore compared moral education to hygiene: “if physical education” was related to “the hygiene of the body”, “moral education is the true hygiene of the soul”.²⁵⁸ Thus, the overall goal of moral education was to “attain a complete and perfect life, both individually and socially”, for which the teacher was to “create the conditions” that would “lead the students” to a “plenitude of physical, intellectual and social life” through “habits of virtue”.

Such conditions referred to the “existence of an educational ‘environment’ from which the influences intended to modify the student would emanate”.²⁵⁹ Since school journeys were perceived as “practical occasions for communal life”, they were also spaces in which the conditions for ethical and social development were met: “social interests” were created, “friendly and confident relationships” between teachers and students were grounded, “solidarity” could be “tried out”, and both “patience” and the “spirit of sacrifice” were “cultivated”.²⁶⁰ In this sense, the moral education of the students was very much related to their exposure to and participation in activities in which socialization could be put into practice as a means of promoting both personal and collective growth.

Finally, regarding the aesthetic dimension of education, Coelho presented it in relation to the emotions that were “provoked” by objects: “from the natural to the ‘artificial’ objects, a painting, a statue, a large cathedral, a play, a symphony,

²⁵⁷ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. III, 491, 492, 493.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 495.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 492, 493–494, 495.

²⁶⁰ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 88.

a poem (...) the contemplation of nature's objects".²⁶¹ However, it goes beyond the emotional impact on the individual as it also involved the capacity to think about these objects and the ability to produce them.²⁶² Thus, the aesthetic faculty is folded into three ascending hierarchized aspects: to have "taste" when one "becomes emotional" about "beautiful objects"; the "critical spirit" when, besides becoming emotional, one has the "predisposition" and "education" that "gives the power to appreciate both the beauty and faults of the beautiful object that impresses them"; and finally, the "artistic genius" who, by "receiving aesthetic sensations, becomes agitated", is able to "blend it" as their "own", and "feels the need to translate it into marble, colour, musical sounds".²⁶³ In this context, school journeys were directly connected to the first one, to have taste, as Vasconcelos recognized the benefit of these activities to the "formation of the heart's sensitivity and delicacy" within the "culture of the love of nature". According to Vasconcelos, "during excursions, the sentiment of nature, which must be fostered, finds an admirable opportunity to be broadened and uplifted".²⁶⁴

However, the aesthetic feature of education was twisted and partly presented in Vasconcelos' didactical handbook to fit the arguments of the didactics of the natural sciences. Overall, this feature was indeed linked to an idea of the sublime relating to nature, but it was also very much connected to art performances such as music and theatre, and to cultural materiality such as historical buildings, monuments, fine art pieces and crafted objects. The general

²⁶¹ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I, 271.

²⁶² This relates to a distinction we consider obvious today regarding the terms "artistic" and "aesthetic". During this period, however, these terms were often used almost synonymously in educational texts when referring to art objects, facts or events, to the philosophical idea of the sublime and to the appreciation of beauty. Only from the mid-1930s onwards did the distinction between the two terms start to become visible in the writings of Portuguese pedagogues: the first term was vocationally orientated as it corresponded to a specialization in terms of the knowledge and/or skills necessary to produce art (both fine and performative arts), whereas the second term was regarded as the general knowledge and/or skills that everyone should possess in order to have "good taste", i.e. to be able to recognize, appreciate and reflect on the beauty and the sublime of both natural phenomena and produced cultural objects. F. Vieira e Brito, *A Educação artística nos liceus* [Artistic education in the lyceums] (Braga: Tip. da Oficina S. José, 1929); and Paulino Montez, "Da Educação Estética. Algumas observações sobre a finalidade da cultura do sentimento do belo na formação integral da juventude" [On Aesthetic Education. Some comments about the function of the sentiment of beauty culture for the comprehensive training of youth], *Separata do Boletim da Mocidade Portuguesa* (1941): 7–18.

²⁶³ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I, 284.

²⁶⁴ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 88–89.

aesthetic aim, not confined to the didactics of the natural sciences, required that “the students’ attention should be called for [both] the beauties of nature and of works of art” during school journeys because these activities “provide the elements whose good use may considerably contribute to the students’ aesthetic education”.²⁶⁵ In relation to the humanities and social sciences, these elements corresponded not only to both the acquisition of “taste” and the development of a “critical spirit” that would allow the students to appreciate and reflect on the observed objects, but also to patriotic narratives of national belonging and progress.²⁶⁶ In this sense, school journeys to historical monuments and sites, factories and museums were also to be organized, so that the students would ‘connect’ with the Nation’s history and collective identity, thus developing their will to contribute to the future of the country as active and productive citizens.²⁶⁷

By claiming that “excursions satisfy the multiple needs of indisputable value to education” and by putting the various benefits of these activities in relation to these particular classifications – physical, intellectual, moral and aesthetic – Faria de Vasconcelos placed school journeys at the core of the aim of integral education, understood as the coordinated development of all human faculties.²⁶⁸ Indeed, Adolfo Lima^{iv} also stated a decade later that “[t]he excursions are truly useful for one’s physical, intellectual and moral character” as they “accustom children to work and give them opportunities to contemplate new landscapes and sites”.²⁶⁹ Finally, it is important to note that these four human faculties were intertwined and functioned collectively towards the students’ personal fulfilment and the formation of their personality and character.²⁷⁰ This

²⁶⁵ Brito, *A Educação artística*, 17.

²⁶⁶ Inês Félix, “Herança e cidadania: Visitas de estudo, excursões escolares e educação estética na educação dos jovens escolares portugueses (1894–1960)” [Heritage and Citizenship: study visits, school excursions and aesthetic education in Portuguese young pupils’ education] (M.A. thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2011).

²⁶⁷ António Faria de Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova na Bélgica* [A New School in Belgium] (Aveiro: UA Editora, 2015[1915]), 41–42, 47.

²⁶⁸ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 87. See also: Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I; Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*; Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I; and Adolfo Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica* [Sociological Pedagogy], vol. II (Lisboa: Livraria Escolar Progredior, 1936).

²⁶⁹ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 200.

²⁷⁰ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I; Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*; Álvaro Viera Lemos, “Congresso de “Educação Nova” em Locarno,” *Seara Nova* 113 (1928): 330–332; Seomara Primo, “Do êxito das ciências biológicas no ensino secundário” [On the success of biological sciences in

was intimately associated with the ultimate purpose of education: to produce a specific kind of student “independent and responsible” who would thereby become a specific kind of individual: wise and productive.²⁷¹

The wise and productive citizen-to-be was to be achieved by the employment of scientific methods based on observation studies, by the knowledge of every aspect of everyday life, understood both locally and nationally, and by the study of different school subjects in order for a broad culture to be acquired and a critical spirit and thinking to be developed. However, for such education to be effective, schools were required to adapt to the nature of the child and to make learning active and attractive so that students would become willingly engaged in learning processes, thereby influencing their interest in learning and becoming.

Active and attractive learning

The first step towards an effective modern learning process was to “to make learning attractive, to excite the child’s interest, to promote curiosity, [and] to create an atmosphere of joy”.²⁷² If teaching was “based on the spontaneous and natural development of the child” and learning was to be “developed”, “provoked” and “wanted” by one’s own “curiosity and interest”, this would lead to “pleasant emotions” that would “support and stimulate the retention of knowledge”. Most importantly, it would result in the students’ will to know, learn and engage in any activity.²⁷³ By educating their will, students would be able to “direct” their “intellectual activity” to “guide or modify the path of ideas, act upon perceptions and images” and also “influence the affective phenomena”. To achieve this, children should “learn how to make use of all their faculties” in order to influence their “whole personality”.²⁷⁴ Thus, in order to accomplish this, schooling was

secondary education] (paper presented at I Congresso Pedagógico do Ensino Secundário Oficial, Aveiro, Portugal June 10–12, 1926), in *Relatório, Programa, Regulamento, Discursos, Actas, Teses, etc.* (Coimbra: n.p. 1928); Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I and II; and Pais Figueiredo, *Educar e Instruir* [To Educate and to Instruct], vol. II (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1945).

²⁷¹ Ó, *O Governo de si mesmo*, 112.

²⁷² Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*, 229.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 230.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 498, 501.

expected to employ active methods, which should themselves “be attractive”, “adapt to the children’s nature” and contribute to “awakening their curiosity and interests” in order “to strengthen their memory, their attention, their will and their intelligence”.²⁷⁵

These pedagogues believed that the learned “ideas” would be “considerably retained and with greater clarity” by using an “intuitive method” in which the students would see, “during visits to museums and through wallcharts and visual projections, the mores, costumes (...) and architectural and sculptural monuments of different epochs”.²⁷⁶ Although Faria de Vasconcelos also considered these methods “fundamentally important to the mental functions and to the acquisition and retention of knowledge”, and despite the latter, to a large extent, being an important educational concern, he forewarned that “what matters in life is not only to have knowledge, but primarily to know how to use it, to apply it in an opportune moment”. To have such a skill, he added, “greatly depends on the method by which it was acquired”.²⁷⁷ This concern that “secondary education is less a problem of syllabi than a question of methods” related to the strong critique of a “traditional” way of making schooling in which the student was expected to sit quietly in the classroom listening to the teacher and taking notes in order to perform a final written exam in which, these pedagogues argue, the student would prove that he had memorized the contents of the textbook.²⁷⁸

According to these pedagogues, “traditional lessons” always proved “ineffective” both as “proof of knowledge and as an educational technique”.²⁷⁹ Thus, to end the practice of “sterile memorization”, modern education strove for the use of methods which, being interesting enough to motivate students, combined active participation, the development of social skills (by working in

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 342–343.

²⁷⁶ M. B. Grainha, *Instrução secundária de ambos os sexos, no estrangeiro e em Portugal* [Secondary instruction of both genders abroad and in Portugal] (Lisboa: Typographia Universal, 1905), 79.

²⁷⁷ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 45.

²⁷⁸ Manuel Domingues Heleno Júnior, *A Geografia no Ensino Secundário* [The Geography in Secondary Education] (Lisboa: Tipografia do Comércio, 1919), 15. See also: Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I; Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*.

²⁷⁹ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 250.

small groups of peers, for example), the acquisition of knowledge and opportunities to develop the students' critical thinking.²⁸⁰ Nevertheless, they argued that the "dissipation of ordinary oral lessons" did not mean the "inexistence of utterance and oratory exercises". These were to "happen naturally" during socializing activities as well as during "group work, project debates and excursion planning, dramatizations, meetings, critical assessments of what was seen, observed, done" or of what the students were about "to do".²⁸¹ In this context, school journeys were also perceived as useful:

[i]f, for example, the railway is the lesson's object of study, the students and the teachers will go to the railway station. Excursions are absolutely necessary to avoid an exclusively verbal instruction because the student[s] shouldn't sit passively while absorbing the given teachings. [They] should actively acquire knowledge.²⁸²

To Adolfo Lima, school should as much as possible resort to the "individual efforts of students" by "seeking facts and documents", "classifying the collected documents" and elaborating individually on the facts and documents".²⁸³ Regarding school journeys specifically, Faria de Vasconcelos also understood the students' active engagement beyond their attendance and subsequent related work, as he considered that "[t]he participation of students during the preparation and organisation of excursions must be real and effective".²⁸⁴ This would allow the embodiment of a "sense of order and responsibility" and the encouragement of "their intellectual curiosity" because "[t]he acquisition of diverse knowledge in life, through excursions or in laboratories and books," should be attained "as curiosity arises or as it is needed".²⁸⁵

²⁸⁰ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I, 67. See also: Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I; John Dewey, *Democracia e Educação* [Democracy and Education]. (S. Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1936); Adolphe Férrière, *A Escola Activa* [The Active School] (Lisboa: Aster, 1965); Adolfo Lima, "As Escolas Novas" [The New Schools], *Educação Social* 15–16, no. 1 (1924): 277–283; Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I; and António Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*.

²⁸¹ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 251.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 262.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 201.

²⁸⁴ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 93.

²⁸⁵ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 355.

Among other methods, “the observation exercises” and school journeys were thus a “means of prolific learning” within the basic principles of modern didactics: “intuition”, “activity”, “observation and experimentation”, “inductive reasoning”, “self-initiative and the encouragement of individual discovery”, “making use of the students’ interests”, “understanding instruction as a means of fostering reasoning and critical thinking, rather than a means of accumulating knowledge”, “acquisition of the disciplines’ spirit and techniques”.²⁸⁶ As a result, the learning process had to be centred on the students’ activity and based on the scientific method. To Faria de Vasconcelos, “modern didactics” should “use the personal activity of the student as an essential motive for the acquisition of knowledge and the cultivation of the spirit” and “train the student to directly observe natural facts and phenomena in order to acquire clear and precise ideas”. Ultimately, it was undisputed that “if observation is the method of the sciences, so it should be the method of education”.²⁸⁷

Observation

The belief in the scientific method of observation and experimentation as being the ‘true’ educational method led pedagogues to argue that regardless of the place in which learning occurred – “whether the child is sitting at a desk in school (...) [or] visiting an industrial factory, institution or laboratory” – the role of the teacher was, “above all else”, to attend to the students’ “personal observations in order to awaken an intelligent interest in the various objects around” them. Instead of “filling the [students’] heads with some knowledge, they [the teachers] seek to make it arise naturally from [the students’] awareness and from their own intelligence”.²⁸⁸

Indeed, for all intents and purposes, modern education required the presence of objects and the students’ direct observation “as much as possible”.²⁸⁹ The importance of the use of objects, for example, was required by law since 1894,

²⁸⁶ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 46–47.

²⁸⁷ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 45, 47.

²⁸⁸ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 155.

²⁸⁹ Vieira e Brito, *A Educação artística*.

and was repeatedly mentioned in several legal documents,²⁹⁰ as well as the need for learning processes based on observation and experimentation.²⁹¹ Altogether, direct observation through the presence of objects allowed “ideas” to be “clear” and “precise”,²⁹² in order for education to be “lively” which, consequently, would support the students’ “attention, the source of all our intellectual achievements”.²⁹³ The critique of learning through listening and reading was often attached to these ideas:

It is inside the four walls of the classroom that botany is learned... by heart! (...) One reads about botany and that's how one passes the exam, without having seen, observed or touched a natural leaf, without any kind of experiment”.²⁹⁴

Indeed, the idea that the observation of objects, associated with an intuitive method, was key to all educational aims was abundantly present throughout the whole period under study.²⁹⁵ For example, the main argument of one teacher was that “a lesson about animals or flowers without looking at specimens or representations” was not only an “educational mistake”, but even “ridiculous”.²⁹⁶ He added that “some people don’t find [school journeys] feasible” because of the schools’ lack of resources”. However, he argued, the “learning material is abundant near city schools as much as it is near rural schools. In every location there are rocks, plants with or without flowers, small and large creatures with and without bones”.²⁹⁷ For this reason, in spite of the constant argument regarding

²⁹⁰ Decreto of 22/12/1894; Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917; and Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918.

²⁹¹ Circular of 25/10/1906; Decreto 4650 of 14/07/1918; Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918; and Decreto-Lei 27084 of 14/10/1936.

²⁹² Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. II, 57; Graíña, *Instrução secundária*, 81; Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 47.

²⁹³ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. II, 57.

²⁹⁴ António Lima, “O Ensino da Botânica” [The teaching of Botany], *Educação. Revista Quinzenal de Pedagogia* I, no. 15 (1913), 175.

²⁹⁵ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I; Graíña, *Instrução secundária*; António Lima, “Como ensinamos as ciências” [How we teach science], *Boletim da Escola Oficina* no. 1 II, no. 2 (1918): 69–74, 101–103; Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*; J. H. Barata, “As excursões geográficas” [The geographic excursions], *Labor* 7 (1927): 166–171; Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I; Manuel Fernandes, *A minha escola. Breve guia do professor* [My school. Teacher's short guide] (Lisbon: Livraria Avelar Machado, 1938); and Francisco Xavier Roberto, “Circular: Visitas de Estudo” [Circular: Study Visits], *Escolas Técnicas* 25 (1960): 253–254.

²⁹⁶ Fernandes, *A minha escola*, 24.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

the lack of funds for school journeys, it appears that you could always rely on the simple idea that even if such resources to take students to distant places were lacking, the school's surroundings were sufficiently 'rich'.

Consequently, not only were school journeys regarded as a privileged means of direct observation as they provided the best conditions for pursuing "object lessons" *in loco* to "educate the observation skills", they also expanded "knowledge and horizons".²⁹⁸ These activities could also contribute to object lessons in the school by providing the opportunity to collect rocks, plants, small animals and even samples from nearby industries, thus expanding the school museum's collections in which the object lessons would take place.²⁹⁹

Study of the school's surroundings

Regardless of whether any objects were collected, the simple observation study justified the fact that school journeys were also aimed at acquiring general knowledge of the school's local surroundings, i.e. the study of the regional area in which the school was established and, hence, where its students were settled. The "pedagogical principle" of these studies related to education in general: "to proceed from the known to the unknown"³⁰⁰ in a "heuristic way".³⁰¹ Despite the lack of references to the importance of knowing the school surroundings as a means of 'connecting' with the locality, such importance can also be understood by what was later defined in law as the knowledge of all forms of work and the students' preparation for life.³⁰² In my understanding, this was connected with

²⁹⁸ Roberto, "Circular," 253. See also: João Nunes, "Lições de coisas" [Object lessons], *Arauto Escolar* I, no. 24 (1913): 2–3; Aires Serra, "Excursões escolares e lições ao ar livre" [School excursions and outdoor lessons], *Revista Escolar. Publicação mensal de educação e ensino* 3, no. 4 (1923): 116–120; Fernandes, *A minha escola*.

²⁹⁹ José Júlio Rodrigues, "O ensino prático das ciências físico-naturais nos Liceus do Reino" [The practical teaching of physical and natural sciences in the Lyceums of the Kingdom], *Boletim da Associação do Magistério Secundário Oficial* III, no. 15 (1907): 503–515; José Branco, "As Instalações. Ciências Biológicas e Geológicas" [The Facilities. Biological and Geological Sciences], *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* III, no. 6 (1934): 131–133; Nunes, "Lições de coisas"; Lima, "Como ensinamos as ciências"; and Serra, "Excursões escolares".

³⁰⁰ Manuel António Ferreira-Deusdado, "O ensino da Geographia em Portugal" [The teaching of Geography in Portugal], *Revista de Educação e Ensino* XI, no. 5 (1896), 211–212; J. Augusto Coelho, "A marcha do conhecido para o desconhecido" [The movement from the known to the unknown], *Educação. Revista Quinzenal de Pedagogia* I, no. 12 (1913), 141.

³⁰¹ Ferreira-Deusdado, "O ensino da Geographia," 212; Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 169.

³⁰² Defined for the first time in 1917, it was part of the aim of study field trips "to provide" the students with "the knowledge of work in all its forms and of charity initiatives, making them used to respecting

the importance attached to an education intended to have an impact on the students' future enrolment in society.

In addition, the regional studies would serve several disciplinary aims: geology, through “the organisation of mineral and rock collections”; botany, “by studying the regional flora” and “organizing herbaria”; zoology, “through the study of local fauna and creating regional zoological museums”; “studying the anthropology and ethnography of the region”, i.e. by registering “regional folklore (music, poetry, traditions, legends, popular adages, etc.)”; history, by making “an inventory and studying the monuments and works of art of the region”, if possible “with detailed descriptions and photos or drawings”; and language, through “the writing of monographs”.³⁰³ In Serra's opinion, it was not only school journeys that benefitted from regional studies. These were also an excuse to undertake them: “one of the advantages [of regional studies] is that they facilitate the organization of study visits and excursions in order for these to accomplish the highly educational role they should represent in education”.³⁰⁴ While this teacher presented the possibility of covering a wide variety of disciplines in relation to regional studies, Faria de Vasconcelos' argument that school journeys were “necessary to all school subjects because they provide the materiality” to “observe, experience and reflect” justified the need of school journeys to be undertaken to different places and in contexts beyond the school's surroundings.³⁰⁵

School subjects

In general, school journeys – conducted near or far from the school – served wider educational aims in relation to the different school subjects. In the case of biology (botany and zoology), its teaching without these activities would be based on “worthless, sterile, lifeless and almost unintelligible words” and thus hard to

human labour and solidarity” as well as “assisting their preparation for every aspect of practical life”. Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917.

³⁰³ Serra, “Excursões escolares,” 75–77.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 77.

³⁰⁵ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 90.

grasp.³⁰⁶ Besides, they developed the students' ability to use a scientific method by providing them with

the spirit of observation and analysis and the power of reflection and critique, taking them [the students] to focus and consciously study the most important facts and phenomena, to relate them intelligently and to make legitimate conclusions.³⁰⁷

The same applied to the study of geology, in which the students were to “directly observe various geological phenomena”, particularly “sand dunes, quarries, mines, caves, trenches, the excavation of the foundations of a house, a well”, as well as studying the “stratification and sedimentation of rocks, erosion phenomena on hill slopes, underground galleries”.³⁰⁸ Physics and chemistry-related school journeys, in contrast, were intended to take the students beyond the “experiments, personal research and the construction of utensils”.³⁰⁹ Because the connection between these sciences and observations outside of a controlled environment such as a laboratory is not obvious, Faria de Vasconcelos explained that such observations had to do with the students' understanding of how these disciplines relate to real life:

[I]t is indispensable that the students have real contact with industrial life, by visiting factories and public construction sites [which are] the practical reason for their study, effort and scientific research. Even if teaching leans on current applications of physics and chemistry regarding phenomena and ideas involving industrial processes, the students understand better what their studies and their work are for during study visits. [They] come into direct contact with the scientific and technical components of physics and chemistry in their various industrial applications, but also with the social elements of the division and organisation of work. Study visits (...) are extremely important.³¹⁰

According to this pedagogue, even sociology-related issues could be addressed during factory visits. He argued that such occasions are “living lessons” and

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Anon., “Programas do Curso Complementar de Letras,” *Labor* 18 (1929): 95–111.

³⁰⁸ Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova*, 121.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 137.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 136–137.

“social experiments” concerning the “organisation, work division and concentration, the psychological and social skills of workers and institutions” because the students had the opportunity of “verifying several social phenomena in person”.³¹¹ School journeys about history, on the other hand, were to bring the past alive and provide historical consciousness: “Study visits also have an important role to play in history education” because “seeing old monuments, old houses, old streets and all the traces of the past in their place is one of the most effective ways of developing a historical sense and to make history come alive”.³¹² Moreover, by doing so, a connection between the past and the present provided the means to foster the students’ individual and collective identity, and their future social progress:

To be aware of what one was, of what one is and what one tends to be is essential to being able to tread calmly and firmly (...). A nation that ignores its history and the elements of the whole which constitute its order (...) cannot have any ideals. And a people without ideals is as good as dead.³¹³

In the case of geography, like biology and geology, school journeys aimed to help the students “see the phenomena, analyse them and question the objective reality” in order to “elaborate on the causes and general laws of geographical phenomena”.³¹⁴ Moreover, Barata^v added that these activities helped to match “things” with “their representation” because in-between the field and the map “one learns to bring to life the cartographic signs and does not see a blue line or a sepia stain, but a river and a mountain”.³¹⁵ The logic was, once again, the same: “Geography concepts acquired locally in a concrete way are assimilated and retained more easily”.³¹⁶ Furthermore, in addition to the disciplinary aims, some teachers argued that

³¹¹ Ibid., 147.

³¹² Ibid., 188–189.

³¹³ P. M. Laranjo Coelho, “Vantagens do estudo das monografias locais para o conhecimento da história geral portuguesa” [Advantages of studying local monographs for knowledge of the Portuguese general history], *O Instituto: revista científica e literária* 73 (1926), 287.

³¹⁴ Barata, “As excursões geográficas,” 166.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova*, 178.

in our country, with such a variety and richness of landscapes, geographical excursions can contribute (...) to a better understanding of the Portuguese land and consequently strengthen the love of the homeland in the students' souls.³¹⁷

Finally, school subjects relating to the arts, for example, drawing, and languages, were rarely discussed in relation to school journeys, and mathematics was never addressed. Indeed, drawing was seldom referred to, except when teachers and pedagogues mentioned the organisation of an exhibition resulting from the excursion, in which drawings, photographs and written reports could be displayed.³¹⁸ As for languages, they were mainly addressed with regard to the written assignments about the undertaken school journey,³¹⁹ i.e. short narratives to be published in the school's journal or to be read in the classroom, or simple reports to be handed in to the teacher. Curiously, in the case of excursions, regardless of the school subjects that related to what had been observed, the students' written texts were often assessed by the language teacher.³²⁰

Due to the specificities of each field of study, some school subjects were confined to particular places.³²¹ Thus, the studies were to be “completed through excursions to fields” when related to “zoology and botany”, and to the natural sciences in general, “and to cities” when related to the “social sciences”.³²² Regarding the overall aim of natural sciences' school journeys to fields, teachers and pedagogues mainly discussed two themes: the importance and advantages of the scientific method and spirit for one's general education and the importance of the education of the senses for the students' *learning* and *becoming*. Curiously, regarding social sciences study visits, the ideas discussed are not so easy to map thematically as they rarely put disciplinary aims at the centre of the discussion and easily connected distinct ideas without much explanation. Instead, they

³¹⁷ Barata, “As excursões geográficas,” 167.

³¹⁸ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano Escolar de 1912/1913* (Lisboa: Tipografia da Casa Portuguesa, 1914), 84.

³¹⁹ Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova*.

³²⁰ Manuel da Ressurreição Vicente, “Visitas de Estudo e Excursões Escolares” [Study visits and School Excursions], *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* III, no. 6 (1934): 25–28.

³²¹ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I; Julián Jimenez Hernández, “Excursões Escolares” [School Excursions], *Revista Escolar. Publicação mensal de educação e ensino* 15, no. 10 (1935): 525–532.

³²² Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 275.

would refer, for example, to aesthetic education as a means of seeing, understanding and connecting with the values attached to historical buildings. Moreover, through an unexplained causality link, this ‘epiphany’ would provide the students with historical consciousness, patriotic feelings, thereby supporting the future social progress of the nation.³²³ At first sight, it was as if nature and natural objects and phenomena had no embedded values or other role in the learning process besides being observed and/or collected, catalogued, organized and used. Whereas, cultural objects, historical buildings and sites, as well as museums, had inherent civilizational values themselves that were to be taught and internalised.

Interdisciplinarity

In addition to the disciplinary aims, school journeys were also intended to aim for interdisciplinarity.³²⁴ The main arguments were that the disciplines themselves depended on one another and “are connected by the principle of a common intention”.³²⁵ However, despite the need for interdisciplinarity to be present, in the desired expectations of a progressive education, ideas about interdisciplinarity in relation to school journeys appear to have been sparse. Overall, interdisciplinarity helped the students become capable of relating and connecting knowledge from different disciplinary fields, to reflect on what they learned instead of “accumulating” isolated facts. This idea was connected to the general aim of progressive education and to the specific aim of secondary education: i) acquiring a broad culture,³²⁶ which was regarded as the “general

³²³ João Barros, *Educação Republicana* [Republican Education] (Paris-Lisboa: Aillaud & Bertrand, 1916); Brito, *A Educação artística*; Montez, “Da Educação Estética”. See also: Félix, “Herança e cidadania”.

³²⁴ The terms most often used by Portuguese teachers and pedagogues can be literally translated as “transdisciplinarity” and “transverse disciplinarity” when referring to the intersection between different disciplinary fields regarding the intended curriculum. Although they seldom referred to it as *interdisciplinarity*, I consider it to be a better translation.

³²⁵ Decreto of 22/12/1894.

³²⁶ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I; Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*; Idem., “Problemas Escolares” [School Problems], in *Obras Completas de Faria de Vasconcelos (1933–1935)*, ed. J. Ferreira Marques (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2010 [1934]); Adolfo Coelho, “Questões Pedagógicas” [Pedagogical Issues], *O Instituto: revista científica e literária* 58, no. 3 (1911): 129–137; Júnior, *A Geografia no Ensino Secundário*; Leonardo Coimbra, *O Problema da Educação Nacional: tese apresentada ao Congresso da Esquerda Democrática* [The Problem of National Education] (Porto: Maranus, 1926); José Tavares, “A necessidade de cultura geral e o alargamento contínuo dos

knowledge which enables critical thinking, rather than being the result of the accumulation of memorized facts”;³²⁷ and ii) becoming intellectually emancipated,³²⁸ meaning “the ability of the children” to perform “an elaboration and assimilation of intellectual elements”.³²⁹ This, in turn, was very much connected to the students’ intellectual skills and the embodiment of a social and collective morality.

In relation to school journeys in particular, it is necessary to fast forward to the mid-20th century to find explicit examples of how the number of school subjects in focus could contribute or harm the success of these activities. Thus, such a discussion was more connected to a reflection on school journeys as a method than to their specific interdisciplinary aims. It seems that by the late 1950s, regardless of the main school subject in focus during a school journey, most pedagogues defended the notion that they should be “of use not for one school subject, but to a group of subjects”.³³⁰ This could be explained by the need to potentiate the benefits and outcomes of these activities, considering the very necessary funds they required. Nevertheless, there were others who argued for the “need to limit the scope of observation to the most important issues” because the use of one school journey for several school subjects could have the “fatal consequence of dispersing [the students’] attention and interests” and thus “jeopardizing the knowledge learning, the real intention of the excursion”.³³¹

In any case, even if the interdisciplinarity of school journeys was not thoroughly addressed by pedagogues and teachers, throughout the period, there are several examples of one school subject that was very often linked to

conhecimentos humanos” [The need of a broad culture and the continuous enlargement of human knowledge], *Labor* 17 (1929): 23–25; and Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vols. I and II.

³²⁷ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 179.

³²⁸ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I; Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*; Idem., “Ideias e Factos. A Orientação Profissional” [Ideas and Facts. The Professional Orientation], in *Obras Completas de Faria de Vasconcelos (1921–1925)*, ed. J. Ferreira Marques (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2006 [1922]); Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I; and Alberto Pimentel Filho, *Lições de pedagogia geral e de história da educação* [Lessons of general pedagogy and history of education], 2nd ed. (Lisboa: Guimarães e Ca., 1932).

³²⁹ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 200.

³³⁰ Anon., “Visitas de estudo: Esboço do plano de uma visita a Sintra” [Study visits: A plan's sketch of a visit to Sintra], *Escolas Técnicas* 20 (1956): 85–89.

³³¹ Alberto Almeida Costa, “Fundamentação pedagógica das visitas de estudo e das sessões culturais” [Pedagogical grounding of study field trips and cultural sessions], *Escolas Técnicas* 28 (1961), 204.

interdisciplinary aims: history. Indeed, there was consensus that this school subject was “one of the core disciplines in all major modern education systems due to its exceptional cultural value. Indeed, history is actually politics, sociology, science, morality, art, philosophy, religion, all human life”.³³² In addition, this school subject was considered to play “a leading role in the formation of the character and in the exaltation of the nationalistic spirit”.³³³ These aims are clearly present in Fernandes’ example of school visits in the subject of history:

In front of the great monuments, such as the Jerónimos Monastery and the Monastery of Batalha, the teachers will recount the wonderful history of a people who brought light into the world with their research, discoveries and conquests, which brought together men from distant places; but they will also talk about the fauna and flora that this people found on each continent and about the materials from which these monuments were built.³³⁴

In the end, the careful and detailed dissection of the physical, psychological and moral nature of young individuals in relation to education was highly present in the Portuguese pedagogical discourse from the 1880s to the 1930s and it remained so after this period. However, despite the equal importance of the four faculties, intelligence and morality remained more deeply intertwined because they were at the core of education’s mission: to produce intellectually emancipated people of character. The claim for integral education and for the “harmonious development”³³⁵ of the individual’s faculties was supported by the belief in a “constructivist methodology” as an “essential” part of the “pedagogical operation”, in which the students were to be directly and willingly engaged agents in the learning process.³³⁶ Besides, this “pedagogical operation” required methods that would allow them to acquire both the knowledge and skills required to become “useful members of society”:

To accomplish [educational modernity], the school replaces dogmatic theological methods with the rational method given by the natural sciences

³³² Raul Tôrres, “Localização do Ensino Secundário numa Reforma Geral do Ensino” [The place for Secondary Education in a General Education Reform], *Labor* 21 (1929), 253–254.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 254.

³³⁴ Fernandes, *A minha escola*, 113.

³³⁵ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I, 53.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

in order to evoke, develop and nurture the particular skills of each student so that (...) each child can not only become a useful member of society, but also, and as a consequence of an exceptional education, a means of expanding the intellectual significance of the masses (...) Likewise, it motivates the child to think and to thrive in their character's individuality and self-expression. All the characteristics of teaching are based on this principle.³³⁷

Discourses on method

Even though school journeys were considered to be one of the most complete active methods for pursuing educational modernity because of their usefulness regarding the practical employability of the principles of “modern didactics” and their important contribution to the schools’ mission of educating the future citizen, for a long time they were presented as being circum-curricular.³³⁸ Indeed, despite the overall understanding of the “highly educational role” of school journeys, they were formally included among “educational activities”,³³⁹ such as the school cinema, exhibitions, celebrations and students’ associations, defined as “not explicitly part of the secondary education curriculum”.³⁴⁰ Notwithstanding the secondary status of circum-curricular activity, considering the formal learning processes of schooling, the relevance of school journeys was recognized very early on by being explicitly mentioned in law in relation to the schools’ timetables and subsequently sporadically regulated in terms of the process by which they should occur. Likewise, educational ideas about school journeys initially focused on the importance of these activities for the students’ integral education, and then progressively moved towards the discussion about their methodological procedure as a means of achieving the best possible outcome.

The legislators’ concern about having periods of time “free” of formal school activities so that study visits and excursions could take place and which

³³⁷ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 155.

³³⁸ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 47.

³³⁹ Serra, “Excursões Escolares,” 77.

³⁴⁰ Decreto 20741 of 11/12/1931.

was present in various legal documents was also expressed by Faria de Vasconcelos.³⁴¹ To him, “the schedule of a properly organized school must establish compulsory, regular and frequent excursions for both teachers and students”.³⁴² It was not obvious, though, whether Vasconcelos meant that teachers, as much as students, should undertake school journeys or – less likely – whether teachers should be involved in the students’ school journeys as much as possible. In any case, he had a very clear and strong position regarding the extent of such involvement and of the students’ participation in their school journeys. And, in addition to the education actors’ ‘ideal’ roles, Vasconcelos also discussed the planning of these activities, the students’ preparation and subsequent assessment, thus presenting a structured reflection on school journeys as an educational method for the first time. Once more, his writings served as the basis for mapping and bringing together ideas on the methodology of school journeys in the Portuguese educational discourse.

Teachers’ and students’ roles

The teachers’ role – as expressed by pedagogues – was to “intervene beforehand” by contributing to the research and documentation” and “during the visit”, by providing “all the explanations that the organising students are unable to provide or that the participants would be unable to understand without them [the teachers]”.³⁴³ The common understanding that “today, education is not about raising someone the way people used to think, it is essentially about guiding [the students]”,³⁴⁴ led Faria de Vasconcelos to reiterate the same argument: the teachers should not “replace the students” by doing “their tasks” but rather “guide, clarify and rectify their work”. To him, the teachers’ role was that of a “guide (...) because the knowledge of the children must be the result of their own

³⁴¹ Decreto of 14/08/1895; Decreto of 29/08/1905; Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917; Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918; Decreto 6675 of 12/09/1920; Decreto 7558 of 18/06/1921; Decreto 15974 of 12/09/1928; and Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930; Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova*; Idem., *Didática das Ciências Naturais*; Idem., “Ideias e Factos”.

³⁴² Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 91.

³⁴³ Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova*, 103.

³⁴⁴ António Aurélio da Costa Ferreira, *Algumas lições de Psicologia e Pedologia* [A few lessons of Psychology and Paedology] (Lisboa: Lumen, 1920), 19.

organized experience”.³⁴⁵ Consequently, the students were to be “actively” involved “in the preparation and the undertaking of the excursions” because “nothing is more prolific than personal efforts, which awaken their interest and initiative”.³⁴⁶ However, Vasconcelos himself warned that “excursions have their own methodology and will only have effective results if a certain number of requirements are met”.³⁴⁷

This concern about “effective results” was presented in the educational discourse in relation to the need for these activities to be “carefully planned” because “the teacher must know what they want to teach the students” as an excursion “is not only the simple pleasure of getting away from school”.³⁴⁸ The need for such planning became increasingly visible and argued for from the mid-1910s onwards and the reasons that supported such a claim were closely connected to the aim of eliminating “the fortuitous nature of trips to extract the best possible results from them”.³⁴⁹ This shows that, despite the persistence of the pedagogical idea of modern education regarding the importance of student initiatives and active participation, which relegated the teachers’ role to that of a “guide”, the underlying arguments for the need for a procedure and a plan required the teachers’ expertise and control in order for these activities to be successful, i.e. effective.

Planning

The overall idea that education must be “more than a rhetorical term” and that any instruction “without an educational method is the automatic communication

³⁴⁵ Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova*, 103.

³⁴⁶ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 93. Interestingly, five years earlier, a decree regulating school journeys established that teachers were responsible for “directing” these activities. In my opinion, the use of the verb ‘to direct’ was not innocent. As opposed to the verbs ‘to orientate’ or ‘to conduct’, which can be interpreted as relating to guidance, meaning to help without much interference, ‘to direct’ connotes with control, meaning that, if someone is ‘to direct’ something, they have primary responsibility for the entire process/activity to which this verb refers, from the beginning to the end, and is the person accountable for any possible consequences.

³⁴⁷ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 91.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Anon., “Visitas de estudo,” 86.

of memory's knowledge"³⁵⁰ motivated the recurrent discussions from the mid-1910s to the mid-1960s about the need to plan school journeys:³⁵¹

[School journeys] must be carefully prepared during lessons or appropriate general meetings and coordinated beforehand with the entities that relate, directly or indirectly, to the aim of the visit, and its preparation will serve, from the beginning, the excellent exercise of developing the spirit and the organisation [skills]. The planning of the programme and expected schedule, along with the understanding of what will be done and why, as well as the willing acceptance of tasks and responsibilities, is something rich in educational possibilities which allow for the trustworthy expansion of the school walls beyond the horizons and also show that such walls only exist because of the human need for shelter.³⁵²

Additionally, by “planning in advance”, the teachers were less likely to “trust random circumstances and give in to the inspiration of the moment” thereby “taking the risk of losing themselves in the matters’ disorder and of disrupting the pedagogical principles”.³⁵³ In the beginning, the main concerns related to the “adoption of a work plan” with a “clear object of study in order to avoid the futile and complicated details that obscure the ideas instead of giving them a sense of order”.³⁵⁴ The choice of the object of study for any school journey and the conditions of its undertaking “depend on many factors, among which should be highlighted: the age of the students, (...) the teaching needs, easiness of the subject”.³⁵⁵ Furthermore, “the teacher should be well familiar with the region to be visited (...) study it as if it were a lesson” and “visit it beforehand”, whenever possible.³⁵⁶ To Barata, an excursion was “always a chance to exchange ideas,

³⁵⁰ Júnior, *A Geografia no Ensino Secundário*, 11.

³⁵¹ Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova*; Idem., *Didática das Ciências Naturais*; Idem., “Problemas Escolares”; Joaquim Tomás, “As excursões escolares” [The school excursions], *Revista escolar. Publicação mensal de educação e ensino* 1 (1921): 9–18; Barata, “As excursões geográficas”; António de Sá Oliveira and Alfredo Tenório Figueiredo, “Conferências Pedagógicas. Uma excursão escolar” [Pedagogic Conferences. A school excursion], *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa* 3 (1932): 281–284; Hernández, “Excursões Escolares”; Anon., “Visitas de estudo”; Alberto Fialho Júnior, “Convívio Escolar” [School life], *Escolas Técnicas* 20 (1956): 33–46; Costa, “Fundamentação pedagógica”; and Miguel, “Visitas de Estudo”.

³⁵² Júnior, “Convívio Escolar”, 39–40.

³⁵³ Tomás, “As excursões escolares,” 13.

³⁵⁴ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 91.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 92.

³⁵⁶ Barata, “As excursões geográficas,” 168.

questions and answers, observations” which means that “if the teacher doesn’t know the region, they risk not having a solid answer” or missing important details.³⁵⁷ Besides, having an “itinerary created by the teacher whenever possible” gives the teacher a “better idea” of not only “what to say” but also “what matters” the most³⁵⁸ and, if given to the students, the itinerary would “call for their attention” and engender “the students’ enthusiasm”.³⁵⁹

Another important concern was the “selection of students”, their number and the means to fund excursions, i.e. school journeys to places far away from the school. Such a selection had to take into consideration the students’ ability to “undertake it with real productiveness”,³⁶⁰ and to be adapted to the “nature of the child”.³⁶¹ Moreover, the aim of the journey was to be put in relation to the grade of the students as “an excursion is not conducted with the first three grades of secondary school the same way as an excursion with the last [grades]”.³⁶² The two main reasons given rely on the fact that the younger students would make “an effort beyond their ability” if the school journey was to a distant place and that “the issues to be seen and studied are to be more simple, specific and intuitive” for younger students, whereas older students “can understand complicated problems more readily”. However, the most commonly discussed issue was the number of participants. Barata considered that “excursions in which huge groups of 30 to 50 students take part” are usually intended for “merrymaking rather than knowing, examining, interpreting”.³⁶³ Indeed, a report published in the 1909/1910 school yearbook of the lyceum Pedro Nunes in Lisbon stated that the small number of participants (19) enabled “an intimate atmosphere of pleasant companionship with great order and freedom, which had never been accomplished before”.³⁶⁴ Thus, the report concluded that “this shows, once again,

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 91.

³⁵⁹ Barata, “As excursões geográficas,” 168–169.

³⁶⁰ Hernández, “Excursões Escolares,” 526.

³⁶¹ Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*, 342.

³⁶² Barata, “As excursões geográficas,” 170.

³⁶³ Ibid., 170, 171.

³⁶⁴ Anon., “Excursões de Estudo. Relatório. Excursão a Setúbal” [Study Excursions. Report. Excursion to Setúbal], *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1909–1910* (Lisboa: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1910), 94.

that a study excursion is only useful when undertaken by a small number of students who have been well trained to observe”.³⁶⁵

As for the funding of school journeys, Hernández pointed out that securing financial resources could be a problem “depending on the distance to the chosen destination”.³⁶⁶ Indeed, Barata also explained that the school councils had “no funds to support the cost of excursions to distant regions”.³⁶⁷ He further added that the students were expected to “pay for transport and accommodation, which were usually always costly”, which is the reason why the “teacher cannot make the students’ attendance compulsory” as they often “cannot afford it”.³⁶⁸ Thus, both Barata and Faria de Vasconcelos suggested an “economy box”, a sort of travel fund, to be organized among students. In some schools, this kind of fund already existed in the early 1900s. It was promoted by the school’s association whose members paid a regular fee which would then be converted into financial aid to be used, for example, on school journeys.³⁶⁹

Preparation of the students and follow-up

Two of the most discussed issues regarding school journeys as a method were also the students’ preparation and assessment. Regarding the first issue, the teachers should prepare and give the students “notebooks, record sheets for the collections, etc.”.³⁷⁰ According to Faria de Vasconcelos, the students should be organized into committees in order to: “research all the documents and information about the object of study, make readings, take notes”. They should then identify “the main ideas” and look for “what can be seen in two or three locations in the region in order to avoid pointless travel and wasted time”. This would then be presented “in the class so that each student [could] add their own remarks” and would be followed by “readings and lectures” provided by the

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Hernández, “Excursões Escolares,” 527.

³⁶⁷ Barata, “As excursões geográficas,” 167. Even though this had been regulated as mandatory in law since 1918.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Barata, “As excursões geográficas”; Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*; and *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908* (Lisboa: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1908).

³⁷⁰ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 91.

“organizing committee”.³⁷¹ The committee was also responsible for offering “further information *in loco* and complementary explanations” and was considered the tour “guides”.³⁷² However, as Faria de Vasconcelos declared, “the students’ work does not stop once the study visit ends”.³⁷³ Thus, regarding the follow-up of school journeys, different practices were discussed.

If the school journey was intended to collect specimens, for example, the students were expected to “examine and order the collected material” and “take notes” in order to “explain” and “complete their observations”. Students could also organise and “retain their memories” through “writings, conferences and exhibitions”.³⁷⁴ Both the conferences and the exhibition of “documents, photographs, maps, drawings, notes and products and all the materials collected” during the school journey were to be open to both fellow students and parents as a “sort of synthesis, a live portrait of the work done and the accomplished results”.³⁷⁵ If, however, the school journeys were intended to observe monuments, for example, the follow-up would be a “recapitulation” via the “written descriptions of the observed objects”. In Vieira e Brito’s understanding, “these descriptions stimulate[d] a better observation and should be complemented by drawings made from the original [object observed]”.³⁷⁶ In any case, there were several ways in which the school journey could be followed-up:

The lesson given in the field or at the beach can be continued in the classroom for many days afterwards. There could be writings, drawings made from memory, drawings made by copying the natural specimens that were collected, calculations, preparation of the captured animals or [collected] plants (...), [there could be] crafting of the boxes in which shells, whelks, stones, etc. will be shown.³⁷⁷

Regarding the specific means of assessment, the students’ “notes” served the purpose of the subjects of both the natural and social sciences. These were mainly

³⁷¹ Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova*, 101.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 102.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁴ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 92.

³⁷⁵ Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova*, 102.

³⁷⁶ Brito, *A Educação artística*, 11.

³⁷⁷ Fernandes, *A minha escola*, 50.

written accounts that “the students were invited” to write, in which they were expected to “highlight what caught their attention the most”.³⁷⁸ In Barata’s opinion, “these notes constituted precious material to better assess the intellectual development of the students” and particularly their “power of memory”.³⁷⁹ As for the questionnaires, they were considered “excellent teaching processes”³⁸⁰ “with excellent results” because the “students’ curiosity” was “guided”.³⁸¹ Indeed, these were regarded as “having become of considerable didactic importance” and, if they were “arranged in a methodical sequence,” they would offer “numerous benefits” because they would “avoid the frequent intervention of the teacher, allow personal work and make the students active, transform the exercise into an attractive task and allow every student to work”.³⁸²

Faria de Vasconcelos further explained that “the efficiency and benefits of the questionnaires depend on meeting a certain number of pedagogical requirements”. In his opinion, these should be “easy” and “precise, from a formal viewpoint, and should therefore be printed: half a page with questions, exercises, observations and experiences and the other half left blank”.³⁸³ In addition, they “should correspond to the subject” under study and “arrange the tasks according to a pre-determined plan”.³⁸⁴ Its questions should follow an “heuristic” process so that the students were able to reason and think critically. For this reason, Faria de Vasconcelos “absolutely” condemned “catechetical, dogmatic” questionnaires and considered them to be “purely by the book, wordy, memorizer, with no opportunities for the senses, thought, learning” as the “student is supposed to think instead of repeating” what was read.³⁸⁵ Consequently, the questionnaires “should be written so that the ability to construct, generalise and reason are

³⁷⁸ Barata, “As excursões geográficas,” 170.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 52.

³⁸¹ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano Escolar de 1909/1910*, 89.

³⁸² Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 52, 53.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 53–54.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 54.

fostered, besides observation skills,” in a “systematic display” of the scientific work.³⁸⁶

Execution

One interesting aspect of all these writings is the lack of explicit information concerning the activities conducted during school journeys. Taking Faria de Vasconcelos’ example, as he wrote extensively about these activities and devoted a chapter to them in his didactical handbook *Natural Sciences Didactics*, he simply stated that “once the excursion is prepared – and not left to the odds of improvisation – one shall proceed according to the established plan”.³⁸⁷ In fact, despite several comments on the role of both teachers and students, very little was written about the ways in which these activities should be conducted. A good example are the proceedings of a conference, published in 1932, in the *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa*.³⁸⁸ Its theme was *A school excursion to Batalha for 25 students of the upper secondary grades* and its aim was for the intern teacher to

[c]lassify the excursion, [to] define its aims, [to] state the criteria for selecting the participants and how they are to be prepared, (...) [to] organize the excursion’s plan: financial resources and their source (the School Association contributes with 1900 *escudos*); modes of transport; detailed schedule. *How the visit to the monument would take place, as well as other places of interest along the way.* How the results of the excursion will be assessed and used.³⁸⁹

The intern started by explaining his difficulty in addressing the aim of such excursion due to the lack of accurate information about which upper secondary grades were going to participate: the natural sciences or the social sciences students. After commenting on the financial resources and stating that the

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 54–55.

³⁸⁷ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 92.

³⁸⁸ This conference was the fourth of a series of “Pedagogical Conferences” organized by this secondary school from 1930–1937. Although called a ‘conference’, they were to be attended by the school principal, teachers and interns, i.e. the teacher training programme students, in order to discuss particular educational issues. They formed part of the interns’ educational training and, as a result, each one of them was supposed to present a paper on a given subject and discuss it with the audience.

³⁸⁹ Oliveira and Figueiredo, “Conferências Pedagógicas,” 281 (emphasis added).

students' preparation was to be made through "lectures aided by screenings", he started describing the excursion's plan. However, this mainly comprised the detailed schedule in relation to the form of transport being used, the itinerary and places visited and ended with a presentation of the budget:

[F]irst day – 09.20: departure from Lisbon by train, because it's cheaper. 13.45: arrival in Leiria; lunch at 14.00 followed by a visit to Leiria's castle at 15.30; 17.00: departure by bus to Batalha, short site visit and sleepover; second day – 10.00: visit the monument [Batalha's Monastery]; 20.00: [sic] lunch; 14.00: continuation of the visit; 20.00: dinner; third day – departure at 08.00, to Alcobaça, passing Aljubarrota; 10.00: visit to the monastery [of Alcobaça]; 12.00: lunch; 13.30: continuation of the visit; 18.30: dinner followed by departure to Cela at 19.30; return to Lisbon at 20.29.³⁹⁰

Also of interest are the themes discussed afterwards: i) the aims of this excursion, which the main suggestions highlight as "artistic", "historical" and "patriotic". If a scientific aim was to be assigned, students should also visit "Leiria's pine forest" and "the concrete factory in Maceira"; ii) the mode of transport in relation to the budget and time plan, based on the sarcastic comment that the "surprising fact that trains are cheaper" than buses and followed by the justification that the latter are more convenient concerning "time wastage"; iii) the students' organisation during the visits, concerning which the suggestion made referred to dividing the students into groups accompanied by teachers; and iv) the students' assessment, for which "students should mandatorily write short reports about the excursion".³⁹¹ Once again, the ways in which the visits, observations and experiences were to be conducted were excluded from the discussion.

Thus, regarding the educational ideas on school journeys as a method, it appears that because these activities were, to some extent, being experimented with at the beginning of the 20th century, the focus of the pedagogues and teachers' on the importance of these activities gradually moved towards the development of a procedure to produce the best educational outcome possible. This was the case from the mid-1910s up to the 1930s, when the legal framework of school journeys became crystallised, thereby explaining why the ideas on

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 282.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 283.

methods were increasingly less discussed by pedagogues and teachers after this time. As a consequence of decree 18486 of June 1930, it is clear that the discourses on school journeys gradually became naturalised between the mid-1930s and the 1960s.

Naturalisation of the educational ideas on method

After the promulgation of an extensive and detailed decree regulating school journeys in 1930, the discourses on school journeys as a method became naturalised in the sense that the concern about the “issues to take into consideration” when preparing, undertaking and assessing school journeys never left the framework imposed by that legal document. Rather, they became progressively enriched and eventually embodied.³⁹² By the 1960s, the list of tasks to undertake had considerably expanded, though perfectly aligned with the previous rationale:

The aim of the school journey – in its broader sense –; the prior study of the places to visit carried out by the teachers, the pedagogical preparation which requires taking into consideration several issues such as the number of students and teachers [who will accompany the students], their [both students’ and teachers’] preparation, the students’ discipline and safety, the subjects to be objectified, conducting the students’ observations, so that they take note of the main ideas, [that is] those whose observations we consider fundamental to the intended goal (...); the programme schedule to be distributed to students and teachers, questionnaires and papers to be completed by students and their guardians; the assessment of results (...) which is equally fundamental to planning [a school journey].³⁹³

These steps, “pedagogically undertaken”, were always organized into three tasks: “preparation, undertaking [i.e. the school journey itself] and its use in relation to the school tasks directly connected with the assessment of the achieved results”.³⁹⁴ The first step of the process, in comparison with the others, was the most laborious. It included: i) the articulation between the aim of the school journey and the places to be visited; ii) the definition of the number of

³⁹² Costa, “Fundamentação pedagógica,” 203.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Manuela Maria Loureiro, “A propósito de visitas de estudo” [Apropos study visits], *Escolas Técnicas* 35 (1964), 64.

participants and the students' grades; ii) securing the financial means to undertake the journey; iv) choosing the mode of transport; v) the students' training beforehand; and vi) creating an itinerary to be distributed to the participants. Additionally, since preparatory lessons had become mandatory in 1930, their scope was to be decided by each teacher taking into account their school subjects and the places to be visited.³⁹⁵ This disproportional amount of work was especially so because, though the aims of active learning were still being addressed, the teachers took complete control of the school journeys' preparation process. The second step, concerning the activities conducted during the visits and excursions, remained under-discussed though they were abundantly reported as lists of undertaken activities. Finally, the third step, the assessment of the results, appears to have substantially relied on the students' writings: "reports, redactions, theatre plays, class journals and poetry", although drawings and photographs were to be produced and exhibited.³⁹⁶ Either way, "each teacher" was to "make the best use of school journeys in accordance with the purposes of his school subject" and to "give tasks to the students as well".³⁹⁷ This shows that despite having been considered circum-curricular activities for a long period, these were – to a great extent and for all intents and purposes – already very much part of the curricular aspects of schooling:

Outdoor lessons, study visits, excursions and any other circum-curricular activities are very much projections of the [s]chool and, to some extent, the [s]chool itself (...) And because all these outings from the school building, but not of its spirit and mission, are true lessons – and the best lessons, due to the proximity of the reality – it is important (...) that its organizers prepare them in the best and most careful way they know, and that they exploit them in the children's interest, because they can only regard it as personal moments of distraction for an instant.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁵ António Henriques, "Instruções escritas No. 6. Visitas de Estudo" [Written instructions no. 6. Study visits, *Escolas Técnicas* 25 (1960): 148–149.

³⁹⁶ Loureiro, "A propósito de visitas," 69–70.

³⁹⁷ Henriques, "Instruções escritas," 149.

³⁹⁸ Júnior, "Convívio Escolar," 39–40.

Similar to the legal documents, whose analysis showed three different legal periods, the ideas on school journeys can also be understood in three overlapping periods that refer to aspects to which the discussion about these activities was related. In the first period, from the 1890s to the 1930s, the pedagogues and teachers' writings that referred to school journeys were mainly about New Education ideas and modern didactics in general. For this reason, school journeys were mostly discussed in relation to their relevance as a means of contributing to educational modernity and for the development of each child as an individual who was part of society. This, in turn, was presented as the advantages of school journeys in promoting an active and attractive learning process and supporting the whole education of the child so that each student would learn and become, i.e. acquire both a broad knowledge and the interest of being actively engaged not only in the learning process but also in the formation of their own character. In the second period, from the mid-1910s to the late 1930s, the concern with the employment of modern educational methods became increasingly visible, which is the reason why school journeys started to be discussed from the point of view of their use as a method. This discussion was highly connected to the need of a clear and thorough plan, of preparing the students beforehand and of assessing them afterwards which, in turn, related to the need of accomplishing the best outcome possible. In the third period, from the early 1930s to the 1960s, the exchange of educational ideas appears to have become a 'hostage' of the decree promulgated in June 1930. Indeed, such exchanges almost cease to exist after the promulgation of this legal document and, by the 1940s, there are almost no writings that address ideas about school journeys. On the one hand, this can be explained by the nature of the political regime – a fascist dictatorship – under which any public debate was highly scrutinised and controlled through censorship. On the other hand, taking into consideration the three periods in the legal documents, it also appears reasonable that the educational ideas moved from an idealisation stance concerning the need and importance of these activities to a methodological positioning regarding their procedure and employment on the practice level, after which they became naturalised discourses. In any case, in the aftermath of the crystallisation of the legal

framework of these activities, the ideas on purpose and method did not require an ongoing resilient discussion

Altogether, the analysis of the educational discourse on the ideas behind school journeys showed that these activities were placed at the core of the New Education aims, particularly regarding the desire for the whole education of each student, i.e. the balanced development of their intellectual, physical, moral and aesthetics. However, despite the equal importance given to all human faculties and their harmonious development, the ideas being conveyed showed that physical education was subjected to the intellectual education and that aesthetic education was understood as a means of developing moral consciousness. Indeed, both intellectual and moral skills appear to have been the two most important aspects of the pupils' education and thus, to the education of their personality and character. This is particularly visible when comparing the period in which integral education was being intensely discussed, between the 1890s and the 1930s, with the subsequent period. Although from the late 1930s onwards the idea of integral education is still present, the writings tend to address it mainly in terms of the education of the character. In my understanding, the use of the term 'integral education' is directly linked to the modern education discourse's definition of the harmonious development of all human faculties. Over time, however, the educational discourse's focus on the intellectual and moral aspects of education caused the concept to shift to the formation of the individual's character. The latter also appears to better suit the ideological framework of the recently established dictatorship in the sense that the term 'character' was more closely connected to ethical assumptions related to a person's conduct.

In the beginning of the period, school journeys were also put in close relation to the importance given to the use of active, attractive and intuitive methods. In turn, the desired learning process was based on the principle related to the need of the presence of objects so that a scientific method – understood as the right way of knowing and reasoning – could be employed. The presence of objects showed, in turn, clearly different aims in two disciplinary areas. While direct observation in relation to the employment of a scientific method was *par excellence* an aim connected to the natural sciences and thus to the syllabi of these school subjects, the social sciences used the presence of objects to build bridges

between the syllabi and the circulating discourses and values of the nation and humanity. Additionally, observations in relation to the natural sciences were more frequently discussed until the 1930s, whereas observations in relation to the social sciences acquired more importance after the 1930s. It is not that these two purposes didn't coexist. However, this visible shift in importance can be explained by the movement of the overall educational discourses from the modern didactic principle of critical reasoning based on scientific methods to conformation with the political regime's ideology and agenda, which emphasised the importance of monuments, historical sites and industries as a means of fostering the strengthen national belonging.

Through the entire period under study, school journeys were always intended to 'intervene' in the formation of subjects by provoking the students' will and interest in engaging in the learning process and thus, by the force of such habit, becoming engaged future citizens. This active engagement, in turn, was expressed by addressing the *desired* roles of students and teachers in these activities, which were eventually reconfigured as their *expected* roles. Ideally, the student was to be the 'most active' participant whereas the teacher was the guide. However, this desire was undermined by the need to achieve the best possible results when undertaking such activities. These results – even though not explicitly defined – were to be attained through careful and detailed planning and by the proper preparation of the students beforehand, both of which were the responsibility of the teacher. The students' active engagement, though highly desired and recommended, appears to have been relegated to that of an attendee before and during the school journeys, and only activated as a participant in the follow-up of these activities, particularly after 1918, when the law establishing the teachers' role was passed.

In fact, the planning, preparation of the students and follow-up of school journeys appear to have been at the centre of the ideas on method, whereas the ideas about their undertaking were under-discussed, if not virtually non-existent throughout the entire period. Indeed, the ideas about school journeys and as circum-curricular activities, can – to some extent – be described as short and disconnected thoughts that were, for the most part, framed within a modern and progressive education's idealisation stance. Because so undisputed, the ideas

about method developed uniformly towards improving and perfecting a methodological procedure to achieve the best possible results. As if a reflection on the undertaking of these activities was not needed because as long they were carefully prepared and properly followed-up, they would be effective. Furthermore, it appears as if ‘what was to happen’ would be ‘obvious’ when putting the pieces of the puzzle together.

The place to be visited would make ‘obvious’ the overall aim of the school journey because what was to be seen there was implicitly related to a school subject (or group of school subjects): if the students were to visit the Jerónimos Monastery they would, most likely, learn about the history of the Portuguese ‘*Age of Discoveries*’ (c. 1415–1651) and discuss patriotic aspects of a glorious past. The place visited would also make ‘obvious’ how the school journey would have been conducted: if the visit was to a museum or a factory, a guided tour would be the ‘obvious’ activity; but if students were visiting a natural site, they were to observe it and possibly collect some local specimens. Finally, the students selected for the journey would make ‘obvious’ the specific curricular goals of each visit according to the syllabus of the school subjects in focus and their school grade.

In any case, during the first half of the 20th century there was a constant concern that school journeys needed to be undertaken in order to make the best out of them and produce the best possible results. Interestingly, in any occasion were these ‘best results possible’ defined or made explicit in the educational writings or in the legal documents, despite their recurrence. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that they related to the specific goals of Portuguese secondary education’s mission to provide a broad culture and to produce emancipated persons, to the overall education claims for the student’s integral education based on their own experience and direct observations, and to the State’s agenda of thereby forming the future citizen.

Overall, the ideas about school journeys, deeply rooted in the circulating discourses of new, progressive and modern education, established a consensus on their educational importance as an active method. Together with the legal documents, they supported the gradual emergence and implementation of school journeys, and enabled their natural incorporation into the grammar of schooling in Portugal. However, while the educational ideas and legal frameworks provided

the theoretical foundations and methodology of these activities to be organized and carried out, the reports on how school journeys were conducted show the potentialities and limitations of these activities in relation to the schools' everyday life.

Notes

ⁱ António de Sena Faria de Vasconcelos Cabral Azevedo (1880–1939), most known as Faria de Vasconcelos, was part of a “restricted group of names in the history of Portuguese education that we call pedagogues” as he was “one of the most significant personages for the introduction, study, experimentation and disclosure of the educational guidelines and practices undertaken within the new international pedagogical trends”. He is “distinguished” among others “as he took his training abroad”, a PhD in Social Sciences at the New University of Brussels in 1904 with the thesis *Esquisse d’une théorie de la sensibilité sociale*, “as well as because significant part of his work was developed within the New Education international movement, whose first experiences were shared with Adolphe Ferrière, Edouard Claparède, Pierre Bovet or Ovide Decroly”. Faria de Vasconcelos also lived and worked in several countries: in 1912 he founded a new school in Bierges-Lez-Wavre (Belgium) and directed it until 1914. The outbreak of the First World War led him to move to Switzerland, where he became assistant professor at the *Institute Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, assistant at the *Laboratoire de Psychologie Expérimentale* created by Claparède in 1904 at the University of Genève, and secretary of the *Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles*, created by Ferrière in 1899. In 1915, Vasconcelos travelled to Cuba, where he was appointed inspector of the Ministry of Health and Welfare and was responsible for the implementation of two new schools. In 1917, he moved to Bolivia, first to organize the department of Psychology and Pedagogy of the *Escuela Normal Superior* in La Paz and then to direct the *Escuela Normal* in Sucre. When he returned to Portugal in 1921, he was an acknowledged international agent of New Education and “had an enviable curriculum [vitae]”. For these reasons, he was “desired” by the elite as “he had what the Portuguese educational institutions needed the most: scientific culture, pedagogical knowledge and administrative experience to reform the national system of education”. Once in Portugal, Vasconcelos joined a group of progressive intellectuals who published *Seara Nova*, a bi-weekly magazine “of doctrine and criticism”. Throughout the 1920s, he “promoted popular education” and “was involved in countless initiatives on education and teaching”, including “participation in the educational reform project” presented by the Minister of Public Instruction, João Camoesas, in 1923. He was also Professor at the Superior Normal School in Lisbon. However, Faria de Vasconcelos dedicated “most of the 1920s and 1930s to the “direction of the Professional Orientation Institute, “a position he occupied from 1925 until his death”. His experience, deriving from a “multifaceted activity”, in which the “foundational idealism of New Education” can always be found in terms of both “social intervention as well as in the constant reference to ‘scientific pedagogy’”, and his expertise, “by bringing together a pedagogical reflection and Psychology’s knowledge”, were present in the numerous conferences he delivered and in his vast published work (Bandeira 2005). Whereas in the beginning he was generally interested in social sciences, education policy and how to educate the masses for human progress (Marques 1986), when learning from the “masters” (1902-1915) he focused on the emergent science of education and on the close intertwinement between paedology, psychology and pedagogy: on the one hand, pedagogy borrowed the scientific knowledge of the child from pedology and psychology; on the other hand, these two disciplines required experimental processes in order to be empirically proven (Marques 1986, 2000, Vasconcelos, 1909, 2012 [1915]). This was a belief that never left him nor his writings:

education is a scientific domain and it therefore demands experimentation, peer recognition and social validation. Between 1915 and 1920, because of his close work with the Cuban and Bolivian governments, Faria de Vasconcelos shifted his immediate interests towards the politics and economics of education (that is, to the problems of school direction, organisation, management, etc.). He started writing about how education should be organized and reformed as much as about teachers' training and new education's ideas (Marques 2000). Thus, from the 1920s onwards, he used his accumulated expertise to reiterate the new education's belief that "education is aimed at the development of the complete man, complete in its highest human expression, the physical man, the intellectual and moral man, the social man and the career man" and that "contemporary pedagogy is inspired by the philosophical ideal of individual and social culture" (Vasconcelos 2010 [1934, 9]). He did this in order to address scientific approaches to the concerns about the democratization of schooling and students' orientation in relation to societal progress: "career guidance protects the permanent and general interests of society, assigning each individual to the place that suits him best (...) It therefore contributes to the higher progress of society through the better use of its workforce" (Faria de Vasconcelos 2006 [1922], 17). See also (Marques (ed.) 2006, 2009, 2010a, b).

ii Manuel António Ferreira Deusdado (1857–1918) was a pedagogue, philosopher and secondary school teacher who became prominent by co-founding the *Revista de Educação e Ensino* [Review of Education and Teaching], "one of the most important periodicals of the 19th century", dedicated to the theory and history of the educational sciences in Portugal and which "was published regularly between 1886 and 1900". Right after graduating in 1881, he became a lecturer at the University of Lisbon (1882 to 1895), and from 1890 to 1900 he was a geography and philosophy teacher at the Liceu Luís de Camões in Lisbon. In 1900 he was sent to the Liceu de Angra do Heroísmo, in Azores, where he taught History and Geography for 17 years. (Magalhães 2005)

iii José Augusto Coelho (1850–1925) was a teacher who, despite having no academic diploma, by the age of 32 was recognized "for his qualities as a pedagogue" and, for this reason, "invited to lecture at the newly founded Escola Normal do Porto [Normal School of Oporto]" in 1882. He started by lecturing in physics and chemistry and was made responsible for a pedagogy course shortly afterwards. While at the Normal School, he regularly "contributed to the *Revista Pedagógica* [Pedagogical Review] directed by the Normal School students". In 1884, when he moved to Lisbon, he became a lecturer at the Escola Normal de Lisboa [Normal School of Lisbon] and subsequently interim director of the male section (1902) and director of the female section (1903–1910). While in Lisbon, Coelho "collaborated in several journals and reviews". His main work, *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], published between 1891 and 1893, was the starting point for "several textbooks". Even though he was "inspired by Herbert Spencer", Coelho tried to "avoid the critique" of being too close to Spencer's book. Indeed, the pedagogue took the "positivist model of science to formulate the laws that determined evolution and that governed pedagogy at the time". The way he systematized it, both theoretically and methodologically, was "paradigmatic of the "theorization of schooling in Portugal at the turn of the 20th century". In Correia's opinion, "José Augusto Coelho was indeed responsible for starting the pedagogical discourse that surpassed the mere empiricism inspired by a theoretical model which frames, guides and legitimises school practices" (Correia 2005).

^{iv} Adolfo Ernesto Godfroy de Abreu e Lima (1874–1943) was a “pedagogue” who “linked a practical intervention with an effort to think theoretically about education and teaching” and is therefore considered “one of the most important educators of the first half of the 20th century” in Portugal. He graduated in Law studies in 1900 and worked as a lawyer until 1910, when he decided to “dedicate himself to culture”, education, theatre and the “translation of authors such as Bernard Shaw, Ibsen and Émile Zola” about issues related to theatre, sociology, literature and psychology. However, he is most known for his works on education: not only did he work in several institutions, “he wrote several books and articles, founded journals, was a correspondent in Portugal for foreign pedagogical journals, keeping in touch with some of the most prominent persons of the New School movement”. According to António Candeias, Adolfo Lima’s educational ideas remained “practically the same since his first texts, published before the implementation of the Republic [1910], to his last written works”. Above all, his belief, supported by the “psychology studies of the time”, was that “to better educate a child it is necessary to know the laws of his psychological, affective, mental and physical development, in order to adapt the subjects to the diverse stages of his development”. If, for Lima, psychology was the “way” or the “pedagogical method”, sociology was “the goal or the pedagogical ideal”. He also believed that “integral education” in a schooling system in which vocational education and regular education were to be together in a single school instead of separate, would contribute to the “democratization of society” by promoting the “plenary development of each person, of their abilities and vocations, of their affective and intellectual balance” through the “employment of the New School ideals and active methods” (Candeias 2005).

^v José Henriques Barata (1894–1957) was a secondary school teacher about whom there is “sparse information”. It is known that he started his career as a teacher in the Liceu in Aveiro (1919–1920) then moved to Lisbon, first to the Liceu Pedro Nunes (1922–1924) and then to Liceu Luís de Camões (1924–1926), before moving back to Aveiro, “where he stayed until 1932, the year he was transferred to the Liceu of Santarém”. Besides teaching he took part in several conferences and in the teachers’ union’s activities. He wrote about “topics of geography, issues of history and educational issues” and published these in *Labor*, a journal organized by secondary school teachers and based at the Liceu of Aveiro.

5. The organisation of school journeys

From the mid-1910s up until the late 1930s, one of the major concerns of both policy documents and ideas about school journeys was their use as a method. Such concerns referred to the need and importance of having a detailed and thorough plan in accordance with the principles of modern didactics and to the aims of each school journey carried out, and were intimately connected to the importance of ensuring the educational nature of school journeys and achieving the best possible results. As the circulating ideas entered the schools' everyday life, other issues pertaining to the organisation of these activities became visible.

In this chapter, I will therefore focus on the details concerning the organisation and planning of school journeys, namely, the processes of decision-making, the initial plans, the purposes reported and the funding of these activities from 1906 to 1960, i.e. from the time when a number of secondary schools started implementing them, before the ideas on method were addressed and the regulations enforced, up until the period when they became naturalized in practice. Relying on school yearbooks and principals' reports, I not only show how school journeys evolved from an activity-in-the-making, i.e. as experimental events, to their naturalized form, but also reveal the obviousness of their purposes in the production of a specific kind of person/people. Moreover, the scrutiny of the organisation of school journeys allows me to show the ways in which these activities were funded amid constant financial constraints and how the first strategies adopted at the local level became widespread and persisted throughout the period across the nation.

Preliminary plans and decision-making

The importance attributed to the planning of school journeys by pedagogues and teachers throughout the first half of the 20th century shows its significance to the desired success of these activities.³⁹⁹ It referred to the detailed design of school

³⁹⁹ António Faria de Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais* [Natural Sciences Didactics] (Paris-Lisboa: Aillaud and Bertrand, 1923); Idem., "Problemas Escolares" [School Problems], in *Obras Completas de Faria de Vasconcelos (1933–1935)*, ed. J. Ferreira Marques (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste

journeys as a proper educational method and included the establishment of clear aims and purposes, the selection and number of participants, the financial means, the choice of the mode of transport, and the materials to be distributed to the participants before the school journey. The need to “plan school journeys in advance” that was widely present in both educational monographs and press is evident in the school principals’ reports.⁴⁰⁰ It is through these reports that it is possible to know in what contexts, and by whom, school journeys were planned, discussed and approved, what purposes they served and how they were funded.

The first reports on school journeys date from 1906 and were part of the secondary schools’ yearbooks. Despite their incipency, considering the early stages of these activities’ implementation, they offer some insights into how school journeys were initiated and organized at the beginning of the 20th century. The 1908/1909 yearbook of the lyceum Pedro Nunes in Lisbon, which referred to the school activities of the previous school year, pointed out that “the study visits and excursions have been made with the help of the *Caixa Escolar*⁴⁰¹ that usually took care of the travelling expenses”.⁴⁰² Two years later, the same school’s yearbook not only reiterated the financial role played by this school fund in making these activities possible, it clarified the process by which school journeys were promoted:

Of all the educational effects of this school work [i.e. the organisation and undertaking of school journeys], the least important is undoubtedly the fact

Gulbenkian, 2010 [1934]); Idem., António Faria de Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova na Bélgica* [A New School in Belgium] (Aveiro: UA Editora, 2015[1915]); Joaquim Tomás, “As excursões escolares” [The school excursions], *Revista escolar. Publicação mensal de educação e ensino* 1 (1921): 9–18; J. H. Barata, “As excursões geográficas” [The geographic excursions], *Labor* 7 (1927): 166–171; António de Sá Oliveira and Alfredo Tenório Figueiredo, “Conferências Pedagógicas. Uma excursão escolar” [Pedagogic Conferences. A school excursion], *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa* 3 (1932): 281–284; Julián Jimenez Hernández, “Excursões Escolares” [School Excursions], *Revista Escolar. Publicação mensal de educação e ensino* 15, no. 10 (1935): 525–532; Anon., “Visitas de estudo: Esboço do plano de uma visita a Sintra” [Study visits: A plan’s sketch of a visit to Sintra], *Escolas Técnicas* 20 (1956): 85–89; Alberto Fialho Júnior, “Convívio Escolar” [School life], *Escolas Técnicas* 20 (1956): 33–46; Alberto Almeida Costa, “Fundamentação pedagógica das visitas de estudo e das sessões culturais” [Pedagogical grounding of study field trips and cultural sessions], *Escolas Técnicas* 28 (1961): 195–208; Carlos Montenegro Miguel, “Visitas de Estudo e Excursões” [Study Visits and Excursions], *Escolas Técnicas* 38 (1966): 33–49.

⁴⁰⁰ Tomás, “As excursões escolares,” 13.

⁴⁰¹ Literally “school box”, *caixa escolar* was a school fund that was created as a student’s association to support school journeys and/or students from poor backgrounds.

⁴⁰² *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908* (Lisboa: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1909), 53.

that they result from being promoted, organized and, to some extent, directed by the school's students themselves, the five directors of *Caixa Escolar*. Because, regarding this fund, important progress is being made: in each grade a committee constituted by students, in agreement with their teachers, will be responsible for these tasks in perfect concurrence with the council of the *caixa escolar*. This way, instead of five, there will be dozens of promoters and organizers of study visits, that is, dozens of students who educate their own will, and get used to having initiative, method and action.⁴⁰³

Even though, in previous years, this school's principal made clear that both study visits and excursions were "conducted by the school principal or by a teacher" and that the school would "always request from the institutions or places visited the help of people who know [these places] especially well", his report on the school activities during 1908/1909 shows that the students of the school played an active role in proposing, organizing and promoting school journeys.⁴⁰⁴ This was conducted through the constitution of committees of students from each classroom of every grade who were responsible for suggesting and promoting school journeys. They then worked together with their teachers and the *caixa escolar*'s council, itself made up of students, to undertake them. In a later Pedro Nunes' yearbook, from between the autumn of 1912 and the spring of 1913, the principal not only reported that "as our statutes demand, each grade has its own committee in charge of promoting excursions", he also listed the names of the students on the different committees, displayed according to their grade and class.⁴⁰⁵ From this list, it can be noted that the committees were constituted by two or three students. Neither this report nor the following reports mentioned whether these students had volunteered or whether they had been selected or elected to be in the committees. However, what was explicitly stated at the end of this report was that the "progress of the pedagogical aspects of excursions and study visits" should be "mentioned". Curiously, such progress was not related to the constitution of students' committees to promote school journeys but to the

⁴⁰³ The five directors of the *caixa escolar* were students from the first to the sixth grade. They constituted this fund's council and were elected to be part of it. *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1908/1909* (Lisboa: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1910), 98.

⁴⁰⁴ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 53.

⁴⁰⁵ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1912/1913* (Lisboa: Tipografia da Casa Portuguesa, 1914), 103, 103–105.

“increasing intervention of the teachers”.⁴⁰⁶ However, the principal does not explain how, and the circumstances under which, the teachers intervened in the promotion, organisation and undertaking of school journeys, nor what he meant by the “pedagogical aspect” of these activities. A possible explanation could be drawn from the following year’s report, in which the principal uncovered a link between the commitment of these students, a reduction in the total number of school journeys and the students’ assessments, which might help explain the teachers’ growing participation:

During this school year, the number of excursions was less than in previous years, either because some of the committees didn’t work as they should have, or because the [*caixa escolar*’s] Council didn’t help them, particularly the first three grades. This way, the classes mostly undertook the least possible number of study visits so they could go on a long excursion, and the reports were done in half a dozen words, which made it impossible to know what was happening on the excursions and study visits.⁴⁰⁷

The position of the Pedro Nunes’ principal in 1914 was reiterated two years later in an article published in the students’ school association’s bulletin *Os Novos*, by an anonymous student who revealed the same difficulties in mobilizing the students to act. The student started by pointing out the commitment of the students in early December, when they held “a meeting of all the committees so that each one could be aware of its duties, rights and aims in order to avoid any difficulties in organizing excursions during the year”. He further explained that “the practice ha[d] demonstrated that it is necessary for the committees to often hear someone tell them to promote the excursions so that they don’t forget. Like many things, a lot of propaganda is necessary to achieve something”.⁴⁰⁸ In addition, the author agreed with the principal that “in previous years some advanced grade classes only organized school journeys in order to achieve the so-

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 113.

⁴⁰⁷ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1913/1914* (Lisboa: Tipografia da Casa Portuguesa, 1914), 93.

⁴⁰⁸ Anon., “As excursões no ano lectivo 1915/1916”. *Os Novos. Revista mensal da Associação Escolar do Liceu de Pedro Nunes* Ano X, no. 83 (1916), 5.

called three study visits, without which they could not undertake a long excursion”.⁴⁰⁹

The comments about the need to have conducted a certain number of study visits in order to undertake a longer excursion referred to the regulations enforced by statutes that the school’s students’ association published in 1914.⁴¹⁰ Notwithstanding, the author of the article also noted that

unfortunately, despite the pledges that everyone made to undertake excursions, this year’s number was less than the previous years’. One of the reasons for this decline was that there were not enough teachers to accompany the students during their study visits and excursions”.⁴¹¹

In any case, whether because of the insufficient efforts of the students to promote and organise school journeys or the scarcity of teachers willing to accompany them – and although there are no school principals’ reports from the 1920s – the gradual transfer of responsibilities from the students to the teachers appears to have been a reality. In the principal’s report of the lyceum Pedro Nunes, published in its school journal in 1932, other reasons were attributed to the reduction in the total number of excursions, such as the “the need to comply with the syllabi”.⁴¹² In addition, the importance attached to the school subjects’ syllabus, which required the teacher’s expertise and control, could also help explain such a growing transfer of responsibilities, concerning which “the teachers showed great interest in preparing and undertaking excursions, as well as study visits, always connected to subjects learned in the classroom”.⁴¹³

From the 1930s onwards, and particularly after the establishment of a dictatorial regime in 1933, the transfer of responsibilities, as well as the preparatory work involved in undertaking a school journey, became even more evident. According to several records sent to the Ministry by the schools’ principals, the intended journeys had to have a preliminary plan in order to be

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Associação Escolar do Liceu Pedro Nunes, *Estatutos* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1914).

⁴¹¹ Anon. “As excursões no ano lectivo 1915/1916,” 5

⁴¹² António Sá Oliveira, “Relatório do Reitor,” *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* Ano I no. 1 (1932), 5–31.

⁴¹³ *Relatório do Liceu Padre Jerónimo Emílio de Andrade. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, 14.

presented to the Pedagogical Council, usually at the beginning of each school year.⁴¹⁴ However, in some cases, the council discussed school journey-related issues during the school year. Thus, the plans were approved periodically instead of annually.⁴¹⁵ This council, also known as the Pedagogical and Disciplinary Council or, after the 1950s, simply the Disciplinary Council, was constituted by the school principal and physician, and by the school cycle's directors, i.e. the teachers responsible for each schooling cycle, who were also responsible for presenting the preliminary plans at this council's meetings. However, the initiative to propose a school journey was open to all teachers of different school subjects. Those teachers who intended to take their students on a study visit or excursion should have previously discussed their plans with the school cycle's director at a council meeting, at which all the school subjects' teachers of that particular school cycle and its director met.⁴¹⁶ Only in rare cases did this process happen differently, such as one reported by one of the teachers of the lyceum Pedro Nunes in Lisbon. In a report published in the school's bulletin, the teacher stated that "the plan of the study visits proposed by the headmaster's office" was "approved by the Cycle Council in its meeting on 13 March, 1934 and discussed at the general assemblies" of the school association.⁴¹⁷

Ultimately, regardless of where the discussion had taken place, it was the responsibility of the school's principal to approve or reject the school journey's plans and to list the study visits and excursions to be undertaken, as part of a

⁴¹⁴ Anon., "Relatório do 1º ciclo," *Relatório do Liceu Passos Manuel (secção mista). Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 57–63; *Relatório do Instituto de Odivelas. Ano lectivo 1946/1947*; and *Relatório do Liceu de Castelo Branco. Ano lectivo 1951/1952*.

⁴¹⁵ At the time, the school year started in early October. However, one of the minutes of the Pedagogical Council meeting included in the principal's report of the D. João III secondary school was dated 23 March, 1938 and states that it addressed, among other issues, a plan for an excursion with fifth grade students. According to the minutes of this meeting, the school journey's itinerary and advantages were discussed and the plan approved by the majority. In a later report, published in the 1946/1947 yearbook of the lyceum Jaime Moniz in Funchal (Madeira), the school principal mentioned that "several study visits and excursions" were discussed "at different times by the Pedagogic and Disciplinary Council and by the Cycle's councils" and the decision taken by his office was to only allow "excursions [that were] distant from the city after some study visits have been undertaken". Alberto de Sá Oliveira, "Acta nº 8," *Relatório do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 24–27; and *Anuário do Liceu de Jaime Moniz. Ano lectivo 1946/1947*, 80.

⁴¹⁶ *Relatório do Liceu do Funchal. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*.

⁴¹⁷ Manuel da Ressurreição Vicente, "Visitas de Estudo e Excursões Escolares" [Study visits and School Excursions], *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes) III*, no. 6 (1934): 25.

general plan for school journeys. As the principal of the lyceum Jaime Moniz explained:

Once the directors of each cycle gathered the suggestions of the different teachers, the headmaster's office drew up the general plan for the study visits, with the agreement of the Disciplinary Council. However, it was not always completely possible to fulfil this plan.⁴¹⁸

Five years later, the same school principal reiterated the process of decision-making, stating that “[a]s in previous years, only after asking the other councils for their suggestions and listening to the Disciplinary Council, was the general plan for study visits elaborated”.⁴¹⁹ He then explained that the “map” of the visits to be undertaken by each grade, i.e. the list or table of the places to be visited and the names of the teachers responsible for each visit “were posted in the school”. However, no mention was made of whereabouts in the school such a “map” was posted, only that “the cycle’s directors should take note of the undertaken visits” as they occurred. Moreover, and just like five years previously, this school’s principal also stated that “such a plan had not been entirely fulfilled” and that of the 47 planned journeys, “only” 37 had been undertaken to 16 different destinations.⁴²⁰ Notwithstanding, in a later report from the same school, dated 1959, the principal made clear that “a table indicating the number of teachers and the chosen places for each grade was posted in the teachers’ room” and that, “as always” he “insisted on the need for each visit to be prepared in advance and of making use of the [accomplished] results in the following day or days”.⁴²¹ In addition, the principal reported that, after each visit, the teacher responsible for the visit had to report via a “special form” to be completed in duplicate so that “one of the exemplars was handed in to the principal’s office, whereas the other was [to be] given to the cycle’s director”.⁴²² However, there is not enough evidence to determine whether this was a common practice in this particular school or across several other schools in Portugal.

⁴¹⁸ *Relatório do Liceu do Funchal. Ano lectivo 1949/1950.*

⁴¹⁹ *Relatório do Liceu do Funchal. Ano lectivo 1954/1955.*

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ *Relatório do Liceu do Funchal. Ano lectivo 1958/1959.*

⁴²² *Ibid.*

In most of the school principal's reports, the original general plans drawn up by the principal, which were posted in the school as an overview of all the upcoming journeys, were never added. Instead, they were adapted to provide a visually structured representation and thus serve as a synthesis, an overview of the already undertaken school journeys throughout the school year. They mainly comprised lists, tables or schemes that included the cycle or grade the participating students were in, the responsible teacher's name, the places visited and when, and, in rare cases, the aims of the journey. Similarly, the preliminary plans of each school journey, which were presented and discussed by the Pedagogical Council, were seldom included and therefore neglected to the detriment of the 'actual' reports about what happened. For the most part, the few preliminary plans for school journeys that were added to the school principal's reports conveyed little information regarding what was to be done and merely stated the teacher(s) who was responsible for the school journey, the cycle, grade and sometimes the class of the participants, the location to which the students were to travel and/or the places to be visited. In exceptional cases, the plans also included a draft of the time schedule to be followed, as well as the date it was to occur. For this reason, important aspects of the planning of these activities were left out whether it was a study visit or a longer excursion – such as the general aims of the school journey or its specific aims in relation to the curriculum, as well as the activities to be conducted during and after the visits, the mode of transport to be used, and the required funding to undertake the visit. Nevertheless, a few detailed plans can be found that contain most of these sections, including a set of plans referring to excursions to be undertaken by the first cycle students of the lyceum D. João III in Coimbra.

The second plan that was attached to this school principal's report, entitled "Plan of the excursion by second grade students", starts with the planned date, "Saturday 14 May, 1938", and the number of students registered for the excursion: 17; it is followed by the place and time at which the participants were to meet – which, unlike most cases, was to be in front of the town hall instead of

in front of the school building – at 07.00; the mode of travel, bus; and finally, the list of the main places they were to pass by.⁴²³

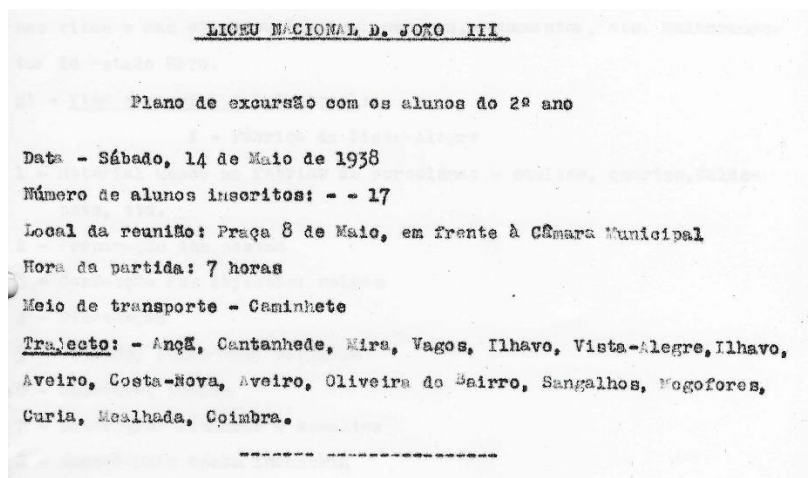


Figure 1 – Excerpt from the first page of the “Plan of the excursion with second grade students”.⁴²⁴

What followed this concise initial information is an unusually detailed and long description of what was to be seen, reason why it is worth including it here. Indeed, considering the broad range of the school principal’s empirical series, this report is an extraordinary example of what was expected of a school journey plan, even though it stands out as an exception regarding what concerns the inclusion of these kinds of plans in the principal’s reports. In this plan, the information on “what” was “to be seen” was as equally detailed as it was structured thematically in numbered lists:

- a) Landforms: – Valleys, hills, fields, Ançã spring water, Aveiro’s estuary, Atlantic Ocean, Aveiro’s Barra, lighthouses, beaches and the Costa Nova, etc.
- b) Communications: – Roads, railways, river courses, telegraph and telephone lines, etc.
- c) Aspects and nature of the soil: compact soils (rocks) and loose soils (arable land and sand). Ançã’s limestone. Sand dunes. Deposits of river and sea alluvium in the area of Aveiro, etc.

⁴²³ Mário Almeida, “Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo,” *Relatório do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 213–214.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

d) Aspects and nature of the vegetation: – Wildflowers, hinterland and coastal. Pine forests. River mouth seaweed, etc.

e) Fauna: – domestic animals of the region; river fauna; sea fauna.

f) Social life: – aspects of the populations: rural life, life near the beaches and in the cities. Gardens, parks, streets, etc. Estado Novo's improvements.

g) Commercial and industrial life: –

I – Vista-Alegre Factory

- 1- Materials used in the production of porcelain: – kaolin, quartz, feldspar, etc.
- 2- Preparation of pastes
- 3- Making objects; moulds
- 4- Dissection
- 5- Glaze; melting [process]; colouring
- 6- Cooking; furnaces
- 7- Decoration; painting and enamel

II – Fishing industry

- 1- Materials used for fishing (boats, nets, etc. [sic])
- 2- Unloading Fish
- 3- Fish's nature and destination
- 4- Importance of this industry

III – Seaweed industry

- 1- Materials used in seaweed picking (Moliceiro boats, rakes, scythes, etc.)
- 2- How the picking is done
- 3- Unloading
- 4- Drying (threshing)
- 5- Seaweed's nature and destination
- 6- Importance of this industry

IV – Other industries: *ovos moles*⁴²⁵, salt, sandpaper, etc.

h) – Museums and Monuments: – Ethnography Museum in Ilhavo; Museum of Aveiro; Saint Joana's Nunnery (17th century), St. Domingo's and Misericórdia's churches, Lighthouse (61 metres), etc.⁴²⁶

Nowhere in this plan are the pedagogical or curricular aims of the excursion explicitly mentioned, although a detailed description of what was to be observed during the excursion, which included a wide range of topics on natural resources, industrial processes, and the cultural and social life of the region, can be interpreted as the purpose of the excursion itself: to learn through observation about the region visited. Such interpretation is supported by the fact that the law established that excursions had no mandatory connection to the school subjects'

⁴²⁵ *Ovos Moles* is a typical local sweet produced and commercialized in Aveiro. Of its many different shapes, the most common is a shell. It is made of flour and water and the filling is made of egg yolks, sugar and rice flour.

⁴²⁶ Almeida, "Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo," 213–214.

syllabi, but a general educational aim only.⁴²⁷ In addition to the list of what was to be seen, the plan also included a drawing of the itinerary to be followed, signalling the important places they were to stop at or pass by.

MAPA do TRAJECTO

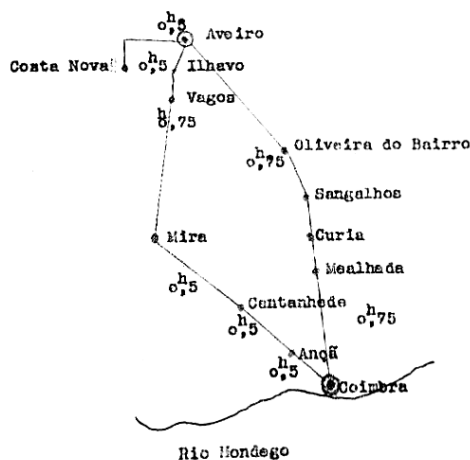


Figure 2 – “Itinerary’s map”.⁴²⁸

Although in the picture above it is not possible to distinguish the direction of the chosen route, when compared with the itinerary revealed on the first page of this plan, it is then ‘visible’ that the route on the left was taken from Coimbra to Aveiro and the return journey was made on the route drawn on the right. Almost imperceptible, the drawing also contains the distance in time between the different places, indicated by $0^h,5$ or $0^h,75$. Given that the scheduled route by bus from Coimbra to Ançã would take around 25 minutes, $0^h,5$ most likely refers to half an hour and $0^h,75$ to 45 minutes. In any case, the preoccupation with the distances in time or in kilometres between the places to be visited was taken into account and included in most of the detailed school principal’s reports that made

⁴²⁷ Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

⁴²⁸ Almeida, “Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo,” 214.

reference to the already undertaken journeys. While the distance in time referred to the excursion's schedule, the distance in kilometres related to its funding because, when taking a bus, the travelling expenses were paid according to the distance travelled.

Given the limited number of plans for school journeys attached to the school principal's reports, it is not possible to say how often these maps were used in the preliminary journey's plans or proposals. However, as we will see, resorting to these kinds of visual representations was a common occurrence in the materials provided to the students before a school journey, even though some school principals added them to their reports more often than others.

Finally, this plan also included a detailed schedule, called "the distribution of time", and its budget.⁴²⁹ The former shows a compact list of places and the arrival and departure times. The time between the places visited ranged from 10 to 40 minutes in each place, except for the visits to the Vista-Alegre Factory, the lighthouse, the Costa Nova and Curia, which took between 30 minutes and one hour each. Lunch time, which included the visit to the city of Aveiro, was the longest period in which the students were in the same place: from 12.30 to 16.00. However, in between arrivals and departures from the places visited, the schedule was tight and defined, for example, the arrival at Vista-Alegre at 10.00 and the start of the guided tour to the factory at exactly the same time. As for the budget, it was initially organised into expenses and then the expected income. The former included the price of a bus rental for 24 persons, a meal in the morning for 17 students and tips, a total of 462.50 *escudos*; and the latter comprised the "students' contributions", which was roughly one half of the total income, the subsidy from the school's association and the subsidy from the secondary school, a total of 480.50 *escudos*. The overall budget, though balanced, expected a profit of 18 *escudos* "in the students' favour", suggesting that the remaining money could be distributed among the students.⁴³⁰ The plan ended with a list of the

⁴²⁹ Almeida, "Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo," 215.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 216.

students' school identification numbers, which related to students who were registered to participate in this excursion.⁴³¹

DISTRIBUIÇÃO do TEMPO	
Partida de Coimbra.....	7 horas
Chegada a Ançã.....	7 horas e 25 minutos
Partida de Ançã.....	7 " e 35 "
Chegada a Cantanhede.....	8 "
Chegada a Mira.....	8 " e 30 "
Visita à Vila e pequeno almoço.....	8,30 - 8,45
Partida de Mira.....	9 horas e 15 minutos
Chegada à Vista Alegre.....	10 "
Visita à fábrica da Vista Alegre.....	10 " - 11,30
Chegada a Ilhavo.....	11 horas e 35 minutos
Partida de Ilhavo.....	12 " e 15 "
Chegada a Aveiro.....	12 " e 30 "
Almoço e visita a Aveiro.....	12,30 - 16 horas
Partida para o Ferrol.....	16 horas
Chegada ao Ferrol.....	16,15 - 17 horas
Visita ao Ferrol.....	16,15 - 17 horas
Partida para a Costa Nova.....	17 horas
Chegada à Costa Nova.....	17 horas e 15 minutos
Visita à Costa Nova.....	17,15 - 18,15
Partida da Costa Nova.....	18 horas e 15 minutos
Chegada à Curia.....	19 " e 30 "
Visita à Curia.....	19,30 - 20,15
Partida da Curia.....	20 horas e 15 minutos
Chegada a Coimbra.....	21 horas

ORÇAMENTO	
DESPESAS:	
Caminheta (24 lugares).....	390,00
Pequeno almoço (17 lugares).....	42,50
Gorjetas.....	30,00
	<u>462,50</u>
RECEITAS:	
Contribuição dos alunos: 17 x 16,50.....	280,50
Subsídio da Associação Escolar.....	100,00
Subsídio do Licm.....	100,00
	<u>480,50</u>
Saldo possível a favor dos alunos.....	18,00
Alunos que vão na excursão:	
n.ºs. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20,	
27, 28, 9	

Figure 3 – “The distribution of time”. Figure 4 – “Budget”.⁴³²

Due to its length and detail, this school excursion plan was an exception among the few that were added to the annual school principals' reports. Yet, even if extremely detailed in comparison with other plans, this plan does not address issues such as the kind of activities to be undertaken during the excursion, how the results would be used, and how the participants were selected. Regarding the first, the activities to be undertaken, it is safe to assume that most observations were made with help from the teacher in charge of the excursion as the group moved from one place to the next, with the exception of the visit to the Vista-Alegre Factory. As we will see in the following chapter, most visits to factories,

⁴³¹ When enrolling in a school, each student would be assigned an identification number. Depending on the school, these numbers were assigned differently. In most cases, though, the numbers followed the alphabetical order of the first name of the students in each grade's classroom. For example, in a classroom the students called *Abel* or *Ana* would be given lower numbers, while those called *Xavier* or *Zulmira* would be given higher numbers. In many schools, these identification numbers also served to distribute the students in the classroom, where *Abel* and *Ana* would most likely sit at the front, whereas *Xavier* and *Zulmira* would sit at the back.

⁴³² Almeida, “Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo,” 215–216.

museums, archives and libraries, were guided tours conducted by one of the employees of these establishments.

As for the second aspect, the students' assessment or preparation was not mentioned nor was there any information that could have hinted at how such they were to be performed. Finally, regarding the students who were to participate in the excursion, we know from the budget that there were 17 of them, that from the plan's title they were in the second grade, although their class and how they were selected is not known. However, when referring to their school identification numbers by stating "the students that will go on the excursion", it could be speculated that these students were mainly from the same classroom, as their numbers are presented in ascending order from 2 to 8, 12 to 18, 20, and 27 to 28, with 9 added at the end of the list.⁴³³ This suggests that the students with numbers from 2 to 28 were possibly from the same classroom, whereas number 9 was from another classroom. Regarding their selection, one possibility is that the teacher organizing the excursion 'chose' the classroom, and thus the students that were to participate; another plausible explanation is that these were the students who took the initiative to undertake the excursion.

The analysis of the series of sources that concerns the reports on the organisation of school journeys between 1906 and 1960 shows a fragmented corpus of data with sparse information. Yet, it allows an understanding of how the promotion and decision-making processes shifted from the students' associative and collaborative work to becoming the teachers' responsibility. The school journeys' preliminary plans, however, were not disclosed in the yearbooks between 1906 and 1916 and were seldom included in the principals' reports after the 1930s. When they *were* included, most plans conveyed scant information about the curricular or methodological aspects, focusing instead on the participants' grades, the places to be visited and, sometimes, logistics aspects. Undoubtedly, the schools' reports favoured the information about what happened rather than the plans that were made. For this reason, the following sections on the purposes and funding of school journeys were produced by taking

⁴³³ Ibid., 216.

into account the reports of the undertaken school journeys and not their planning.

Purposes

Whether in the initial plans for the journey or in the description of the activities, the purposes of each school journey were rarely in focus in the reports from teachers and school principals. Indeed, although the importance of having clear aims for each school journey was constantly reiterated by pedagogues and teachers, and evidently indicated in the legal documents as a means of producing “effective results”,⁴³⁴ the description of the aims of the school journey was neglected to the detriment of the places visited and the logistical aspects that such activities required. Bearing in mind that longer excursions were to “have pedagogical aims, even if their aim is not related to any particular subject”, and that short study visits close to the school surroundings were to be connected with “any subject taught or to be taught” and put in relation to the “grade the participant students are in” as a “preparation, complement or proof” of the subject under study,⁴³⁵ more often, the purposes of both these activities were merely listed or not mentioned at all, as opposed to being explicitly articulated with any pedagogical aim or with the school subjects’ syllabi. In any case, it is possible to take such listings to understand *what was* written that can be put in relation to the school journeys’ aims, as well as *what wasn’t*, and how such information was conveyed.

In the schools’ yearbooks from the early 20th century, the principals mentioned in plain text the regions or areas in which excursions were conducted and the places and institutions visited during study visits, adding in parentheses the participants’ grades. Their names were omitted, but the names of the teachers who accompanied them were included, as well as brief information about how the activities had been funded. Finally, some of these reports put the purpose of school journeys in relation to a broad aim, which was to “to obtain abundant and

⁴³⁴ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 91.

⁴³⁵ Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

reliable knowledge during excursions and visits”, or presented as resulting from the students having “received clarifications given by teachers, employees, technicians and people knowledgeable about the places visited”.⁴³⁶ Other reports had a two-paragraph description of each of the circum-curricular school activities, such as journeys, conferences and literary sessions, headed in bold by the name of the place visited or the title of the conference or session, and were often followed by short reports produced by the students about their journeys, or the transcription of questionnaires that the students had to complete. However, the two-paragraph descriptions of the school journeys did not mention their aims, only general information such as the dates, places, number of students who attended, the teachers who accompanied them, total expenses and how they were paid.⁴³⁷ Likewise, neither the questionnaire nor the students’ writings that were attached to the principals’ reports referred to the journeys’ aims, just the pupils’ experiences.

From 1910 onwards, the principals’ reports in the school yearbooks on school journeys shifted from plain text to listings that conveyed even less information. In the lyceum Pedro Nunes’ yearbook of 1910/1911, for example, the section on school journeys was arranged chronologically, starting with the date they took place, the number of students who participated, their grade and class, the name of the teacher who accompanied them and the place(s) visited.⁴³⁸ From 1913 onwards, the same secondary school’s yearbook listings also followed a chronological order, but was organized according to the grade and class the participant students were in.⁴³⁹ As in the Pedro Nunes’ yearbooks, the list of

⁴³⁶ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 51–52.

⁴³⁷ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1906/1907* (Lisboa: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1908): 53–57; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 55–77; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1908/1909*, 89–98; *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911* (Porto: Liceu Central Alexandre Herculano, 1911): 137–149; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1910/1911* (Lisboa: Tipografia Casa Portuguesa, 1912): 67–68; *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1913/1914* (Porto: Liceu Central Alexandre Herculano, 1914): 134–163.

⁴³⁸ The secondary school’s yearbook of 1916/1917 no longer mentions the number of participant students. Due to the lack of sources for the subsequent years, it is impossible to know whether this was an exception or if subsequent school yearbooks no longer conveyed this information.

⁴³⁹ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1912/1913*, 106–112; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1913/1914*, 94–99; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1915/1916* (Lisboa: Tipografia da Casa Portuguesa, 1918): 8–91; *Anuário do Liceu*

school journeys in the lyceum Alexandre Herculano's yearbook of 1913/1914 also followed the chronological order of the school journeys and stated the date, students' grade, place(s) visited, number of students who participated and the name of the accompanying teacher(s), then shifted to a list organised according to the students' grades and class regarding the excursions. A later and isolated example of these kinds of lists is the list on school journeys by the students of the lyceum Vasco da Gama in Aveiro from 1919 to 1923, which was published in the school's journal in 1926.⁴⁴⁰ In the journal, the exact same structure was applied: it started with the date, the students' grade, the place(s) visited and the name of the teacher who conducted the school journey. However, issues of this school's journal that were published in the following decades not only listed the circum-curricular activities of this school but also those of other Portuguese lyceums, including Pedro Nunes and Alexandre Herculano.⁴⁴¹ It was then structured according to each school to which the activities referred but followed the chronological order of the places visited and by which grades' students.

Since neither the school's principals nor the students' reports explicitly stated the aims of the school journeys in the schools' yearbooks from 1906 to 1916, the possible purposes can only be inferred from the types of places visited and the probable school subjects to which these journeys related. For the most part, during this period, there was a balance between the visits to natural sites, scientific institutions and historical sites, with occasional references to industrial sites. Even if the intended purposes were not mentioned, when reporting the achieved results, school journeys were often put in relation to the verbs *to observe*

Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1916/1917 (Lisboa: Tipografia da Casa Portuguesa, 1918): 94–96.

⁴⁴⁰ Anon., “Resenha das festas, récitas, excursões e conferências, promovidas pelo Liceu de Aveiro,” *Labor. Revista trimestral de educação e ensino e extensão cultural do Liceu Vasco da Gama*, no. 2 (1926): 126–128. The Liceu Vasco da Gama was located in Aveiro, a municipality in central Portugal, and changed its name to Liceu José Estevão in 1927.

⁴⁴¹ For an overview of the circum-curricular activities listed in this journal, see the complete series: *LABOR. Revista trimestral de educação e ensino e extensão cultural do Liceu Vasco da Gama* (until Jul. 1927), *LABOR. Revista trimestral de educação e ensino e extensão cultural do Liceu José Estevão* (until Jan. 1928), *LABOR. Revista bimensal de educação e ensino e extensão cultural e órgão provisório do professorado liceal* (until Oct. 1932), *LABOR. Revista mensal de educação e ensino e extensão cultural do ensino secundário* (until March 1951), *LABOR. Revista do ensino liceal fundada por José Tavares e Álvaro Sampaio* (until June 1973), first published from January 1926 to December 1931, then from October 1932 to June 1940, and finally from March 1951 to June 1973 in Aveiro.

(a landscape, a historical building, an industrial process) and *to acquire* knowledge in general.

Regarding the school principals' reports produced after 1930, they maintained the structure and the kind of information provided in the school yearbooks from the first two decades of the 20th century. While throughout the 1930s listings were common, by the end of this decade they also started being visually presented in tables or schemes, which therefore also conveyed scarce information on the purposes of the school journeys. Although there are several examples of school principal's reports on school journeys presented as tables and schemes, I will only use four reports, produced between 1938 and 1959, to illustrate the different ways in which the information on these activities was reported, particularly to show the ways in which references to the aims of school journeys were either absent or present.

The first example is the report of the first cycle director of the lyceum D. João III in Coimbra that was added to the school's principal report from the 1937/1938 school year.⁴⁴² In the report, three tables corresponding to each grade of the first cycle of secondary education had four columns regarding 1) the order in which the study visits were made, 2) the place/s visited, 3) the date the visit took place, and 4) the names of the teachers responsible for each of the visits. In the set of tables, it is evident that, with the exception of the visit to the old Coimbra Cathedral, each grade visited different places with different teachers, suggesting that these visits might have been connected to specific topics from the school subjects' syllabi of the different grades involved in these visits. The tables also show that all visits occurred on the same dates, and although not explicitly mentioned, they were all undertaken on Saturdays. From the first table, it is also clear that the first grade students visited one historical monument, one industrial site and two natural sciences-related places; the second graders visited two historical monuments and two natural sciences-related places; and the third grade students visited two historical sites and one industrial site.

⁴⁴² A. Rocha, "Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo," *Relatório do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 158–247.

First grade			
Order num.	Place	Date	Teachers
1	Church of St. Cruz	23-10-937	Sílvia Pélico
2	Factory of boxes João Donato	20-11-937	Ferrer Antunes
3	Meteorological observatory	15-1-938	Correia Cardoso
4	Botanical Garden	5-3-938	Câmara Leite

Second grade			
Order num.	Place	Date	Teachers
1	Geophysics Institute	23-10-937	Mário de Almeida
2	Zoology Museum	20-11-937	Mário de Almeida
3	Old Cathedral	15-1-938	Agostinho Jorge
4	Quinta das Lágrimas	5-3-938	Mário Mora

Third grade			
Order num.	Place	Date	Teachers
1	Old Cathedral	23-10-937	Ferrer Antunes
2	Factory Portugal e Colónias	20-11-937	José Cardoso
3	Santa Clara-a-Velha monastery	15-1-938	Ferrer Antunes

Figure 5 – Reproduction of the table representing the study visits by the first cycle students of the D. João III secondary school in Coimbra, during the 1937/1938 school year.⁴⁴³

Again, as in the previous reports mentioned here, there was no information about the aims of each of these outings nor if all the classes of each grade took part in them. Finally, the teacher decided to put in focus the short study visits in these tables, leaving out of the information on the three excursions. However, these excursions were briefly mentioned in the text that followed these tables and only referred to the list of the places visited by each of the three grades and the teachers who accompanied them. In the end, the teacher explained that “the result was excellent” because “the students gained important knowledge and wrote summary reports on what they had seen and learned”.⁴⁴⁴

In the same school’s principal report, another example produced by the second cycle director comprises one table for each grade of the second cycle of

⁴⁴³ Rocha, “Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo,” 188.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 189.

secondary education, with four columns regarding 1) the place of the visit, 2) the aims, 3) the students' class, and 4) the teacher who conducted the visit.⁴⁴⁵ In this report, the date was not specified, which is the reason why it is impossible to know whether the order in which the places visited appear had been chronologically arranged. Instead, this teacher decided to give emphasis to the places, the purposes, the participant students' classes, and the teachers in charge in relation to both the study visits and the excursions. Regarding the study visits, in the column designated to conveying the aims of these journeys, the teacher not only reported what was seen, but also what took place after the visits, i.e. how their 'results' were made use of. For all grades, regardless, of the place visited, all study visits resulted in lectures and reports. The lectures were most likely given by teachers rather than by students to their fellow students, and the reports were the students' individual written accounts that were handed in to the teacher. As for the excursions, the teacher did not specify how its results were to be utilised as there is no information regarding follow-up activities. Instead, he described the exact places and institutions visited during the excursion.

Taking only one table of this report as an example, the various classes of the fifth grade went to different places, with the exception of the National Museum Machado de Castro – even though the classes had different purposes (see the figure below).⁴⁴⁶ Considering that these students were all in the same grade, it is curious to note that in classes A, C and D, two of the three visits had historical purposes while the third was science or industry related (A, C and D, respectively) and that in class B, none of the visits were history related, but the students were instead taken to two industries and one social institution. Unfortunately, no text followed these tables and it is not possible to know the reasons why different classes of the same grade, who would have shared the same school subjects' syllabi, visited different places and had diverse aims for their study visits.

⁴⁴⁵ Amadeu Barata de Sousa Teles, "Relatório do 2º ciclo," *Relatório do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 249–283.

⁴⁴⁶ The National Museum Machado Castro (in Portuguese, *Museu Nacional Machado Castro*) is an art museum located in Coimbra which was founded in 1913 and named after the Portuguese sculptor Joaquim Machado Castro. It has the largest collection of sculptures in Portugal and its collections also include archaeological artefacts, goldsmith's art, jewellery, paintings, drawings, ceramics and textiles.

Fifth grade

Place visited	Purpose	Class	Teacher in charge
Museum of Zoology	Animal collection	A	Correia Cardoso
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
Museum M. de Castro	Art: pre-Roman, Romanic and Renaissance	"	Barata Teles
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
Church of St. Cruz	Renaissance art	"	Martins Carvalho
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
Ceramics factory	Pipes for plumbing	B	Zamith and Vieira Jr.
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
House of the Poor	Institution and its operation	"	Zamith and Jorge Pélico
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
Lime factory	Preparation and utility	"	Zamith
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
Astronomy Observatory	Institution and its operation	C	Menezes Torres
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
Museum M. de Castro	Sacred art	"	Câmara Leite
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
Celas' convent	Art – cloister	"	Jorge Pélico
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
Museum M. de Castro	Sacred art	D	Câmara Leite
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
Beer factory	Institution and its operation	"	Menezes Torres
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
University's library	Institution and bibliographical rarities	"	Saavedra Machado
	Lectures and reports	"	" "
<hr/>			
	School Excursion		
Sta. Comba Dão, Viseu, Guarda, Covilhã and Serra da Estrela	Church in Sta. Comba; Old Cathedral of Viseu; Sanatorium and secondary school of Guarda, tin and lead ore mines; wool weaving factory in Covilhã, Penhas da Saúde, Penhas Douradas, Cântaros and Coração de Boi in Serra [da Estrela]	B C	Zamith and Jorge Pélico

Figure 6 – Reproduction of the table representing the school journeys by the fifth grade students of the D. João III secondary school in Coimbra, during the 1937/1938 school year.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ Teles, "Relatório do Director do 2º ciclo," 281.

One decade later, resorting to tables to report school journeys was still widely used, though not conveying more information than the reports from the 1930s. In the principal's report of the lyceum Infanta D. Maria,⁴⁴⁸ also located in Coimbra, such a table was even simplified to three columns only, referring to the students' grades, the places visited and the teachers who conducted the visits. Again, no explicit information was conveyed regarding the aims of the study visits or their connection to specific school subjects, the ways in which the students were assessed, which classes of the specified grades participated, nor the date the visits took place. Instead, the places visited appear to be the main feature of the table. From this, it can be noted that the first graders went on two different study visits. The first visit was to an educational-recreational park that opened in June 1940 in Coimbra, intended to be a "living portrait of the Portuguese way [sic] and of the Portuguese presence in the world" and that still displays "sculptures and architectural art", i.e. miniature sized models of typical Portuguese architecture;⁴⁴⁹ and the second visit was to a paving stone factory. The second graders, however, visited a charitable institution, the fourth graders visited two factories and the seventh graders a natural sciences-related institution. However, there is no information regarding why the students from the third, fifth and sixth did not undertake a study visit.

Grades	Places	Teachers
1 st	Portugal dos Pequenitos	Gabriela Ramalho, Leal and Esteves Carmona
1 st	Paving stone factory	Alice Gomes and Ma dos Anjos Alves
2 nd	Servants of the poor	Isabel Motta and Alice Albuquerque
4 th	Soap and Beer factories	Basto and Ramalho
7 th	Institute of Geophysics	Basto

Figure 7 – School journeys undertaken by all students of the Infanta D. Maria secondary school in Coimbra during the 1948/1949 school year.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁸ *Relatório do Liceu Infanta D. Maria. Ano lectivo 1948/1949*, 1–114.

⁴⁴⁹ Information retrieved from the Portugal dos Pequenitos' official website on 2 July, 2017: <http://www.fbb.pt/pp/en/the-park/history/>. Portugal dos Pequenitos can be roughly translated into English as "Portugal of the Little Ones".

⁴⁵⁰ *Relatório do Liceu Infanta D. Maria. Ano lectivo 1948/1949*, 86.

As in the first example, the report on the excursions followed the study visits' table as plain text. With the exception of the first excursion, which starts with the participant students' grades (fifth, sixth and seventh), followed by the place visited (Lisbon), the date (30–31 October, 1943) and the aim (visit to the exhibition about state-funded infrastructural works at the *Instituto Superior Técnico*),⁴⁵¹ the remaining three excursions reported were headed in bold by the date on which they took place, followed by the participant students' grades, the places visited, and the teachers who accompanied the students. With the exception of the first excursion reported, and in line with the table on the study visits, no purposes were mentioned.

Finally, a report from the lyceum Fernão de Magalhães from 1958/1959 stands out as an exception and an example of one of the most comprehensive principal's report about study visits.⁴⁵² It is also exceptional because it used schemes as a visual representation of the study visits. In the report, each visit is headed by the date and weekday on which it took place, followed by the participants' grades and classes on the left, a curly bracket in the middle and the names of the teachers in charge on the right. Below their names, the places visited were underlined and followed by the initial(s) of the school subjects to which they related. Underneath the places and school subjects' initial(s), in capital letters, the word "AIMS", followed by a colon, calls the readers' attention to the brief description of the aims of each visit. This visual report clearly shows that students from diverse grades went on study visits to different places on the same days, all in May, as well as the diversity of places and the school subjects to which they related.

⁴⁵¹ The Instituto Superior Técnico is a higher education institution founded in 1911 in Lisbon to promote innovation and research in the fields of Architecture, Engineering, Science and Technology.

⁴⁵² *Relatório do Liceu de Chaves. Ano lectivo 1958/1959.*

7 - <u>Visitas de estudo e Excursões Escolares</u>	
a) - <u>Visitas de estudo</u>	
As visitas de estudo levadas a efeito no ano lectivo anterior foram as seguintes:	
<u>13 de Maio - Quarta-Feira</u>	
3º ano A e B	{ Padre Carlos Alexandre D. Maria Manuela <u>Hospital e Capela da Misericórdia (R. e Moral)</u> OBJECTIVO: História das Misericórdias e observação dos azulejos da Igreja.
1º ano A, B, C, e D	{ Dr. João Matos D. Maria Filomena D. Ana Cândida <u>Alto da Força (D.)</u> OBJECTIVO: Depósito de águas e observação do panorama.
<u>16 de Maio - Sábado</u>	
4ª e 5ª anos	{ D. Casimira Leitão Dr. Antero Gouveia <u>Estação do Caminho de Ferro (F.Q.)</u> OBJECTIVO: Observação duma locomotiva e duma balsa.
3º ano A e B	{ Dr. Ludovico Pereira D. Maria das Dores <u>Termas, Ponte Romana e Estrada Romana (H.)</u> OBJECTIVO: Observação das Termas e Vestígios da Civilização Romana em Chaves
<u>20 de Maio - Quarta-Feira</u>	
4ª e 5ª anos	{ D. Maria Filomena D. Maria Matos Dr. António Marques <u>Adega Cooperativa (C.N.)</u> OBJECTIVO: Visita às instalações.
2º ano A e B	{ Dr. Ludovico Pereira D. Alice Costa <u>Cerâmica Flaviense (C.G.N.)</u> OBJECTIVO: Subsídio para o estudo das rochas; observação do funcionamento da fábrica.

Figure 8 – Study visit's scheme.⁴⁵³

On 13 May, the first graders, together with their Drawing teacher, visited Alto da Força,⁴⁵⁴ a place in their municipality at which the Tâmega river waters were heated. The aim of this visit was described as the observation of “water deposits and the landscape”.⁴⁵⁵ On 23 May, they then visited an asylum for elderly people with their Morals and Religion teacher, the aim of the visit being “Christian charity”.⁴⁵⁶ The study visits of the second graders, however, only related to

⁴⁵³ *Relatório do Liceu de Chaves. Ano lectivo 1958/1959*, 44.

⁴⁵⁴ Literally “the gallows high”. Though the origin of this name is uncertain, it is believed to have been the hill on which criminals were hanged during the Middle Ages.

⁴⁵⁵ *Relatório do Liceu de Chaves. Ano lectivo 1958/1959*, 44.

⁴⁵⁶ Morals and Religion was a school subject that referred to the transmission of knowledge and values concerning the dogmas and practices of the Catholic Church. *Relatório do Liceu de Chaves. Ano lectivo 1958/1959*, 45.

Geographical and the Natural Sciences school subjects. The first visit, on 20 May, to a ceramics factory aimed to serve the “study of rocks” and to “observe the factory’s operation”;⁴⁵⁷ and the second visit, on 23 May, to a water treatment and elevation plant, was intended to “visit the facilities” and serve the “study of water”.⁴⁵⁸ The third graders also undertook two visits, the first on 13 May to the Hospital and Mercy Chapel with their Morals and Religion teacher to learn about the “history of the Misericórdias and observe the church’s tiling”,⁴⁵⁹ and the second visit, with their history teacher, three days later on 16 May, to the thermal baths, Roman bridge and road to “observe the thermal baths and traces of Roman Civilization in Chaves”.⁴⁶⁰ Finally, the fourth and fifth graders undertook their visits together, the first visit on 16 May to the railway station and the second visit on 20 May to a wine cellar cooperative. They were accompanied on their first visit by their Physics and Chemistry⁴⁶¹ teacher to “observe a locomotive and a bascule”, whereas the second visit was led by the Natural Sciences teacher and was intended to “visit the facilities”.⁴⁶²

Contrary to the details conveyed about the study visits, the reports on the two excursions start with the name of the teacher in charge, the teacher who accompanied the students, the aims – listed as the places visited in relation to their location –, the schedule, i.e. the departure and arrival times in Chaves, the total number of participant students (83 and 81, respectively), the mode of transport (bus) and the amount paid by each student to participate (37 *escudos* and 150 *escudos* respectively). In the schedule of the second excursion, the departure and arrival times at different places show that it lasted for four days, whereas the first excursion lasted one day only.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 44.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid, 45.

⁴⁵⁹ Literally “Mercies”, the Misericórdias is a short designation used to talk about one of the many branches of Santa Casa da Misericórdia (in English *Holy House of Mercy*), a Catholic organisation dedicated to Christian charity that was founded in 1498 by the – at the time – Queen of Portugal, D. Leonor. *Relatório do Liceu de Chaves. Ano lectivo 1958/1959*, 44.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ In the lower grades, Physics and Chemistry were merged as a single school subject, only becoming separate school subjects in the 6th and 7th grades’ curriculum.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 45–46.

Although the examples chosen correspond to two cases each of either absent or present information, it is important to note that the principals' reports from 1932 to 1960 with little or no information about the aims of school journeys, comprise most of the identified cases, whereas journeys with explicit information are uncommon and should therefore be regarded as exceptions. Indeed, from the lists and tables in these reports, it is evident that the pedagogical and curricular aims of the school journeys were more often omitted than included. Overall, regarding the study visits, they were equally undertaken to natural sites, science-related institutions and historical sites in a similar way as the previous period. However, after the 1930s, an increase in visits to industrial sites, and after the mid-40s to charitable and social institutions, is evident.

Of the few reports that addressed the aims of the school journeys, almost all of them concerned excursions rather than study visits or field trips. Indeed, although the aims of the study visits had to have a connection with the school subjects and the excursions were to have a general educational aim, it is from the latter's individual written accounts produced by the cycle's directors and teachers, which were attached to the principals' reports, that it is possible to identify some explicit purposes in relation to the types of places visited. Hence, the visits to natural sites referred to the contemplation of nature's beauty and its interest to the study of geography or geology,⁴⁶⁴ to fostering in the students the "admiration of the wonders of their land and its votive worship" in order to "learn to love their homeland and awaken the desire to serve it and make it prosperous".⁴⁶⁵ More rarely, these visits also related to the strengthening of the body,⁴⁶⁶ to the collection of animals and or plants⁴⁶⁷ and to orienteering exercises.⁴⁶⁸ The visits to industrial sites were mainly reported as serving the

⁴⁶⁴ G. Morais, "Relatório da Excursão Escolar realizada em 7 de Junho de 1936 ao Pico da Cruz, pelos alunos da primeira classe do Liceu Central de Antero do Quental," *Relatório do Liceu Antero de Quental. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, n.p.; and *Relatório do Liceu Fernão de Magalhães. Ano lectivo 1953/1954*.

⁴⁶⁵ Morais, "Relatório da Excursão Escolar," n.p.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁷ J. Brás, "Relatório da 1ª classe," *Relatório do Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, 1–7; and Anon., "Relatório do 1º ciclo. Secção feminina," *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Deus. Ano lectivo 1936/1937*, n.p.

⁴⁶⁸ J. Pinheiro, "Relatório da Direcção do 1º ciclo," *Relatório do Liceu Vieira Natividade. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 1–18.

purpose of learning about industrial processes,⁴⁶⁹ although they were also connected to knowing and understanding of working conditions in factories, mines, etc.,⁴⁷⁰ of the State's initiatives regarding these workers (labour laws, organisations and support facilities)⁴⁷¹ and of the importance of the different industries to the Portuguese economy.⁴⁷² The visits to historical sites, museums, archives and libraries often served the purpose of knowing about the historical significance of certain events and “creating love and respect for [national] monuments”, that is, “to pay tribute to the national richness”.⁴⁷³ The visits to social and charitable institutions were aimed at fostering the students' moral education through contact with “Christian charity”.⁴⁷⁴ Finally, the purposes of both study visits and excursions were often simply defined as “observation of” or “visit to” and was then followed by the name of the place visited. In addition to observation and visiting places, some teachers also highlighted the wider benefits of school journeys, such as the strengthening of the relationships between teachers and students and between peers, learning about the school surroundings, the acquisition of knowledge and/or the recalling of issues addressed during various school lessons.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁶⁹ Pinheiro, “Relatório da Direcção do 1º ciclo,” 1–18; Alfredo dos Santos Balacó, “Relatório do Director do 2º ciclo,” *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1940/1941*, 95–103; A. Tinoco, “Relatório da Excursão realizada ao Norte do País,” *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1940/1941*, 175–176; and *Relatório do Liceu Fernão de Magalhães. Ano lectivo 1953/1954*.

⁴⁷⁰ Silveira Ramos, “Relatório da Excursão a Aljustrel e Beja realizada no ano lectivo de 1936/1937 pelo 6º ano, debaixo da direcção do director do 2º ciclo, Prof. Silveira Ramos,” *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Deus. Ano lectivo 1936/1937*, n.p.; Rocha, “Relatório do 1º ciclo,” 158–247.

⁴⁷¹ Rocha, “Relatório do 1º ciclo,” 158–247.

⁴⁷² Arnaldo Cardoso Cunha, “Relatório do 2º ciclo,” *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1941/1942*, 68–72.

⁴⁷³ Pinheiro, “Relatório da Direcção do 1º ciclo”; and Adelaide Carvalho, “Relatório da visita de estudo realizada pelos alunos da segunda turma do primeira e segunda turmas do terceiro anos com a professora agregada do 2º grupo Adelaide Augusta Bastos Carvalho,” *Relatório do Liceu Diogo de Gouveia. Ano lectivo 1936/1937*, n.p.

⁴⁷⁴ *Relatório do Liceu Fernão de Magalhães. Ano lectivo 1953/1954*, 46–51; and *Relatório do Liceu de Chaves. Ano lectivo 1954/1955*, 24–27.

⁴⁷⁵ Morais, “Relatório da Excursão Escolar,” n.p.; Marília Neves Guanilho, “Relatório da visita de estudo realizada pelos alunos do 2º ano com a professora agregada do 9º grupo, Marília Neves Guanilho,” *Relatório do Liceu Diogo de Gouveia. Ano lectivo 1936/1937*, n.p.; Carvalho, “Relatório da visita de estudo,” n.p.; Tinoco, “Relatório da Excursão realizada ao Norte do País,” 175–176; J. L. Dias, “Relatório da excursão realizada no dia 2 de Junho às lagoas do Cedro e do Carvão com a 2ª classe Turma D,” *Relatório do Liceu Antero de Quental. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, n.p.; *Relatório do Liceu Infanta D. Maria. Ano lectivo 1950/1951*, 93–95; and *Relatório do Liceu de Chaves. Ano lectivo 1954/1955*, 24–27.

Due to the non-existence or dispersal of written accounts, the prevalence of lists and tables and the scarcity of substantial information they provide, it is not possible to draw conclusions about how the aims of school journeys may have changed from the 1900s to 1960. Indeed, most reports neglected the aims of these activities to the detriment of the regions and places visited by the specific grades. On the one hand, it appears as if the purposes of these activities were the actual travel to these places to *observe* and *learn* about what they had to offer. Even though omitted, this would make evident the connection to the school subjects which, in turn – depending on the grade of the participating students – would make obvious the curricular goals related to each of the places visited. On the other hand, it can still be assumed that since study visits were restricted to a few places, they were more likely to be connected to the curricular purposes of one or two school subjects, whereas excursions always comprised a plurality of places to be visited, thereby relating to several school subjects and having a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary nature. Thus, from the visited places that were reported, an inference can be made regarding the probable school subjects to which each visit related, which shows a balance between science and history-related places throughout the entire period. It is also evident that although visits to industrial sites took place from 1906 to 1916, they increased after the 1930s and that there was also a boom in visits to charitable and social institutions after the mid-1940s, even though it is not clear how these related to specific school subjects. However, and despite the fact that this inference does not allow conclusions to be drawn on the precise aims of each school journey, it is possible to see that school journeys were broadly related to the New Education's ideas of observation throughout the period and that, after the 1930s, a nationalist agenda became more obviously conveyed. Regardless of their overall importance to the implementation of modern schooling or of a nationalist agenda, the organisation of school journeys depended on financial conditions with which the secondary schools struggled.

Funding

When in 1906 the State promulgated a document to enforce the implementation of school journeys in Portuguese secondary schooling, the Teachers' Association reacted by publishing an article in their bulletin addressing the schools' problems concerning the funding of such activities.⁴⁷⁶ The argument was that it was not “enough” to demand such implementation and that the necessary funds to comply with the enactment should be “provided”, because without them it was “impossible” to undertake these activities, given the “lyceums’ misery”.⁴⁷⁷ Although complaints about the lack of funds for school journeys were constant throughout the period, in the early 20th century, some secondary schools had already developed strategies that attempted to overcome their financial limitations. These strategies spread to other schools and became, to some extent, ‘institutionalised’ as part of the legal regulations for school journeys in 1918. These strategies were suggested by pedagogues and teachers in the following decade, only to be changed by law in 1936. Even so, part of the funding logic of these strategies remained present until at least 1960.

Thus, as early as 1906 some secondary schools created associations to ease the financial burden of school journeys. An example of this was the creation of *caixa escolar* by the lyceum Pedro Nunes in 1906, the same year that the school was established. The *caixa escolar* promoted the articulated work of teachers and students, giving the latter the responsibility of managing a ‘micro’ institution within the school with relatively autonomy. The organisation and action of the *caixa escolar* was regulated by its statutes and was defined as follows:

Art. 1 – The *Caixa Escolar* is a society based in Lisbon, comprising teachers and students, which promotes the education of its members, mainly through the following means: a) excursions and study visits; b) mutual assistance; c) providence.

⁴⁷⁶ Anon., “Excursões Escolares” [School Excursions], *Boletim da Associação do Magistério Secundário Oficial* II, no. 12 (1906): 384.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

§ Exception. Towards the best use of the educational means, the *Caixa Escolar* has an Excursion Bursarship, a Mutual Relief Fund and an Economy Box.⁴⁷⁸

Thus, school journeys appeared at the head of the educational responsibilities of the *caixa escolar* as well as securing the financial conditions to undertake them. Its action depended on the combined work of the school's principal and its council, which included five students, who were to collect the fees paid by its members, to distribute the money for the different funds and thereafter promote school journeys, and provide the necessary funding. In the yearbook of 1908/1909 of the lyceum Pedro Nunes, the principal made clear that the *caixa escolar* "usually" paid for the journey's transport.⁴⁷⁹ He further added that, when planning study visits and excursions, the "financial conditions" should be mentioned and that these conditions were that "the *caixa escolar* pays the expenses of its members; the students who are unable to pay will privately declare this to the principal and will attend [the school journeys] for free".⁴⁸⁰ It was not mentioned in this report, or the following reports from this principal, how the costs concerning the students who were unable to pay for the study visits and excursions were covered, although it can be assumed that this was through the association's bursaries for excursions. In the yearbook of the following year, a report from *caixa escolar* was added that shows, on the one hand, that more than half of the total amount of money collected (480.780 réis) referred to its members' *quotas* (275.100 réis) and that less than one third was provided by the school (132.320 réis); and, on the other hand, that more than two thirds of the total expended money (476.335 réis) was used for school journeys (381.240 réis), plus the "subsidy for poor students" (56.525 réis).⁴⁸¹ Whether this subsidy was for journey bursaries or for another kind of financial aid was not specified, nor was the provenance of the money to subsidise these students. In any case, in a

⁴⁷⁸ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 99.

⁴⁷⁹ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1908/1909*, 53

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴⁸¹ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1909/1910* (Lisboa: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1910), 87. Please note that, at this time, the currency of Portugal was the *Real* (pl. *réis*). This currency was removed from circulation and the *Escudo* (pl. *escudos*) was introduced in May 1911, following the establishment of the Republic in October 1910.

subsequent yearbook, the principal clarified that “bursaries for every grade have been created” and that the main aim was to “plan [social] events and sell goods in order to undertake larger excursions that the school association’s donation [alone] would not allow”.⁴⁸²

Due to the growing importance of other circum-curricular activities and the need to involve as many students as possible in the modern schooling logic of active participation, the *caixa escolar* was later rethought and renamed *School Association*, and its responsibilities were henceforth extended to all circum-curricular activities. In its statutes, published in 1914, the same foundation of its predecessor, in which teachers and students were to work together, was visible and its action was to be led by the students who had then adopted the motto “we will educate ourselves”.⁴⁸³ Among the different sections of the association, school journeys appear – again – at the forefront, followed by the scientific and literary sections. Although the funds of the school association were to be divided among the different sections, most of the expenses still concerned study visits and excursions as they were the most costly activities.

Similarly to this school in Lisbon, the lyceum Alexandre Herculano in Oporto, founded two years later in 1908, also created its *caixa escolar* in 1914, which was based on its members’ quotas and the principal’s office’s subsidy for school journeys.⁴⁸⁴ The shared name, structure, functions and operation of these two school associations and the reference to others in several principal’s reports after the 1930s validates the assumption that these *micro* organisations proliferated in the Portuguese secondary education system.⁴⁸⁵ Indeed, the growing use of school associations as a means of collecting money to support circum-curricular activities in general and school journeys in particular was understood to be a good practice and was therefore addressed and suggested by

⁴⁸² *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1913/1914*, 94.

⁴⁸³ Associação Escolar do Liceu de Pedro Nunes, *Estatutos* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1914), 7.

⁴⁸⁴ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1913/1914* (Porto: Liceu Central Alexandre Herculano, 1914), 135.

⁴⁸⁵ *Relatório do Liceu Luís de Camões. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, 26; *Relatório do Liceu Manuel de Arriaga. Ano lectivo 1936/1937*, 12; Almeida, “Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo,” 213; and *Relatório do Liceu Infanta D. Maria. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*.

some pedagogues and teachers in their published works in the 1920s.⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, the increasingly established practice of most of the costs of school journeys being met by the students, whether they comprised quotas paid by the members of the school's associations or by the students individually, was appropriated as an official means of financing these activities and was made evident in Decree 3091 of April 1917. Although the decree stipulated that "a sum to support school excursions and study visits" was to be considered "in the school budget", it also specified that the "remaining costs" were to be covered by the students "either individually or via their school's associations".⁴⁸⁷ However, as noted in the chapter on the legal documents that regulated school journeys, it was not obvious whether the State increased the schools' annual funding in order for this sum to be available to support the undertaking of these activities or whether the schools had to save part of their budget for this purpose.

In the following year, 1918, a new decree was promulgated that introduced a clause that had financial implications for school journeys. It established that the teacher(s) who were in charge of "excursions outside the school's vicinities" were to be paid compensation to cover the travel and a daily allowance, and that those teachers who conducted "study visits in the school's vicinities" were to be paid a small sum for each visit.⁴⁸⁸ The payment of teachers conducting school journeys was later reinforced in these exact terms, by decree 18486 of 1930, although this decree still did not make clear whether this compensation was to be paid by the ministry directly to the teachers or to be made available in the annual budget of each secondary school. However, this clause did not appear to make much difference in regard to the overall funding of school journeys. An anecdotal example is the 1933/1934 report of the lyceum André de Gouveia in Évora, in which the principal commented that "only a few study visits were undertaken by some of the classes, but with little interest on the teachers' part".⁴⁸⁹ He further added that "for incomprehensible reasons" the compensation for the teachers for conducting study visits "was never much" and, because of this, "teachers react

⁴⁸⁶ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*; and Barata, "As excursões geográficas," 166–171.

⁴⁸⁷ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917.

⁴⁸⁸ Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918.

⁴⁸⁹ *Relatório do Liceu André de Gouveia. Ano lectivo 1933/1934*, 5.

against study visits every time”. His justification was that this reaction was no mere caprice, nor an example of the teachers’ bad intentions since “many of them spend several hours working on circum-curricular activities for free”.⁴⁹⁰

As these strategies had been in place since 1906, the legal framework for the funding of school journeys in 1917, and then again in 1930, took advantage of the common practice in many secondary schools and although the framework did not regulate the operation of school associations, it assumed they were part of the funding mechanisms of school journeys.⁴⁹¹ However, a flaw in the regulations enacted from 1917 onwards was to assume and take for granted that the work of these school associations, which had proven efficient until this time, would bear the expenses of these activities on a compulsory basis. In fact, even before the enforcement of the compulsory attendance of study visits in 1917, the schools’ principals complained about not having the necessary means to undertake them. After its reinforcement with decree 18486 in 1930, these complaints were still present in the teachers’ publications and in the principals’ reports.⁴⁹² Even if excursions, which were more expensive, were optional, when weighing the income and the expenses of mandatory study visits and, given the fact that the income mainly comprised the students’ private funds and a small proportion provided by the school, many principals connected the lack of funds with the decreasing number of school journeys, particularly excursions. As the principal of the lyceum of Aveiro stated in his annual report of 1934:

Like previous years, it was not possible to undertake school excursions due to the insignificant funds from the Administrative Council for such a purpose. From the State’s general budget, only 500 [escudos] was granted for both excursions and school events, from which 10% had to be deducted. In practice, one can say that the Administrative Council did not subsidise the students who undertook excursions because the small funds it possessed were barely enough to pay for the travelling expenses of the teacher in charge. Thus, the expenses that resulted from excursions had to be almost

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917; Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

⁴⁹² Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*; Barata, “As excursões geográficas,” 166–171; Hernández, “Excursões Escolares”; Teles, “Relatório do Director do 2º Ciclo”; *Relatório do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1942/1943*; *Relatório do Liceu Diogo de Gouveia. Ano lectivo 1944/1945*; *Relatório do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano lectivo 1948/1949*; *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Castro. Ano lectivo 1948/1949*; *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Deus. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*; and *Relatório do Liceu de Faro. Ano lectivo 1954/1955*, 149.

entirely supported by the students and the School Associations – the *caixa escolar* and the *solidárias*.⁴⁹³

While some secondary schools focused on the public funding granted annually by the State to each school, other schools highlighted the growing difficulty of students to pay the annual quotas to the schools' associations, and thus to be their members and benefit from their activities. In 1937, the principal of the lyceum Manuel de Arriaga in Horta made this explicit in his report. In this school, he explained, "there is a *caixa escolar* that provides significant support for poor students, of which there is unfortunately a great number at this school".⁴⁹⁴ However, despite such significant support, he justified the reduction in the school association's income by the "great difficulties" the students had in "paying their monthly quotas". In any case, the principal explained that the school planned to overcome such a reduction in income by carrying out sports events and collecting donations from benefactors. These difficulties were obvious in the schools that had a poorer student population, whose funding strategies expanded beyond the individual contributions to the organisation of social events, the sale of goods and appeals for donations. This means that despite the schools' various strategies for overcoming the lack of funding for school journeys, the problem persisted as the students were still the main contributors. In fact, in some cases, funding for excursions was raised only with the students' quotas, made on a regular basis.⁴⁹⁵

Thus, after the change of the legal framework for the funding of school journeys in 1936, when a new decree determined that these activities were to be financially supported by the Portuguese Youth, complaints concerning the lack of funding to undertake such journeys persisted.⁴⁹⁶ A report from the lyceum Sá da Bandeira in Santarém, produced in 1943, started the section on study visits and excursions by stating that "due to the scarcity of [financial] resources, no excursions were undertaken by any class to distant places, away from the city". The author then regretted that "nor the modest budget sums nor the Portuguese

⁴⁹³ *Relatório do Liceu de Aveiro. Ano lectivo 1933/1934*, 12.

⁴⁹⁴ *Relatório do Liceu Manuel de Arriaga. Ano lectivo 1936/1937*, 12.

⁴⁹⁵ Fernanda Bastos, "Relatório do Director do 3º ciclo," *Relatório do Liceu Luís de Camões. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, n.p.

⁴⁹⁶ Decreto 27084 of 14/10/1936.

Youth resources allowed to meet the expenses of excursions”.⁴⁹⁷ However, he argued that “the poverty of this school’s population, as obvious as it is, did not consent to the students contributing with their quotas to these activities”.⁴⁹⁸ To some extent, it appears as if the schools managed their financial limitations by undertaking a number of mandatory study visits, restricting optional school excursions as much as possible, depending on the financial background of the students’ families. Given the constant difficulties that most Portuguese secondary schools faced regarding having sufficient funds to provide study visits and excursions, it is interesting to note that some of the old funding mechanisms kept working. Indeed, despite the transfer of school journey funding from the school associations to the Portuguese Youth, the former still played a role in supporting these activities in some secondary schools after the promulgation of this law.

For example, in the annual report of the lyceum Luís de Camões in Lisbon, produced in 1936, the principal explained that it was through the school’s association, “constituted by students and teachers” who paid “an annual quota of 5 and 10 *escudos*, respectively”, that several educational activities were supported. Besides lectures and conferences “given by teachers and students”, the association organised several events (literary soirées, sports festivals, etc.) that allowed it to “support students” in terms of school fees, books and material.⁴⁹⁹ Although no financial support for school journeys was explicitly mentioned in the association’s budget report, the principal pointed out that the different sections of the association were “guided” by teachers, among which we find the section on “events and excursions”. He further added that the teacher “Donatila Batista gave a valuable and persistent assistance receiving the quotas that were particularly destined for the students’ excursions”.⁵⁰⁰ Even if these quotas were individually paid by the students, independently of the associations’ annual fees, it was through this organisation that school journeys were promoted and that the funds for them was collected.

⁴⁹⁷ *Anuário do Liceu de Sá da Bandeira. Ano lectivo 1942/1943*, 30.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹ *Relatório do Liceu Luís de Camões. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, 26.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

Indeed, in subsequent reports from several schools, the excursion budget usually included individual quotas, the school association's contribution and, sometimes, the subsidy from the secondary school.⁵⁰¹ Thus, from the early 20th century until the mid-1940s, the use of school associations to promote and support excursions appears to have been a common practice. After this time, the role played by school associations in funding school journeys decreased, whereas the contribution of the Portuguese Youth – also made through individual quotas – increased. Nevertheless, the funding principle of school journeys remained the same, as it was still common for all students to contribute with quotas for the excursions in which they were to participate. For this reason, some secondary schools continued to organise social and sports events to collect money for excursions. And, as in the past, students' contributions almost always comprised at least one half if not two thirds of the total income of the excursion's budget. Indeed, in the reports on the excursions funded by the Portuguese Youth, the contributions of this organisation represented a small part of the total income from these activities, i.e. the equivalent to what was once given by the schools' associations.

One example of the different funding contributions in most excursions is the budget for the excursion to Coimbra undertaken by the sixth and seventh graders from the lyceum Filipa de Lencastre in 1947. In this school year, the principal reported that 20 students registered for the excursion whose “expenses were 5801.80, that is, 252.25 [*escudos*] per person”, and that such expenses “were covered” by 1908.10 *escudos* from the profit made by a social event, 953.70 *escudos* from the Female Portuguese Youth's contribution and 2940 *escudos* from individual quotas.⁵⁰²

A second example from the lyceum Rodrigues Lobo in 1949 is the budget for the excursion for fourth and fifth graders to Figueira da Foz, Conimbriga and Coimbra. From the fourth grade, 42 students registered for the excursion (21 per class) and from the entire fifth grade, 26 students participated, and each student contributed 35 *escudos*. On top of the total contributions made by the students,

⁵⁰¹ *Relatório do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 210, 216, 219; and *Relatório do Liceu Martins Sarmento. Ano lectivo 1940/1941*, 24.

⁵⁰² *Relatório do Liceu D. Filipa de Lencastre. Ano lectivo 1946/1947*, 55.

2380 *escudos*, 1118.50 *escudos* were added (200 from the Female Portuguese Youth and 918.50 *escudos* from the Portuguese Youth).⁵⁰³

Finally, a third example from 1960 concerns an excursion undertaken by 40 students of the lyceum Camilo Castelo Branco in Northern Portugal to Sagres in the south. Given the distance travelled (around 700 km) and the excursion's duration (four days), the funding required to undertake it was naturally higher than the funding required in the examples given above. Even so, the principal reported a 10000 *escudos* income from "40 applications of 250 [*escudos*] each" and only 6920 *escudos* in "subsidies" given by the Portuguese Youth (5920 *escudos*) and Female Portuguese Youth (1000 *escudos*).⁵⁰⁴ These three reports are examples of the enduring practice of students providing most funding for school excursions, regardless of the organisation that supported these activities. Naturally, there were exceptions in which 1) the students paid a small sum and the rest was covered by the Portuguese Youth movements, 2) the students' contribution represented the total funding for the excursion and/or 3) there were some students who couldn't afford the costs and who travelled for free.⁵⁰⁵

In all school principals' reports, the funds raised for study visits or excursions mainly related to transport costs, in most cases a rented bus and sometimes trams in the study visits in Lisbon. In addition, tips were often included in the excursions' budgets, which were mainly reported to have been given to the bus driver.⁵⁰⁶ In the case of excursions that lasted more than one day, accommodation expenses were not often reported⁵⁰⁷ and, only in rare cases, food expenses, meaning that the students were also to provide for this privately.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰³ *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1948/1949*, 74–75.

⁵⁰⁴ *Relatório do Liceu Camilo Castelo Branco. Ano lectivo 1959/1960*, 62.

⁵⁰⁵ *Relatório do Liceu de Viseu. Ano lectivo 1946/1947*, n.p.; and *Relatório do Liceu de Chaves. Ano lectivo 1959/1960*, 46.

⁵⁰⁶ J. A. F. Antunes, "Plano da Excursão dos alunos do 1º ano a Penacova, Lorvão, Luso, Bussaco e Curia," *Relatório do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 209–210; Almeida, "Relatório do Director do 10 ciclo," 213; F. Costa, "Relatório da excursão realizada a Tomar com o 3º ano em 14 de Maio de 1938," *Relatório do Liceu de D. João III. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 219; *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1948/1949*, 74–75; *Relatório do Liceu Bissaia Barreto. Ano lectivo 1958/1959*, 35–36; and *Relatório do Liceu Camilo Castelo Branco. Ano lectivo 1959/1960*, 61–62.

⁵⁰⁷ *Relatório do Liceu Bissaia Barreto. Ano lectivo 1958/1959*, 36; and *Relatório do Liceu Camilo Castelo Branco. Ano lectivo 1959/1960*, 61–62.

⁵⁰⁸ Almeida, "Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo," 213; and *Relatório do Liceu Bissaia Barreto. Ano lectivo 1958/1959*, 36.

Interestingly, the balance between income and expenses for the school excursions' budgets was almost always zero, a few times a profit was reported⁵⁰⁹ whereas no deficit was ever recorded.

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The analysis of the series of sources that concern the reports on school activities shows that in the first two decades of the 20th century, the organisation of study visits and school excursions relied heavily on the accomplishment of the students' associative and collaborative work. Because there is no mention of preliminary plans for school journeys at the beginning of the century, it is difficult to know the extent to which such plans were made by the students. However, from the mid-1910s to the 1930s, the reports show that a gradual shift occurred in which the teachers became increasingly responsible for these activities. After the 1930s and throughout the following decades, the school principal's reports show that there were distinct procedures for the presentation, discussion and decision-making at the different school councils' meetings and/or associations regarding the preliminary plans for school journeys and that these plans were made by the teachers. Nevertheless, between the 1930s and the 1960s, the plans were never published in the education press and seldom included in the school principals' annual reports. When they *were* included, most plans conveyed scant information about the curricular or methodological aspects of the educational activity to which they referred, focusing instead on the participants' grades, the places to be visited and, sometimes, logistics aspects. Thus, the schools' reports favoured the information on what happened rather than the plans that were made.

However, even when reporting study visits and excursions, the aims of each school journey were rarely put in focus in the reports of teachers and school principals. Indeed, although the importance of having clear aims for each school journey was constantly stated by pedagogues and teachers, and evidently instructed in the legal documents, the description of the aims was neglected to the detriment of the places visited and the logistical aspects required by these activities. In the school yearbooks from 1906 to 1916, the aims of both study visits

⁵⁰⁹ Almeida, "Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo," 213; and Costa, "Relatório da excursão," 219.

and excursions were more often merely listed or not mentioned at all, as opposed to being explicitly articulated with any pedagogical aim or with the school subjects' syllabi. In the principals' reports produced from the 1930s onwards, the listings were still common, although, by the end of the 1930s, the information was increasingly presented in tables and schemes and also conveyed little information on the aims of the school journey. Indeed, most of the principals' reports from 1906 to 1960 had little or no information about the aims of the school journeys. It was as if the purpose of these activities was the actual journey to the places mentioned to observe and learn *in situ* about what they had to offer. Even though omitted, what these places had to offer would make evident the connection to the school subjects' syllabi for each grade who visited such places which, in turn, would make the curricular aims obvious. It can also be assumed that since study visits were restricted to a few places, they were more likely to be connected to the curricular purposes of one or two school subjects, whereas excursions always comprised a plurality of places to be visited, thereby relating to several school subjects and having a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary nature.

Thus, from the lists, tables and schemes of the places visited, an inference can be made regarding the probable school subjects to which each visit related, which shows a balance between science and history-related places throughout the entire period. It is also evident that although there were visits to industrial sites from 1906 to 1916, they increased after the 1930s, and that visits to charitable and social institutions also increased exponentially after the mid-1940s even though it is not clear how these related to specific school subjects. However, despite the possibility of connecting the places visited with school subjects, such an inference does not allow conclusions to be drawn on the precise aims of each school journey. Yet, in the reports in which explicit information was conveyed, it is possible to discern that school journeys broadly related to the progressive and new education's ideas of observation throughout the period, but that after the 1930s a nationalist agenda became more obviously conveyed. Indeed, the imperative of observation as a condition of modern learning, which was often mentioned in both education and legal documents throughout the 20th century, appears to have shifted to the imperative of observation as a condition for the

education of the pupils' intelligence and character, though using the same two terms: *observing* and *learning*.⁵¹⁰

On a broader level of analysis, and taking the New Education's categories for integral education (physical, intellectual, moral and aesthetic) as organising classifications of the school journeys' aims, the detailed and explicit information available is clearly concentrated on two of them throughout the entire period: intellectual and moral education. Indeed, most of the visits to natural, historical and industrial sites were to have an intellectual focus as they were to be related to school subjects such as the Natural Sciences, Geography and History. However, after the 1930s, visits to industrial sites related to science school subjects as much as to an understanding of how society was organised, how it worked in the particular context of the Nation and how it was relevant to national, social and economic progress, whereas the visits to social and charitable institutions were connected to the particular Christian ethics conveyed by the Catholic Church in Portugal.⁵¹¹ In addition, visits to historical sites after the mid-1930s evidently combined both the intellectual and moral education of the pupils, given the fact that national historical characters were often mobilised as young people's *moral* role models. However, even if the mobilisation of historical actors as role models only became visible during the dictatorship, the fostering of the students' *national belonging* was an underlying and constant educational concern, at least since the late 19th century and particularly so after the mid-1910s.

In this sense, when comparing the school principal's reports with the publications of pedagogues and teachers produced from the mid-1920s onwards, it is evident that the journeys to natural sites were to contribute to a "better understanding of the Portuguese land and consequently [to] strengthen the love for the homeland in the students' souls";⁵¹² and that the visits to industrial sites were to promote the understanding of how some school subjects related to 'real' life, how human resources were organized and worked in society, how the nation

⁵¹⁰ Circular of 25/10/1906; Decreto 4650 of 14/07/1918; Decreto 4799 of 12/09/1918; and Decreto-Lei 27084 of 14/10/1936.

⁵¹¹ The transmission of values connected to Christian ethics was particularly intense, thus evident, during the dictatorship, whereas in the previous period even though present it was not explicitly addressed.

⁵¹² Barata, "As excursões geográficas," 166–171.

made use of its natural resources, and their relevance;⁵¹³ and finally, that the visits to historical sites were to develop historical consciousness, and in doing so, establish a connection between the past and the present that served the purpose of fostering the students' collective identity.⁵¹⁴ Such a connection can also be understood as a connection between the present and the future, as a way of instilling in the students the desire to contribute to their country's progress and of fostering their moral character. Overall, even if the knowledge attached to the places visited was connected to the syllabi of the specific school subjects, the values attached to these places and transmitted to the students referred as much to secular morals and Christian ethics as to narratives of national progress and belonging that inscribed the student onto a particular notion of civic virtue of "overcoming one's self-interest to take up the common interest", that is, to "act in the name of common good".⁵¹⁵

Yet, regardless of the overall importance of school journeys to the implementation of a progressive education or of a nationalist agenda, the secondary schools struggled with the financial means necessary to organising these activities. The strategy adopted in the first decade of the 20th century, and which lasted roughly to the mid-1940s, was the creation in a number of schools of membership-based school associations. The recognition of their effectiveness in using their members' annual fee to support school journeys made them proliferate in several other schools across the country from the mid-1910s onwards. However, when in 1917, and then again in 1930, the legal regulations made study visits mandatory, the funds collected by these associations were not sufficient to cover both study visits and excursions. Even though these legal documents indicated that there would be financial incentives for study visits, the students often had to support the excursion expenses themselves. Thereafter, the complaints persisted because these financial aids were not enough and because

⁵¹³ António Faria de Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova na Bélgica* [A New School in Belgium] (Aveiro: UA Editora, 2015[1915]); Adolfo Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica* [Sociological Pedagogy], vol. I (Lisboa: Couto Martins, 1932).

⁵¹⁴ P. M. Laranjo Coelho, "Vantagens do estudo das monografias locais para o conhecimento da história geral portuguesa" [Advantages of studying local monographs for knowledge of Portuguese general history], *O Instituto: revista científica e literária* 73 (1926): 285–303.

⁵¹⁵ Daniel Tröhler Thomas S. Popkewitz, and David F. Labaree, *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century. Comparative visions* (New York: Routledge, 2011), xii.

some students could not afford them and were therefore unable to participate in the study visits and excursions. Nevertheless, there is evidence throughout the entire period of students who met these requirements and who were allowed to participate in school journeys for free as their costs were covered by the school's budget.

After the change in 1936 to the provenance of funds for school journeys from the secondary schools' budgets and school associations' membership fees to the Portuguese Youth, not only complaints persisted as those funding mechanisms kept supporting longer excursions. Overall, the students appear to have been supporting both study visits and excursions from 1906 to the mid-1930s, while from this decade onwards, school associations, secondary schools and the Portuguese Youth supported study visits, while the students funded the excursions in which they participated. Even though some principals connect the lack of funding with the reduction in the number of both study visits and excursions, it seems as if only the undertaking of the latter was constrained. In any case, most of the budgets in the reports refer to excursions rather than to study visits. In most of the reports, the comparison between the students' individual contributions and the money provided by the other funding mechanisms show a considerable imbalance, in which the students covered 50% to 75% of the expenses. These, in turn, always referred to the payment of the transport that was used, usually buses, and the gratuities to the bus driver. When excursions lasted longer than a day, the students' and teachers' accommodation was also included, whereas food was rarely covered regardless of the duration of the excursion.

Taking everything in consideration, the reports in school yearbooks or sent to the Ministry of Education convey little information about the initial plans made and the purposes of school journeys. Even so, the analysis of the fragmented and sparse information available enabled an understanding of how these activities were put into practice in terms of their organisation, particularly regarding the decision-making process, their funding and the actors involved. The analysis also enabled inferring the possible connections between the places to be visited, the school subjects involved and the school journeys' broader educational aims.

6. Places and practices of school journeys

From 1906 to 1960, a variety of places were visited by secondary school students during school journeys: archives, educational institutions, companies, factories, historical monuments and sites, libraries, museums, natural sites and social organisations. In order to make the most of the educational purposes of these activities, most of the places were not simply ‘visited’ but comprised different types of activities ranging from lessons *in situ* and formal guided tours to the close observation and collection of natural specimens.

To put the places visited in relation to the undertaken activities and their reported aims and/or results, I have grouped the places visited into three main categories: historical, industrial and natural sites. Additionally, a fourth category was added to include increasingly visited types of places that referred less to formal curricular goals and more to their wider social purposes: educational and social institutions and organisations. Given the silences of both education and policy texts regarding practices during school journeys, in this chapter I aim to expand the knowledge on and contribute to the understanding of the undertaking of these activities. I do it by analysing school yearbooks, and principals’ and teachers’ reports, as well as addressing questions regarding the places to which school journeys were made, in what ways and in relation to what. This will bring forward evident connections between the places visited, the activities carried out and the curricular and broader educational aspects of school journeys. On the one hand, the importance attributed to the acquisition of knowledge and the fostering of national belonging; on the other hand, the fact that the roles of teachers and students became increasingly less connected to the principles of modern didactics but rather reflected aspects of the criticized traditional education.

Historical sites

Monuments and archaeological sites

Of all the historical places that were reportedly visited by secondary school students, those places concerning medieval and early modern monuments and

sites were by far the most frequently visited. These include castles and their walls, battlefields and religious places such as humble churches, old cathedrals and monasteries, as well as the tombs of venerated historical figures from Portugal. Students also visited contemporary sculptures and statues commemorating these revered figures and important historical events. Whether these visits occurred during a short study visit in proximity to the school or on longer excursions to places further away, most of the monuments were often the object of lessons *in situ* given by the person who was responsible for the school journey, usually the history teacher or the school principal.⁵¹⁶ These lessons consisted of “explanations” and “clarifications” of the “most interesting historical and legendary facts” associated with the events that occurred in or related to the place visited.⁵¹⁷ Although the involvement of the students in these lessons was rarely conveyed, some documents reveal different forms of student participation.

Of the few writings that provide further information on how the visits proceeded, the most complete is a paper produced by a student of Colégio de Campolide, a private Catholic educational institution in Lisbon. Published in the school’s journal, the paper was the first of a set of three papers to be presented at a school conference after an excursion to Alcobaça and Batalha by upper secondary school students in June 1910.⁵¹⁸ Entitled “Chronicle of an excursion”,

⁵¹⁶ On exceptional occasions, other people were in charge of the group of students during their visits, serving as their guides and lecturers *in loco*. This was the case regarding two excursions, the first undertaken by a group of students from a private school in Lisbon, published in the school journal in 1907; and the second, undertaken by tenth and eleventh grade students from a public secondary school in Bragança, mentioned in the school principal’s annual report. Regarding the first excursion, although the article did not explicitly state who the participant students were nor their grades, it made clear that the students were accompanied by one of the student’s family, “tirelessly helping [the group] with true affection and dedication”, as well as by the school doctor, who “served as a kind and learned cicerone” in “everything [they] visited”. Anon. “Passeio a Tomar,” *O Nosso Collegio* 3 (1907): 27–28. As for the second excursion, it was reported that the school principal invited an “eminent writer” to accompany the group, who provided the students with “very interesting lectures about the different monuments and localities visited”. Even if the exact places and monuments in these localities were omitted, the principal nevertheless stated that the excursion was very useful “from historical and archaeological viewpoints” for the “students and even [for the] teachers”, given the “erudition of the guide who was kind enough to accompany” them. *Relatório do Liceu Emídio Garcia. Ano lectivo 1936/1937*, 10.

⁵¹⁷ Manuel Vicente, “As Classes. Classe II,” *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* IV, no. 8 (1935): 37.

⁵¹⁸ Augusto Mendonça, “Excursão a Alcobaça e à Batalha. Crónica da Excursão,” *O Nosso Collegio* 6 (1910): 110–116; José Lopes, “Alcobaça. Dissertação histórico-artística,” *O Nosso Collegio* 6 (1910): 116–125; Luiz Everard, “O Monumento da Batalha. Conferência do aluno Luiz de Lara Everard,” *O Nosso Collegio* 6 (1910): 126–134.

the author started by addressing the importance and interest in the “study of architecture” due to “its varied and complex scope, as well as its beauty”, which he considered only graspable and beneficial if “based on personal observations as much as possible”.⁵¹⁹ After briefly mentioning the several transitory stops made on the journey to the Batalha Monastery, which were intended to “see” and “admire” aspects relating to historical events, the author pointed out that such a monument was “visited” with “attention and in detail” over a period of four hours, and that one of the teachers accompanying them “entrusted each one” of the students with the task of “observing, studying and taking notes about one part of the monument or about a special artistic style”.⁵²⁰ Furthermore, the author “confess[ed]” that in the face of the students’ solitude during their task, it was the “importunity of the teacher in calling [their] attention to this or that detail that would probably have gone unnoticed, which frequently reminded [the students] of carrying out [their] duties”.⁵²¹

In contrast, a report on an excursion undertaken by third grade students in the Algarve, for example, stated that when visiting the cathedral and castle in Silves, one of the teachers taking part in the excursion “dissertated brilliantly”. However, despite the fact that “the students wanted even more [of it]”, it was “necessary” to “convince” them “to move on and stop asking questions about what they had just enthusiastically heard”.⁵²² In fact, it was not only long visits that appear to have been an exception, as it was certainly rare for the students to work individually on their observations of parts of the places visited in the context of visits to historical monuments and sites. More often, the time available to spend on these visits and lessons was an issue, which is the reason why the students were mostly presented as a whole body, i.e. as a group, jointly observing and listening to the lectures given. Thus, their engagement was restricted to that of

⁵¹⁹ Mendonça, “Excursão a Alcobaça,” 110.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 113.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

⁵²² Luiz Afonso, “Relatório do 1º ciclo,” *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Deus (secção masculina). Ano lectivo 1936/1937*, n.p.

observers and listeners.⁵²³ Some reports also mention the students' task of "taking many notes" based on "what was mentioned regarding history" by the teacher and on all students' "careful examination" of the visited place.⁵²⁴

Indeed, in most school journeys' reports, monuments were simply referred to as having been visited, observed, appreciated, contemplated and/or admired in articulation with the teachers' explanations.⁵²⁵ Given the predominance of reports that omit information about the educational approach of the teachers during the school journeys to most of the historical monuments and sites, as well as the aims and results of these visits, it is curious to note that the few documents that did, refer to iconic places or periods in the history of Portugal. One of these iconic places and periods refers to monuments related to events or people connected to the maintenance of Portugal's independence from Spain during the 1383–1385 succession crisis, including the Batalha Monastery, built to celebrate the Portuguese victory over the attempt by Spanish troops to conquer the realm, and the ruins of the Santa Clara convent in Coimbra, where the students "contemplated with respectful curiosity the tomb of D. Brites Pereira, daughter of the glorious constable, NunÁlvares [sic]", the general responsible for this victory.⁵²⁶ The other case, which received even greater attention in the reports of both teachers and students, is that of monuments or people related to the '*Age of Discoveries*' (c.1415–1651).

On an excursion to Estoril and Cascais, the fourth and fifth grade students of the lyceum Pedro Nunes passed by the Belém, a civil parish in Lisbon in which many monuments dating from or related to the '*Age of Discoveries*' are located. Considering all that could have been written about the excursion, a fifth grade student, whose report was included in the school yearbook, chose to focus on the place where it started, a public monument that had been recently placed in Belém and to which students were taken in order to "contemplate" it: the statue of "the

⁵²³ Agostinho Gomes Tinoco, "Relatório da excursão feita pelos alunos do 5º e 6º anos," *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1939/1940*, 127; and *Relatório do Liceu Bissaia Barreto. Ano lectivo 1958/1959*, 35–36.

⁵²⁴ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1913/1914*, 161–162.

⁵²⁵ See, for exemple, Gaspar José Machado, "As Classes. VI Classe," *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes) II*, no. 4 (1932), 145.

⁵²⁶ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*, 138.

great Albuquerque”.⁵²⁷ There, the school principal provided “some explanations about the statue’s [artistic] style and some facts about the eminent warriors who were depicted in bas-relief at the base of the column”.⁵²⁸ Taking into consideration the students’ observations and the explanations given by the school principal in their lesson *in situ*, the student further reported that “[t]he statue, even if contemporary, belongs to the Manueline style”, whose “designation derives from the fact that such an artistic style flourished during the reign of King D. Manuel”. The student then echoed a common belief that such a style “belongs only to Portugal” because it “perfectly translates the state of the [Portuguese] people’s soul of that time”.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁷ Afonso Albuquerque (c.1453–1515) was a Portuguese general and statesman. As a military man, he participated in several overseas expeditions under the reigns of D. João II and de D. Manuel I. However, he is mostly known for having served Portugal as the second governor of India from 1508 to his death in December 1515, where he contributed to the control and pacification of this Eastern territory. The historian Simão José da Luz Soriano took the initiative to fund Afonso Albuquerque’s statue, which was then created by António Augusto da Costa Motta (Tio). Its two level-base is made from marble (column) with the bronze statue on top. The monument was inaugurated in 1901 and placed in a square with this Portuguese personage’s name close to the Jerónimos Monastery.

⁵²⁸ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 68.

⁵²⁹ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 68. It is important to note that the Manueline ‘myth’ was created in the Romantic 19th century to convey the idea that, along with the epic and marvellous ‘discoveries’, Portugal had created a unique artistic style inspired by its maritime expansion. The narrative that, from the late 15th century to the mid-1600s, Portugal was not only an empire but a great empire, not only vast, but rich and cultured, etc. spread and the idea that monuments were created in order to reflect not only the greatness of Portugal but also that of its expansion (e.g. by incorporating maritime elements) became ‘rooted’ as truth. To the point that, during the 19th century and then again during the dictatorship, the monuments of this period that required restoration were given “Manueline” characteristics if they did not have enough of them or were not as ‘obvious’ as they should be. The existence of a Manueline style as something national has been ‘debunked’ by some art historians who claim that the uniqueness of such a style is to do with a creative combination of Late Gothic and Early Renaissance architectural styles rather than the incorporation of Discoveries-inspired elements. One example is the Solomonic column which, despite being mostly found in Baroque architecture and thus rarely in Renaissance architecture, was commonly depicted in paintings and tapestries of the time. However, the ‘myth’ narrative explains that such columns were used to resemble a caravel’s ropes. Such a narrative is clearly present in this student’s report when he mentions the boat’s ropes as architectural motifs (see fourth paragraph on page 68). Nevertheless, such a ‘myth’ has propagated not only in Portugal, but also outside the country. A book published in New York in 1968, called *The Art of Portugal. 1500–1800*, assumed itself to be the “first comprehensive study of the great achievements of Portuguese art to be written in English”. The author, Robert C. Smith, is presented as having a “comprehensive knowledge of the country and its monuments” due to having “lived and worked in Portugal for many years”. However, he also reiterated such a nationalist ‘myth’ by defending the fact that one of the “great flowerings of Portuguese artistic genius” is the “Manueline style”. In Portugal, such ideas of a national architectural style connected to the ‘Discoveries’ has been propagated in many ways, including via schooling. Curiously enough, it still is because references to such styles as incorporating maritime elements still appear in most if not all history textbooks nowadays. Robert C. Smith, *The Art of Portugal. 1500–1800* (New York: Meredith Press, 1968).

Most common were the visits to the Belém Tower and to the Jerónimos Monastery, the latter being often considered “one of the most beautiful works of Manueline architecture” the magnificence of which “attests the glory and wealth of our ancestors”.⁵³⁰ Visits to this monastery were particularly intended for the students to contemplate it as a testimony of a glorious past, to “admire the church’s main altar, the sacristy, cloisters” and the tombs of “important people” from Portugal’s history⁵³¹, that is

some of the great men that rest in their eternal sleep inside this relic of past times, such as Luiz de Camões, the immortal poet who sang with such love and enthusiasm of the glories of his compatriots; Vasco da Gama, the distinguished navigator who raised the name of Portugal high; Garrett, the renewer of our theatre; João de Deus, etc., etc.⁵³²

Although the visits to the monastery itself attracted school ‘pilgrimages’ due to its perceived patriotic significance, the “important people” entombed there were also a reason for visiting the monastery, particularly, the poet, Luís de Camões, on the anniversary of his death on 10 June.⁵³³

A curious example, due to the spontaneity with which such visit was arranged, is the fifth grade students’ journey to the monastery, specially to visit

⁵³⁰ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 68. Both the Belém Tower and the Jerónimos Monastery are two of the most celebrated monuments in Portugal, both commissioned by King D. Manuel I in the early 1500s. The first comprises a mixture between a medieval keep and a renaissance bulwark and was erected to complete the defence plan for the Tagus River initiated by the previous king, D. João II. Notwithstanding its alleged defence purposes, the architectural and sculptural features of the Belém Tower suggest that it might have been more a kind of power ostentation for the ships and boats entering the river than to defend the city entrance. The second, the monastery, is a religious complex of such magnitude that it took a little over a century to be completed. Protected as a National Monument from as early as 1907, it became an UNESCO Heritage Site together with the Belém Tower in 1983.

⁵³¹ Maria Sousa, “Relatório da excursão feita pelos alunos do 4º ano,” *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1939/1940*, 125–126.

⁵³² *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 68.

⁵³³ Luís Vaz de Camões (c.1524–1580) was a Portuguese poet, considered to be one of the greatest figures of Lusophony. Having written poems and plays, he is most known for his nationalist epic poem *Os Lusíadas*, published in Portugal in 1572, in which he tells the story of Vasco da Gama and his crew on their way to India. The first reference to 10 June as a celebration of this poet’s work on the anniversary of his death appears to have been in 1880. In 1919, 10 June was declared a national holiday – the Day of Camões. Even though it had been declared a national holiday since this time, it was during the dictatorship that the anniversary of Camões’ death started to be celebrated nationwide for propaganda purposes, to such an extent that, from 1944 to the end of the dictatorship in 1974, it was called the Day of Camões, of Portugal and of the Race. Since 1978, 10 June has been known as the Day of Portugal, of Camões and of the Portuguese Communities, and is often used to celebrate the Portuguese language and the Portuguese diaspora.

this poet's tomb on 330th anniversary of his death. As one of the student's reports included in the school yearbook states, the pupils "were on a break between [their] first and second lessons when [they] were told that the school principal was calling [them] to his office" to ask if they would "like to have their Portuguese lesson at the Jerónimos Monastery and, thereby, commemorate [the] great poet Luís de Camões". The student further reported that, accompanied by two teachers and the school principal, the students left at noon by tram. At the monastery, the group "waited for some students" of two other secondary schools and, once they arrived, some students "read several passages of the *Lusiadas*".⁵³⁴ According to one of his fellow students, such activity, he reported, "wasn't intended to look good, but was the simple fulfilment of the most sacred duties of a student, which is to respect those who made us great with their literary works".⁵³⁵ For the most part, the visits to historical monuments and sites were not only intended to acquire knowledge of historical events, figures and material testimonies,⁵³⁶ nor to simply "observe" the "beautiful" architecture of certain buildings,⁵³⁷ but to conduct "historical evocations",⁵³⁸ to "remember with affection" the "homeland's history"⁵³⁹ and to connect to it through contemplation, admiration and worship.

In contrast, visits to archaeological sites were barely put in focus in the reports of most students, teachers and school principals and were usually simply mentioned as having occurred.⁵⁴⁰ Even though some of the visits were considered "important", including the Roman ruins of Conímbriga,⁵⁴¹ it was as if the historical periods they referred to were *less* important than those of the independence struggles and the discoveries, i.e. for the periods in which Portugal was perceived as a 'glorious' nation. In any case, it is not clear what types of

⁵³⁴ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 77.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁶ *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Deus. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 93.

⁵³⁷ *Relatório do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano lectivo 1948/1949*, 7.

⁵³⁸ Gaspar José Machado, "As Classes. Classe III," *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes) IV*, no. 8 (1935): 48.

⁵³⁹ *Relatório do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano lectivo 1948/1949*, 7.

⁵⁴⁰ *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1940/1941*, 170–171.

⁵⁴¹ Conímbriga is located in Condeixa-a-Nova in Central Portugal and is one of the most significant archaeological sites with ruins dating from the Roman Empire's presence in Portugal. It was listed as a National Monument in 1910.

activities took place when visiting these ruins, only that they sometimes were the “object of special attention and study”.⁵⁴² Most likely, visits to archaeological sites were object of lessons *in situ* either by the teacher accompanying the students or by a local person who would tell the students “old tales” and “entertain” them.⁵⁴³ This was the case on an excursion undertaken by first cycle students (first to third grade) to a small village, Relva, in Monsanto, where the students were received by the owner of a rural property, “a remarkable archaeologist”, who showed them his own “archaeological rarities” and accompanied them to the village castle to “observe the Roman church ruins and graves from the same period, as well as the castle”.⁵⁴⁴ In a few rare cases, though, these visits served the purpose of pursuing archaeological studies in order to “awaken the students’ interest” in these studies.⁵⁴⁵ With this in mind, the fourth and fifth grade history teacher took his pupils to “study a dolmen” in the Algarve on 13 November and then again on 27 November to continue such a study. The report of the results shows that “the excavation was deepened, and it was possible to take notes of the main characteristics of this monument, sketch a plan, and take some measurements”, therefore uncovering a hands-on activity in which the students were active participants.⁵⁴⁶

Museums and exhibitions

The museums and exhibitions visited by students during school journeys mainly comprised history museums and art history museums, thus targeting the history school subject. In rare cases, visits to museums in which students could “observe animals, rocks and fossils” for the purposes of the natural sciences were undertaken,⁵⁴⁷ but never to contemporary art exhibitions.⁵⁴⁸ The visits to

⁵⁴² *Relatório do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano lectivo 1948/1949*, 8.

⁵⁴³ *Relatório do Liceu de Castelo Branco. Ano lectivo 1951/1952*, 67.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁴⁵ *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Deus. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 91.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁷ *Relatório do Liceu Jaime Moniz. Ano lectivo 1939/1940*, n.p.

⁵⁴⁸ The National Museum of Contemporary Art was founded in Lisbon on 26 May, 1911 when the Museum of Fine Arts and Archaeology – created in 1884 to keep artworks seized by the State after the abolition of the religious orders in Portugal in 1834 – was divided into two museums: the National Museum of Antique Art (MNAA) and the National Museum of Contemporary Art (MNAC). The

museums were, for the most part, guided tours directed by a member of the museum staff. While some reports don't make clear who this person was within the institution's hierarchy, other reports clearly point to the museum's director or to the exhibition's curator whose "kindness" was always mentioned.⁵⁴⁹ These people usually provided "lessons and explanations"⁵⁵⁰ about the displayed objects that "were carefully listened to by the students".⁵⁵¹ Depending on the size of the groups of students visiting the museum, they could be divided into small groups in order to optimise the visitors' experience as well as guarantee its success.⁵⁵² Likewise, some visits were designed differently from the traditional visit's format: before the visit itself, the students "listened to a lecture" intended to "explain to the students what they were about to see and the reasons behind the exhibition". After the lecture, the students were divided into groups, each one to be accompanied by one teacher and one member of the museum staff who would then "show the different exhibition rooms".⁵⁵³ Although mainly accompanied by history teachers, it was also common for Portuguese teachers to take their pupils to museums and exhibitions.

In exceptional cases, some teachers didn't resort to guided tours. During a visit by first and third grade students to the Queen D. Leonor Museum, also known as the Regional Museum of Beja, the teacher reported that the students' "curiosity was, for the most part, satisfied by the knowledge" that the teacher had "previously acquired". Indeed, not only did the teacher make clear that she "had visited the museum twice" before taking her students there on a school journey,

archaeological pieces of that museum had already been transferred to the National Museum of Archaeology at the time of its foundation in 1893. The safeguarding, conservation, study and exhibition of the artworks and collections dated up to 1850 were then assigned to the MNAA, while artworks and collections from a later period were the responsibility of the MNAC. MNAC was then placed in the old St. Francis Monastery, a medieval building reconstructed after the 1755 earthquake, which had recently been acquired by the State after having been the property of an English merchant since 1834.

⁵⁴⁹ See, for example: António Carvalho, "Excursões escolares," *Boletim do Liceu de Rodrigues Freitas. Ano escolar 1937/1938* 1 (1938): 14; Agostinho Gomes Tinoco "Relatório da Excursão dos alunos do 1º Ciclo à cidade da Figueira da Foz," *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1940/1941*, 172; and *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Castro. Ano lectivo 1950/1951*, 44.

⁵⁵⁰ *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Castro. Ano lectivo 1950/1951*, 44.

⁵⁵¹ Tinoco, "Relatório da Excursão dos alunos do 1º Ciclo à cidade da Figueira da Foz," 172.

⁵⁵² Manuel Vicente, "As Classes. Classe II," *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* IV, no. 8 (1935): 36.

⁵⁵³ *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 80.

this was also the reason used to justify the fact that she conducted the visit herself, instead of relying on the museum's staff. In her report, after summarizing the aspects that "deserved special attention", intertwining descriptions of the objects, historical facts and personalities either portrayed or relating to the observed objects, the teacher concluded that "the students observed with attention all the details [she] explained to them *in loco*".

Even though she was their Portuguese language teacher, she explained that such visit to the museum was to "acquire knowledge directly related to the homeland's history and Art History". Her viewpoint was that, on such outings, the "small lectures given by the teacher about these issues won't be forgotten and the students then get used to worshipping the national treasurers" and that "it is the teachers' duty to educate men of value, men who honour the beloved homeland". And so she proceeded to explain that the visit to the museum was useful and beneficial for the students due to the "interest shown by the great majority in knowing details about the valuable works of art displayed in the various sections of the museum", and that this was verified by the "great accuracy" with which some of the students "reported the visit" afterwards.⁵⁵⁴

The acquisition of knowledge directly relating to the country's history was, in fact, the main purpose of the majority of the guided tours to museums and exhibitions, regardless of the types of objects being displayed, and sometimes even regardless of the observation of the actual object. This was the case reported by the second grade students' history teacher of the lyceum Diogo Gouveia regarding their visit to the Queen D. Leonor Museum. In the report, included in the school principal's report sent to the Ministry of Education, the teacher used two pages to "summarize what the students had been told", which mainly referred to the historical facts about the building in which the museum is located, an old convent from the 15th century; and to the architectural characteristics of parts of the convent's church, cloister and chapterhouse. According to the teacher, the latter served "the opportunity to tell the students about the Manueline style, the so-called 'Portuguese National Style'", particularly its "most important general features" and the "close connection between this [architectural] style and the

⁵⁵⁴ Carvalho, "Relatório da visita," n.p.

discoveries with which Portugal [had] astonished the world". About the museum itself, the teacher only mentioned that it has "a room containing several paintings, some of which were attributed to Josefa d'Óbidos".⁵⁵⁵

Despite the recurrent concern since the early 20th century about the history of the homeland when visiting museums, it was in the mid-1930s that a specific trend of the places visited during school journeys to institutions with a highly patriotic narrative attached appeared. From this period onwards, it became common to take students to the Military Museum for guided tours with the reported aims of "remembering facts about the homeland's history",⁵⁵⁶ of having the "occasion to relive interesting facts about our history",⁵⁵⁷ in sum, to receive "a splendid lesson about the homeland's history in which the students lived [sic] the glorious achievements of [their] ancestors".⁵⁵⁸ The increasing nationalism directly relates to the approval of a new constitution on 11 April, 1933, from which the *Estado Novo*, a fascist regime, was established.⁵⁵⁹ It is therefore not surprising that, when a few years later, a special exhibition was organised by the State, Portuguese schools from all parts of the country endeavoured to take as many of their students as possible to visit the exhibition.

Held in Lisbon in 1940, the Portuguese World Exhibition was intended to commemorate both the date of the Portuguese nation's foundation in 1140 and the recovery of the country's independence from Spain in 1640. The exhibition also had the purpose of celebrating the growing consolidation of the regime. Consequently, and even if many of the school principals' reports sent to the Ministry of Education avoided expressing any opinions about the exhibition, those reports that put the visit in relation to educational aims fit perfectly into the narrative presented by the principal of the lyceum Heitor Pinto. According to him, such a trip to Lisbon to visit the Portuguese World Exhibition was important for

⁵⁵⁵ Guanilho, "Relatório da visita," n.p.

⁵⁵⁶ Vicente, "As Classes. Classe II," (1935): 37.

⁵⁵⁷ Manuel Vicente, "As Classes. Classe II," *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* VI, no. 12 (1936): 60.

⁵⁵⁸ Jaime Leote, "As Classes. Classe II," *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* V, no. 10 (1936): 31.

⁵⁵⁹ The only constitution in Portugal that was approved by plebiscite suffrage on 19 March, 1933 in which it is said that abstention and blank votes counted in favour.

the students to get to “know our historical projection in the world and our contribution to civilization and the progress of humankind”, as well as instigate in them

the love for our historical traditions, a pride in being Portuguese and a son [sic] of a homeland that was once great and selfless and whose historical mission continues, serving as an example of respect for eternal moral values to the civilized world, as well as by taking [those values] to the raw souls of Africa and India.⁵⁶⁰

Interestingly, this was the only place visited in which the colonial territories were included, i.e. approached as a matter of study as part of the narrative of national greatness.

Archives and libraries

Of all the school journeys to places where students were to be in contact with historical objects, the least reported were the visits to archives and libraries. Additionally, only rarely did the reports address the activities undertaken during these visits. However, a few exceptions provide some insights into what might have been the common practice in such cases. Firstly, all the reports that mentioned visits to archives and libraries in relation to the visitors’ grades point out that these were mainly undertaken by third cycle students, that is, sixth and seventh graders. Secondly, these visits were for the most part organised by Portuguese language teachers to “complement the study of the Portuguese language”⁵⁶¹ and were undertaken in collaboration with a member of staff from one of these institutions, that is, a combination of a guided tour with lessons *in situ*. Finally, they not only allowed the students to observe and admire but also be in direct contact with “highly valuable bibliographical specimens”.⁵⁶²

One of the earliest examples is the Pedro Nunes’ students guided tour to the *Torre do Tombo* Archive on 5 November, 1907.⁵⁶³ In the student’s report

⁵⁶⁰ *Relatório do Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1940/1941*, 17.

⁵⁶¹ *Relatório do Reitor do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1943/1944*, 74.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 74. See also: Adriano Gomes, “Relatório do Director do 3º ciclo,” *Relatório do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 322.

⁵⁶³ The *Torre do Tombo* Archive is a national archive that was established in 1378 in Lisbon to keep the documents concerning the kingdom’s administration and foreign relations, later including

included in the school yearbook, the author stated that besides admiring a beautiful Italian book of hours and observing a “not artistically valuable nor beautiful” edition of the Chronicle of the D. João I reign, the students “examined several old documents with the aim of examining the perfection of the parchments”.⁵⁶⁴ The student further pointed out that, with the help of the guide, the group was shown several testaments whose signatures shared the same handwriting and therefore learned that “some people (frequently, all) didn’t know how to write”, which is the reason why the “notary signed the documents in their turn”. Furthermore, their attention was also guided to note that “the documents preceding D. João I’s reign were dated according to the Caesar era” and that it was this king who adopted the Christ era to replace the former.⁵⁶⁵

Although this 1907 report put the focus on the historical facts that were learned, a much later visit undertaken by students of the same school to the National Library in Lisbon focused on the opportunities they were given when entering the “reserved section”. There, the students “admire[d] the venerable codices from the Alcobaça and listen[ed] to valuable lectures about the medieval illuminations”. Some students even “perused the pages of incunabula and remarkable first editions, as well as the valuables of other national and international churches, including a precious collection of artistic bookbindings”.⁵⁶⁶ This could mean that even if these visits served mainly curricular purposes relating to the learning of language and history, they also helped the students develop an aesthetic sensibility and a connection with their own language and literature history. This was clearly expressed in an article published in *A Luz*, a school journal based in Coimbra, in which a student wrote about the experience of visiting the library of that city’s university. According to the author, the moment he was “forced to peruse the huge volume that serves as

documents and items also related to the administrations of the overseas territories. Today, the archive is one of the oldest institutions in Portugal and its collections include not only estatal documents relating to the Monarchy, the Republic and the Dictatorship, but also individual persons and family collections, associations, companies, the archives of ecclesiastic institutions, photography archives, etc. Further information is available at: <http://antt.dglab.gov.pt/>.

⁵⁶⁴ King John the first (1357–1433) reigned from 1385 to 1433.

⁵⁶⁵ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 55.

⁵⁶⁶ Gaspar José Machado, “As Classes. Cursos Complementares,” *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* V, no. 10 (1936): 65.

a textbook for [the] lessons of Portuguese literature”, he thought he “could never be interested in a study destined for memorization and [that was] pointlessly laborious”. Yet, “soon such erroneous ideas broke apart” when he “glanced at the luxurious editions of anthologies”, thereby understanding not only the “the language’s charm” but also that “the study of literature, far from being a tedious mechanical repetition of biographies and bibliographies (...) was, on the contrary, full of spiritual pleasures [and] of the aesthetic life of a people”.⁵⁶⁷

Industries and companies

Factories

The majority of school journeys to industrial sites were to factories and mainly occurred during excursions rather than being specially organised study visits. These almost always comprised guided tours, directed by one of the factory’s employees, and were intended for students to observe and learn about a specific industrial process in relation to sciences’ school subjects. Nevertheless, from the early 20th century to the 1960s, and given the wide scope of the content of these school subjects and the fact that most of these visits occurred during an excursion to somewhere else, the schools didn’t target a specific type of industry. From visits to a pencil factory, silk and beer factories, the students visited different industries to “observe the varied and ingenious functioning machineries”,⁵⁶⁸ as well as to get to know “the different phases” of manufacturing of certain materials and or resources until they are transformed into the final product.⁵⁶⁹

During an excursion to the Coimbra area, for example, first grade students visited a fabric factory where they were guided by the manager of one of the factory’s sections who “excessively showed his knowledge and competence” when guiding them through the factory’s facilities.⁵⁷⁰ The “detailed explanations” and

⁵⁶⁷ M.F. “Visitas escolares: A Biblioteca da Universidade,” *A Luz* I, no. 6 (1909): 1.

⁵⁶⁸ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1011*, 138. See also: Vicente, “As Classes. Classe II,” (1935): 37; and João Rosas, “Descrição da fábrica de tecidos de Santa Clara,” *O Académico Figueirense* III, no. 5 (1936): 2.

⁵⁶⁹ Afonso, “Relatório do 1º ciclo,” n.p.

⁵⁷⁰ Rosas, “Descrição da fábrica de tecidos,” 2.

“most precious information and clarifications” were frequently referred to by the teachers and principals in their reports, as well as the students’ “attentive observations”, who constantly “took notes of everything”. This attentive observation was also often evident in the reports written by students, which were included in the schools’ yearbooks and journals.⁵⁷¹ Indeed, apart from small introductory comments on the person who received them at the industrial site and their “kindness” in guiding and providing explanations, the students mainly focused on describing the industrial processes as accurately as possible, articulating the lesson *in loco* with the observations they made, to the point of including, for example, the chemical equations behind the “theory of soap’s fabrication”.⁵⁷²

Nevertheless, despite the great focus on industrial processes, there was also a nationalist interest in visiting places whose work “honours the national industry”.⁵⁷³ Although such interest was already present in the early school journeys’ reports, from the mid-1930s onwards it became increasingly mentioned in the principals’ reports, particularly social aspects such as the working conditions and the additional support provided by the industries to their workers. When visiting “factories and other industries”, the director of the first cycle studies of the lyceum D. João III explained that “every time” it was convenient, the students’ attention was to be “directed to the following aspects: a) worker’s protection laws; b) the working conditions; c) social services and any other organisations intended to support the workers.”.⁵⁷⁴ Integrated into the visits to factories, a common occurrence was a visit to the to the workers’ canteen and to

⁵⁷¹ Hermengarda Guedes, “Relatório do 1º ciclo,” *Relatório do Liceu Carolina Michaelis. Ano lectivo 1936/1937*, 13. See also: *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*, 140–143; Lúcia Malheiro, “Relatório da excursão feita pelos alunos do 3º ano,” *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1939/1940*, 121–122.

⁵⁷² Jorge Frederico Silva, “Como se fazem os sabões,” *O Académico Figueirense* III, no. 5 (1936): 2. See also: Rosas, “Descrição da fábrica de tecidos,” 2; Abel Borges Lima, “Como se faz a cerveja,” *O Académico Figueirense* III, no. 5 (1936): 2; Tinoco, “Relatório da excursão feita pelos alunos do 5º e 6º anos,” 127–130; *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*, 140–143; M. R. Carvalheiro, “Fabrico da cal,” *O Académico Figueirense. Órgão dos alunos do Externato Academia Figueirense: Mensário educativo, instrutivo e recreativo* II, no. 7 (1935): 2; and Gonçalves, Carlos. “Como se faz a louça” [How crockery is made]. *O Académico Figueirense. Órgão dos alunos do Externato Academia Figueirense: Mensário educativo, instrutivo e recreativo* III, no. 5 (1936): 2–3.

⁵⁷³ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*, 138.

⁵⁷⁴ Rocha, “Relatório do Director do 1º ciclo,” 187.

the childcare facilities for their children.⁵⁷⁵ To some extent, the growing concern about the industrial workers' conditions that was 'added' to the existing focus on the industrial process related to the desire to achieve a broader understanding of the Portuguese industry whose work was not only important for the country's economy as it played an important social role in providing dignified employment to the Portuguese working class.

Companies

Like the school journeys to industrial sites, the visits to companies also comprised guided tours that took place during excursions, with the exception of a few specially organised study visits, and targeted different kinds of companies, thereby serving multiple purposes. From publishing houses and newspaper printing facilities to "get to know [different] types of press, composition and printing and bookbinding" by "watching the respective machines working"⁵⁷⁶ or simply seeing how a "modern press" works,⁵⁷⁷ to the sound film company, Tobis-Klangfilm, where an engineer "explained, in terms accessible to the students' intelligence the operation of sound and image recording devices".⁵⁷⁸ However, in contrast to most reports of visits to factories in which the students reproduced the fabrication processes as they had probably been explained to them during the guided tour, the reports on the visits to companies appear to have been written in order to show the visit through the visitor's eyes, meaning that they displayed a greater balance between the description of the observations made and the facts learned.

One of these cases is the report of a fourth grade students' visit to a men's outfitter in Oporto in May, accompanied by two teachers. Although the report by one of the students, which was included in the school yearbook, starts in a traditional way with a description of the building's façade and of the shop in which one of the employees received the group to accompany them. She soon

⁵⁷⁵ António Cobeira, "Relatório da direcção da 3ª classe," *Relatório do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, 89–95; Guedes, "Relatório do 1º ciclo," 13.

⁵⁷⁶ Gomes, "Relatório do Director do 3º ciclo," 392–393.

⁵⁷⁷ Machado, "As Classes. Classe III," 48.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

described her “brief examination[s]”, i.e. what she’d had the “opportunity to notice” during the visit, from the “fabrics and trendy [fashion] items”, particularly the “important collection of beautiful white clothes which [were] the main items produced there”, and what was happening in the various facilities of the building. These included a large room behind glass windows at the end of the shop where “a large number of women were working with sewing machines”; a space on the first floor where “many men were cutting out suits over large counters” and another room on the second floor for the “women working with starching and ironing”, whose skills “were impressive” due to their “perfection”; the “machinery room” where a “huge [steam] boiler makes all the machines move and heats the laundry water”; and the room in which some clothes were being “packed to be exported to several places in the country and to Brazil and Africa”.⁵⁷⁹

Another example is of a first grade student’s report, published in the school journal, about her grade’s study visit to the Laboratory of Experimental Phonetics at the University of Coimbra. She started the report by “confessing” that “when [she] first heard that [she] had to write the report” of the visit, she became “rather embarrassed” due to her “inability” to produce “a description, even if summarized” because it “requires qualities of observation and intuition”. In any case, the student proceeded to report that the person who received the students at the laboratory “had the patience and kindness to explain the various devices and to provide some elementary notions of this science”. Divided into two groups of 25 students each, a considerable part of the visit was spent in a room with a screen where the students were first invited to hear a “record with different frequencies” and then to “observe some light projections” in order to “better understand the devices [they were] about to see”. The students also watched images of “parts of the vocal tract: larynx, lungs, pharyngeal, oral and nasal cavities”, photographs of “sound recording machines”, and drawings of an “extremely useful machine that allows people whose larynx had been removed to be able to talk and express themselves, not properly, but nevertheless in an understandable way”. Finally, she reported that the students “left the room to breathe” and then moved forward “to the laboratory itself” where they observed

⁵⁷⁹ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1913/1914*, 142, 143.

“three machines only”. The rest of the report is a summarized description of the room in which these machines were located, plus a brief note on how the vinyl recorder worked.⁵⁸⁰

Even though the reports of some teachers on visits to companies still connect the success and “productivity” of these visits with the students’ ability to “listen with attention to the explanations given”,⁵⁸¹ the contrast with the educational approach that was taken during visits to factories is evident. Indeed, while both approaches required qualified personnel to show the facilities and provide explanations, the visits to factories relied heavily on their expertise while, during the visits to companies, many teachers appear to have been more active, by encouraging the students to “observe”, by “explaining” and thereby “provoking their interest in what they were observing” and by “reminding them to take notes” as a means of “exercising a true instructive activity towards the national spirit and [their] continued moral and intellectual improvement”.⁵⁸²

Natural sites

Natural environments

School journeys to natural sites included natural and man-made environments. Regarding the former, students were mainly taken by their geography and natural sciences teachers to the countryside to explore mountains, forests and fields in order to observe the landscape and study its topographical characteristics as well as aspects of various natural sciences disciplines such as botany, mineralogy and zoology.⁵⁸³ In some cases, students were also taken out into the nature to “learn

⁵⁸⁰ Maria Fernanda Gonçalves, “Uma visita de estudo,” *O Académico Figueirense* V, no. 6 (1938): 4.

⁵⁸¹ Gomes, “Relatório do Director do 30 ciclo,” 392–393.

⁵⁸² Manuel Francisco Catarino, “Relatório da excursão feita pelos alunos do 1º ano,” *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1939/1940*, 120.

⁵⁸³ *Relatório do Liceu Jaime Moniz. Ano lectivo 1933/1934*, n.p.; Anon., “Notícias várias,” *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* IV, no. 9 (1935): 334; João César Medeiros, “Relatório da Excursão Escolar às Cumieiras das Sete Cidades,” *Relatório do Liceu Antero de Quental. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, n.p.; *Relatório do Liceu de Faro. Ano lectivo 1946/1947*, 46; *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Deus. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 93; *Relatório do Liceu de Chaves. Ano lectivo 1954/1955*, 27; and *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1959/1960*, 68–69.

how to orient themselves in the field”⁵⁸⁴ or were accompanied to high and remote places both at night, to observe constellations and study the stars,⁵⁸⁵ and during the day, to “learn about the orientation and daily movements of the stars in practice”.⁵⁸⁶ Although most reports simply mention these overall purposes, omitting the ways in which these were conducted, a few reports explicitly make reference to the lessons *in situ* during which the “teachers explained what was important to know”, or connect such expeditions with the purpose of collecting specimens for the school museum’s collections.⁵⁸⁷

The first cycle (first to third grades) students’ excursion to the “tourist zones” of S. Pedro de Moel and Nazaré, i.e. their beaches, was justified by “the picturesque nature of the coastline” and its “surprising natural beauty”. Moreover, it allowed the students to be put in “direct contact with two biological entities, namely the *carpobrotus edulis* and the *ammófila arenária*” about which “the teacher had the opportunity to explain the value and importance of this vegetation regarding the sand’s fixation on our coast”.⁵⁸⁸ Likewise, an excursion of “around 250 students from all grades” to the “lacustrine region” on S. Miguel Island in the Azores was reportedly “very useful” because the teachers

explained the orographic accidents, the formation of the lagoons in the volcanos’ craters, the erosion phenomena that have caused a number of lagoons to empty and the rising of the [lagoon] beds due to landslides, the formation of erosion valleys, the decomposition of volcanic scoria, etc.⁵⁸⁹

Additionally, during this excursion some of the second grade students “took the opportunity to collect plants for the herbariums” they were to “present at the school’s exhibition”.⁵⁹⁰ A botanical excursion to the coastal area between Foz and Matosinhos by third grade students of the lyceum Alexandre Herculano, for example, not only intended to “collect specimens” but to “study the variations in

⁵⁸⁴ Pinheiro, “Relatório da Direcção do 1º ciclo,” 12.

⁵⁸⁵ *Relatório do Liceu Jaime Moniz. Ano lectivo 1933/1934*, n.p.

⁵⁸⁶ *Relatório do Liceu de Castelo Branco. Ano lectivo 1951/1952*, 66.

⁵⁸⁷ *Anuário do Liceu Alves Martins. Ano escolar de 1914/1915*, 33–34.

⁵⁸⁸ *Relatório do Liceu Bissaia Barreto. Ano lectivo 1959/1960*, 46.

⁵⁸⁹ António da Silveira Vicente, “Relatório da Excursão Escolar do dia 5 de Junho à região lacustre de S. Miguel,” *Relatório do Liceu Antero de Quental. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, n.p.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

some typical botanical species resulting from the influence of the ambient environment and their need to adapt”.⁵⁹¹ However, not only plants were collected during these excursions as the students often “look[ed] for mineralogical and geological specimens”⁵⁹² as a means of organising, by starting or expanding the school museum’s collections while also “expanding their knowledge of geography, given the opportunity of being in nature”.⁵⁹³ Thus, in addition to acquiring new knowledge through observation and collecting specimens, the belief that “the students learn the natural sciences better once they are in nature” also led teachers to use journeys to natural environments in order to “better recall notions” learned in the classroom.⁵⁹⁴

In addition to the school journeys organised specifically to take students to natural places, the reports of most excursions show a concern in using the time spent on travel to distant places, both by bus and train, in order to “draw the attention” of the students to, for example,

the shapes of the soil; the names and location of rivers; minerals, rocks and plants; the dominant vegetation of each region; [different] kinds of rural ‘habitats’; (...) the main differences between the different provinces that were passed by.⁵⁹⁵

One school principal even explicitly stated that “even the return trip” of the sixth and seventh grade students’ excursion “motivated an advantageous lesson”.⁵⁹⁶ In an excursion organised to visit the mine in Valongo, for example, the report also focused on the importance of using the travel time to “give the students an idea of the life and natural beauties” of the country’s interior” and pointed out that since the excursion was taking place during a holiday, “all the teachers (...) wanted to accompany and educate their students” by providing them with the “knowledge

⁵⁹¹ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*, 139–140.

⁵⁹² Anon., “Notícias várias,” (1935): 334.

⁵⁹³ Pinheiro, “Relatório da Direcção do 1º ciclo,” 13.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁹⁵ *Relatório do Liceu Eça de Queiroz. Ano lectivo 1938/1939*, n.p. See also: F. Costa, “Relatório da excursão realizada a Tomar com o 3º ano em 14 de Maio de 1938,” *Relatório do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, 217; and *Relatório do Liceu de Faro. Ano lectivo 1946/1947*.

⁵⁹⁶ *Relatório do Liceu Afonso de Albuquerque. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 45.

of their own specialisation”.⁵⁹⁷ Thus, it was not only landscapes that were intended to be observed during the bus travels, as some teachers took the opportunity to provide the students with “several explanations”, including “evocations” of the lives and accomplishments of historical figures.⁵⁹⁸ Finally, natural sites were also used as places to stop for a break, for lunch in most cases, because they were considered to be “picturesque places” or provided “beautiful landscapes” that were worth admiring.⁵⁹⁹

In any case, despite the abundant information about the natural places that were visited and their overall purposes, most teacher and student reports failed to expand on the activities that promoted studies *in loco*, apart from the lessons and the collection of nature samples. For this reason, one example stands out as extraordinary not only due to the detail in which it refers to the activities executed but also because it took place at the time of the emergence of school journeys. This example comprises a set of five conference papers produced by pupils on a three-day “scientific excursion to Monchique”, a mountain in the Algarve region, undertaken by seventh grade students of the Colégio de Campolide in April 1910. Published in its school journal, this set of papers starts with a long chronicle of the excursion, followed by shorter articles with themes ranging from botanical, fungal and geological observations, to the practice of alpinism.⁶⁰⁰ For the most part, the four articles focused on the aspects that were learned from the science-specific knowledge that they acquired to the overall educational benefits they experienced. The ‘chronicle’, on the other hand, provided an idea of how the

⁵⁹⁷ *Relatório do Liceu Eça de Queiroz. Ano lectivo 1938/1939*, n.p.

⁵⁹⁸ *Relatório do Liceu de Castelo Branco. Ano lectivo 1959/1960*, 62. See also: *Relatório do Liceu Eça de Queiroz. Ano lectivo 1938/1939*.

⁵⁹⁹ *Relatório do Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1951/1952*, 8. See also: João César Medeiros, “Relatório da Excursão Escolar às Cumieiras das Sete Cidades,” *Relatório do Liceu Antero de Quental. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, n.p.; and Morais, “Relatório da Excursão Escolar,” n.p.

⁶⁰⁰ Alexandre Galvão, “A Excursão Científica a Monchique: Crónica da excursão,” *O Nosso Collegio. Anno de 1909 a 1910 6* (1909): 85–95; António Soares, “A Excursão Científica a Monchique: Observações botânicas,” *O Nosso Collegio. Anno de 1909 a 1910 6* (1909): 95–99; Paula Leite, “A Excursão Científica a Monchique: A parte micológica da excursão,” *O Nosso Collegio. Anno de 1909 a 1910 6* (1909): 99–102; Julio Wemans, “A Excursão Científica a Monchique: Alpinismo,” *O Nosso Collegio. Anno de 1909 a 1910 6* (1909): 102–105; Manoel Queiroz, “A Excursão Científica a Monchique: A geologia na excursão a Monchique,” *O Nosso Collegio. Anno de 1909 a 1910 6* (1909): 105–109.

activities of this excursion were planned in relation to how they were to be undertaken:

[A few] days before departure, we received all the instructions that seemed necessary for the excursion's success. We were heading for Monchique although the entire journey should be used as much as possible and our scientific observations were to start as early as in Barreiro. There were special groups in charge of exploring a certain branch of natural history in Monchique, as the entire route was divided into four parts, each with two students who, directed by the teachers, had to make as many observations as possible, taking notes in a notebook in order to complete them afterwards. The focus of our observations during the travel was as follows: general aspects of the country near and far from the railway; the geological nature of the terrain, general aspect of the flora; uses of the land; population distribution; means of communication; thermometric, barometric and hygrometric variations; train's speed; interesting occurrences during the travel.

For the various observations, we were equipped with a hygrometer, barometer, thermometer, compass, geological map, three cameras, binoculars, etc. During the whole travel each of us was loyal to our duty, as shown by our small notebooks filled with annotations, not overlooking the slightest detail.⁶⁰¹

Although it was common to use the travel itself as a means of observing the landscape, in this report the student made clear that not even the regions with "little to offer" were ignored and that the students "filled entire notebooks with descriptions of the fields" by which they passed, besides the expected recording of the "barometric, thermometric and hygrometric variations" which, "in spite of their lack of scientific validity" were considered to be "of great interest" to the students.⁶⁰² Less common are reports that refer to the ways in which these observations were supported or conducted, which is the reason why this student's chronicle stands out.⁶⁰³ In the chronicle, besides the enumeration of the instruments at the students' disposal, the author also mentioned some of the circumstances in which they were used: "the binoculars caught sight of an

⁶⁰¹ Galvão, "A Excursão Científica," 86.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 87.

⁶⁰³ Because this report is an exception, it is not clear whether the use of scientific instruments to assist in the observation and study during an excursion was a common option. Furthermore, this particular case relates to a private institution, meaning that it might also be exceptional because of the greater financial resources were available.

extensive mountain on our right: could it be Monchique? The geological map told us this was the case, and we greeted the high summits with enthusiasm... the future operational theatre of our alpinist ambitions”.⁶⁰⁴ Once *in loco*, the student in charge of reporting the study of fungi explained that “[u]nder the direction of our teachers, both of them specialists in Botany, we attempted to enrich the school’s collections, and to multiply the observations *in loco*, thereby increasing our scientific knowledge”.⁶⁰⁵ She further justified that “given our teachers’ specializations (...), we made an abundant collection of fungi, moss and lichens”.⁶⁰⁶ Curiously, in this case, it wasn’t only the students who engaged in the collection of specimens as the author of this paper made clear that the teacher himself “brought hundreds of specimens, some of which belong to rare species”.⁶⁰⁷

As for their “alpinist ambitions”, the student responsible for reporting them used the paper to describe the adventures they experienced as well as reflect on the importance of being out in the nature beyond its instructive purposes. He started by stating that his colleagues agreed that “the study of sciences through a simple textbook is difficult and sometimes incomplete” and that “its practical study is much easier”, particularly that of “Botany, Zoology and Geology”.⁶⁰⁸ The author further reiterated the circulating specialised discourse that excursions are intended to “awaken the students’ observation spirit” and that observation “is a much needed skill for a practical life these days”.⁶⁰⁹ Nevertheless, he decided to focus on the physical and moral aims of excursions to natural sites. Regarding the physical aims, the emphasis was placed on the respiratory and muscular benefits. As for the moral aims, the emphasis was placed on the ability to become resilient by facing adversity and thus on the development of a person’s character:

⁶⁰⁴ Galvão, “A Excursão Científica,” 88. See also: Queiroz, “A Excursão Científica,” 105–109.

⁶⁰⁵ Leite, “A Excursão Científica,” 95.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁶⁰⁸ Galvão, “A Excursão Científica,” 85. See also: Soares, “A Excursão Científica,” 95–99; and Queiroz, “A Excursão Científica,” 105–109.

⁶⁰⁹ Leite, “A Excursão Científica,” 99.

The energy of character that is acquired by having to constantly react to oneself, either fighting fatigue or fear, or overcoming what appear to be impossible odds (...). These continued efforts will eventually result in greater control of our will, the ability to endure hard work and therefore to fight in life: in short, to be a man [sic].⁶¹⁰

Furthermore, the student concluded his conference paper on their alpinist experience by addressing his fellow students directly:

And now we have an even more rugged path ahead, which is the transition from the secondary school to the polytechnic. And, as we already combated fatigue there, let us persist now with the books. The strength of character developed in the Monchique Mountain will undoubtedly be a valuable help to us now.⁶¹¹

In sum, they addressed issues that were subsequently naturalised in the educational discourse, i.e. that through walking in the nature, and particularly through hiking in the mountains, “the landscape stimulates [the students’] curiosity” which, in most cases, results in a “barrage of questions” that the teachers “answer promptly”. In addition to the “invigoration of the lungs”, the toning of muscles and “body strengthening”, “the knowledge of the most beautiful aspects of the landscapes” helps to instil in the students “admiration for the wonders of their land and their worship, thereby learning to love it and awakening in their hearts the desire to serve it, making it prosperous”.⁶¹²

Built environments

Besides school journeys in nature, students also visited built environments. These mainly comprised structures that were placed in nature such as mines and dams, and men-made natural sites in the cities, such as botanical gardens, zoos and aquariums. Although most reports only mention that school journeys to these places had been undertaken, a few of them allowed a distinction to be made regarding how visits and excursions to the two types of places were carried out and in relation to what.

⁶¹⁰ Wemans, “A Excursão Científica” 103.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 105.

⁶¹² Moraes, “Relatório da Excursão Escolar,” n.p.

Regarding the first, the visits to man-made structures in natural sites, these usually required trained personnel to accompany the group of visitors and to provide the “necessary explanations” about the site’s operations.⁶¹³ The first cycle (first to third grade) students’ excursion to a dam in Idanha-a-Nova, for example, was guided by an engineer who not only gave the students a “remarkable lesson” but who also “kindly showed all the [dam’s] facilities.” In addition, “the same engineer” then took the group to the watering station of Ladoeiro, where “they observed the huge progress of the region resulting from the irrigation and the utilisation of modern agricultural methods, which have increased the value of these soils”.⁶¹⁴ Similarly, during a visit to a lighthouse during an excursion of the first, second and third grade students of the lyceum Rodrigues Lobo to Figueira da Foz, the “person responsible for the facilities explained in detail the operation [of the lighthouse]” and “showed” the students the “radio-electric equipments” that were being installed there, while giving the students “an exact notion of the purpose of each of the devices assembled and to be assembled”.⁶¹⁵ Finally, the visits to mines were also guided in order to “learn”, for example, about the extraction of certain resources as well as to “get in contact with the hard life of the miners and learn about the social and religious assistance provided by the company to the miners”, i.e. by visiting the “canteen, the workers’ neighbourhood, hospital and sports field”.⁶¹⁶ In rare cases, the students were able to descend “around 145 metres” to the mine “to gain a complete idea about the work being done” there and to be able to better recognise “the harsh conditions under which the miners work[ed]”.⁶¹⁷ Similar to the visits to factories, the visits

⁶¹³ *Relatório do Liceu de Chaves. Ano lectivo 1954/1955*. See also: Tinoco, “Relatório da Excursão dos alunos do 1º Ciclo à cidade da Figueira da Foz,” 173; and *Relatório do Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1940/1941*.

⁶¹⁴ *Relatório do Liceu de Castelo Branco. Ano lectivo 1951/1952*, 67.

⁶¹⁵ Tinoco, “Relatório da Excursão dos alunos do 1º Ciclo à cidade da Figueira da Foz,” 172–173.

⁶¹⁶ *Relatório do Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1955/1956*, 29. See also: Rui Fonseca Mendes, “Nas minas do cabo Mondego. Extracção da hulha” [In the mines of the Mondego cape. Coal extraction], *O Académico Figueirense. Órgão dos alunos do Externato Academia Figueirense: Mensário educativo, instrutivo e recreativo* II, no. 7 (1935): 2.

⁶¹⁷ Ramos, “Relatório da Excursão a Aljustrel,” n.p.

to dams and mines were also intended to grasp their “importance to the national economy” and to the social progress of the nation.⁶¹⁸

Regarding visits to artificially built places, such as botanical and zoological gardens and aquariums, the students, teachers and school principal reports are much vaguer in the information they provide about these visits, despite recurrent references to them. The little information available highlights free visits, meaning that the students were divided into groups that were free to explore these places at a given time. The report about the visit of the first grade students of the lyceum Pedro Nunes to the zoo, for example, explained that since there were 96 students, accompanied by two teachers, an intern on the teaching training programme and an employee of their school, the students were divided into groups and, “in order to take the greatest advantage of the visit”, each group “followed their own itinerary inside the zoo”.⁶¹⁹ A typical example, however, is the visit to the botanical garden during the lyceum Heitor Pinto sixth grade students’ annual excursion, which simply mentioned that the students “covered” the botanical garden “for a long time”.⁶²⁰ Only exceptionally did the reports expand on the teachers’ “initiative[s]” regarding the importance of the “development of the intellectual faculties of [their] students” given that “theoretical knowledge is not enough”. This was the case of a student’s report about the sixth grade students’ excursion to Vila do Conde, particularly to the city’s aquarium. According to the author, given the interest in this excursion, the ninth and seventh grades students decided to join in, as well as “several teachers who then taught [the students] the advantages of practical studies”. During the visit, the students “observed what until then had never been seen and that [was] truly admirable” while the teachers taught them “the importance of this institution to the country because it serves to repopulate the rivers, therefore constituting a powerful element of public wealth”.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁸ *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1959/1960*, 69.

⁶¹⁹ Manuel Vicente, “As Classes. Classe I,” *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* V, no. 10 (1936): 18.

⁶²⁰ *Relatório do Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1951/1952*, 7. See also: Anon., “Notícias várias,” *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* VI, no. 11 (1936): 326.

⁶²¹ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*, 143–144.

Education and social institutions

Higher and secondary education

Every so often, students visited other educational institutions, namely, higher and secondary education institutions. These visits, however, were of different kinds. While visits to universities and polytechnics were educational in nature, visits to secondary schools appear to have represented an opportunity for students from different cities to get to know each other, share their experiences as secondary school students and simply socialize. Additionally, the first kind of visits did not happen frequently and were planned as study visits in themselves, whereas the latter visits were often incorporated into longer excursions and, though already common in the early 20th century, became increasingly frequent after 1930, when the promulgation of an extensive legal document dedicated to regulating school journeys included secondary schools as places to visit during excursions.⁶²²

Regarding visits to higher education institutions, they were intended for the upper secondary students to “understand the great reach of practical learning” and, for this reason, focused on science studies, i.e. on the observation of the existing offices and laboratories.⁶²³ During an seventh grade students visit to the chemistry department in the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Oporto, for example, the students were guided by “one of the people working there”, who provided “detailed and valuable information about the varied equipment”. According to the student who reported this visit, although “incomplete in its ongoing settling” the lab appeared to “offer everything necessary to the [university] students”. The same person who guided the students through the chemistry equipment, then took the students to other rooms in which they had the opportunity to see how samples are prepared for analysis under microscopes.⁶²⁴ Another example is a student report about a visit to the Zoological laboratory at the Academy of Sciences in Oporto, where students observed microscopes, several zoology books, vases containing different kind of plants, and

⁶²² Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

⁶²³ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*, 148.

⁶²⁴ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1913/1914*, 140.

samples for the analysis of bone and muscle tissue, animal blood, etc. The author of the report also mentioned his surprise that such study and use of the laboratory was mainly conducted by the academy's students and not by the professors. Finally, the students were taken to visit the institution's museum, during which they observed "a great collection of [embalmed] animals". And, as "one [academy] employee was embalming a bird as their visit concluded", the student took notes about the embalming process, which he then reproduced at the end of the report.⁶²⁵

Because of the difference in frequency and in kinds, the reports about visits to higher education institutions were considerably more detailed than the reports about visits to other secondary schools. For the most part, the latter were simply mentioned, which is why it is not possible to enter the black box to explore the activities being undertaken, but instead to simply have a glimpse of what it might have been like to a very small extent.⁶²⁶ During an excursion to Setúbal of sixth and seventh grades students of the lyceum Pedro Nunes, the group was received in this city by some teachers and students from the local school, who accompanied them for most of the visits, which included the new building of the lyceum of Setúbal. The visit ended with a joint dinner at which many of the students, their teachers and hosts made toasts and speeches.⁶²⁷ Although it is not possible to say whether this was a common practice – serving as hosts when other schools visit your hometown – it seemed to be customary, at least, to have a joint fraternization dinner with speeches and toasts. The transcriptions of these speeches and toasts, though common in the early 20th century school yearbooks, became less frequent. In any case, the tone of the speeches and toasts was usually one of exaltation of the students' future power and duty to serve the country: "if we cannot rebuild the navigator, explorer and conqueror, Portugal, we will continue at least the intellectual Portugal."⁶²⁸

⁶²⁵ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*, 148.

⁶²⁶ See, for example: Ramos "Relatório da Excursão a Aljustrel,"; and *Relatório do Liceu Eça de Queiroz. Ano lectivo 1946/1947*.

⁶²⁷ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 73–76.

⁶²⁸ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1909/1910*, 93.

Also unusual was the organisation of visits to other schools to participate in tournaments.⁶²⁹ In this sense, an exception among the school principals', teachers' and students' reports is that of a set of excerpts from a national newspaper that was included in the Pedro Nunes' yearbook of 1909/1910. In the yearbook, instead of reporting it himself, the school principal added the excerpts that referred to a number of the school students' visits to Oporto to participate in a football tournament against teams from the Alexandre Herculano, D. Manuel II and Collegio da Boavista lyceums at the *Football Club do Porto* stadium. During this trip, the report stated that the students also had occasion to visit the Leixões harbour and the building of the lyceum D. Manuel II. Again, the trip ended with a joint dinner at the Collegio da Boavista, during which several toasts and speeches were made.⁶³⁰

Social institutions and charitable organisations

In the early 20th century, secondary school students were occasionally taken to visit institutions with social or charitable purposes. After the mid-1930s, however, there is an evident *boom* in these visits, particularly among secondary schools with female students only. For the most part, visits to these organisations and institutions did not comprise any curricular activity such as lessons *in situ*, and were simply intended to educate the students to understand the “admirable moral and social scope of regenerating noble actions”⁶³¹ and appreciating the moral and social value of the work of these organisations.⁶³² Thus, the visits were understood as “living lessons of charity” through the “observation”, for example, of the ways in which “missionary sisters look[ed] after and educate[d] over 400 little poor kids with joy and maternal affection” and were reported in a patronizing manner throughout the period.⁶³³

⁶²⁹ See, for example: *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1909/1910*, 94–98; and Anon., “Notícias várias,” *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* IV, no. 9 (1935): 335.

⁶³⁰ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1909/1910*, 94–98.

⁶³¹ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*, 138.

⁶³² *Relatório do Liceu Jaime Moniz. Ano lectivo 1939/1940*, n.p.

⁶³³ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*, 138. See also: M. Brandão, “Visita de estudo dos alunos do Colégio Academia Figueirense ao Hospital da Santa Casa da Misericórdia” [Study visit by the students of Colégio Academia Figueirense to Hospital of the Santa

One of the earliest examples is of a group of students (of unknown grade) of the lyceum Pedro Nunes who visited the António Feliciano Castilho School Asylum for the blind. The student who reported the visit considered that their “time there was well spent” because what they had occasion to see was “really interesting”, namely, blind people “playing what appeared to be the asylum’s anthem” and taking an exam, which caused “surprise” due to the “perfection with which these poor people read and did their maths”, and a gymnastics session.⁶³⁴ The increase in the number and frequency of these visits in the mid-1930s also led to other forms of moral education, besides visiting these organisations. Indeed, the visits were often combined with the students’ participation in charitable activities, such as collecting money, clothes and/or toys to be donated to poor children.⁶³⁵

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Throughout the 20th century, students went on school journeys – either study visits or excursions – to various places: historical, industrial and natural sites, as well as educational and social institutions. During this period, however, the frequency of the places visited fluctuated. While in the beginning, i.e. the first three decades of the century, it was common to take the students to historical and natural sites, mainly to monuments and natural environments, in the 1930s there was a visible increase in the number of visits to industrial sites and companies, as well as an increase, after the 1940s, in the number of visits to institutions for wider social purposes. While there was no evident shift, given that monuments remained the main places to be visited, such an increase can be justified by the establishment of a dictatorship that aimed to provide the students with a particular image of the nation and therefore of the State: industrial, urban, progress-orientated and people-focused. Likewise, the reduction in the number of visits to natural environments, inversely proportional to the increase in visits

Casa da Misericórdia]. *O Académico Figueirense. Órgão dos alunos do Externato Academia Figueirense: Mensário educativo, instrutivo e recreativo* XVII, no. 4 (1950): 1;4.

⁶³⁴ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 72.

⁶³⁵ Hermínia Machado, “Relatório da Directora da 3^a e 4^a Classes,” *Relatório do Liceu Carolina Michaelis. Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, n.p.; Guedes, “Relatório do 1^o ciclo,” 12–13; Maria Helena Cardoso, “Relatório do 2^o ciclo,” *Relatório do Liceu Carolina Michaelis. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*, n.p.; *Relatório do Liceu Fernão de Magalhães. Ano lectivo 1939/1940*, 1–33; *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 81.

to built environments such as dams and mines, can be explained by the same rationale. In turn, this can be connected to a redirection of the focus placed on the purposes of school journeys. Nevertheless, it is important to note that of the few school journeys' aims that were explicitly mentioned, their phrasing remained practically the same during the entire period, although there are slight differences in emphasis.

On the one hand, both the acquisition of knowledge of “historical events, figures and material testimonies”, natural phenomena and materials, processes of production and commercialisation, and the development of the students' identity and character and instilling their will to serve the country by making it prosperous are consistently present from the first school journeys to their naturalisation.⁶³⁶ On the other hand, though, the inversely proportional reduction in the number of visits to natural environments – almost always reduced to their admiration and worship – and increase in the number of visits to factories, companies, secondary schools and social institutions – mostly focused on working conditions and national relevance rather than on the materials and processes of production – together with maintaining frequent visits to monuments – highly connected to evocations of a glorious past – show not a shift but an intensification of national identity building. While this can also be explained by the political regime that was established in the 1930s, it also reveals tensions regarding the State's use of New Education ideas of progress for its own educational agenda.

While it is true that nationalism and progress were present in the education agendas of the Constitutional Monarchy and Republic, these appear to have been deeply connected with the integral education of each child. And even if such integral education was largely concentrated on the intellectual and moral education of the students, these two – intellectual and moral – were equally presented and discussed in both the educational and the political discourses. This means that the desired emancipation of the students was to be scientific as much as possible as a means of awakening the students' interest in becoming actively engaged in their learning and becoming processes. Such emancipation and active

⁶³⁶ *Relatório do Liceu D. João de Deus. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, p.93.

engagement would then convert them, by force of habit, into a specific kind of individual: a wise and active citizen. However, the growing emphasis on national identity building shifted the focus on the students' integral education to their character development. This was less about becoming actively engaged students and intellectually emancipated future citizens and more about becoming interested students and conformingly engaged citizens. It was as if the progress of the nation relied less on individual intellectual emancipation and morality and more on the collective drive to push the country forward. This understanding is also supported by the contrasting roles of teachers and students in relation to the activities undertaken during school journeys.

For the most part, the activities undertaken during school journeys remained the same throughout the period. This is particularly interesting if the processes by which any educational method is introduced and becomes established in the grammar of schooling are considered. It was expected – to some extent – that the slow implementation of any method being introduced would follow the educational public debate on how such implementation should take place. Yet, the activities executed during school journeys appeared to be *obvious* according to the places visited. Indeed, the majority of visits to historical, industrial and natural sites and to higher education institutions included lessons or lectures *in situ* were provided either by a teacher or by the establishment's director or trained staff member. Visits to museums, factories, companies, dams and mines, and higher education institutions always consisted of guided tours, mostly by directors; and visits to zoos and secondary schools, for example, were, for the most part, free visits, i.e. accompanied by adults but with no particular activity included. This, together with the persistent reference to observation as a means of learning, was constant throughout the period. However, connected to the referred intensification of national identity building and the shift in the education's emphasis on fostering intellectually emancipated people to producing a conformingly engaged people, an accentuated reduction in the frequency of activities that required the students' active participation became visible. While in the beginning of the century it was common for the students to carry out excavations at archaeological sites, engage in orienteering exercises, hiking and collect diverse specimens in natural environments in which the teacher acted as

a facilitator of the students' own work, by the 1930s these were exceptional occurrences. Indeed, what prevailed was the students' role of observers, listeners and writers of notes, and the teachers' role of experts who provided lessons, lectures and explanations or, in the case of guided tours, of mediators between the expert and the students, guarantors of discipline, and assessors of what was learned *in loco*.

7. Students' preparation and assessment

Since the mid-1910s, the growing concern about school journeys as an educational method led pedagogues, teachers and legislators to focus not only on the organisation and planning of these activities but also on the students' preparation and assessment. Like the planning of school journeys, the importance attributed to the preparation and subsequent assessment of the students was intimately associated with the need to ensure the educational nature of school journeys and achieve the best possible results.

Taking the education ideas and policy as frames of reference regarding what the students' preparation and assessment ought to be, my aim here is to shed light on what might have been the everyday practice in this respect. Through the analysis of school yearbooks, principals' and teachers' reports, as well as students' writings, I show the ways in which they were reportedly prepared and assessed and how the different instruments utilised in this process were used between 1906 and 1960. The analysis thus shows that the modern and progressive education ideas about active learning were used in practice in the name of achieving results, therefore inverting the desired roles of teachers and students regarding what concerned the practice of school journeys.

Readings and lectures

Although school journeys have been undertaken since at least 1906, and even though legal regulations that determined the need to prepare students before any study visit or excursion have been in place since 1917, all the articles published by students and teachers in their school journals between 1906 and 1930 and most of the school yearbooks that reported the activities, made no reference to this important educational aspect.⁶³⁷ In fact, only one document mentioned the

⁶³⁷ For the period between 1906 and 1916, see: *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1906/1907*; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1908/1909*; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1909/1910*; *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1910/1911*; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1912/1913*; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1913/1914*; *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1913/1914*; *Anuário do Liceu Alves Martins. Ano escolar de*

students' preparation. Although not signed, this was a teacher's report included in the 1909/1910 school principal's report of the lyceum Pedro Nunes about the seventh grade students' excursion to Leiria and Batalha.⁶³⁸ After presenting the students and their itinerary, the teacher affirmed that it was "convenient to note" that "for excursions of this nature, the students lack[ed] careful preparation" and that "more time" was necessary.⁶³⁹ It is not clear, though, whether the time needed concerned the students' preparation or the duration of the excursion itself. In any case, this example shows that the importance attributed to the students' preparation before their school journeys was undisputed given their educational "nature", but – even so – it required being properly implemented. Thus, the lack of references to such an important educational step in the undertaking of school journeys does not allow an understanding of how the implementation might have occurred between 1906 and 1930.

It was only after 1930, when the legal framework of school journeys as an educational method in secondary education became crystallised, that references to the students' preparation started to appear regularly in the school principals' reports that were sent to the Ministry of Education. However, despite their recurrence, both the principals' reports and the teachers' reports (included in the former) often repeated the expression used in the decree of 1930 to refer to this important pedagogical aspect of school journeys: the students' "proper preparation".⁶⁴⁰ Indeed, the legal expression intended to reinforce the compulsory implementation of the preparation of students appears to have framed the way in which teachers and principals reported it. Between 1930 and the mid-1940s, the vast majority of references in the school reports simply stated that "the students were properly prepared", leaving aside the means by which it

1914/1915; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1915/1916*; *Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1916/1917*. As for the period between 1917 and 1930 in which there are no school principals' reports for scrutiny, it is important to note that the articles published by teachers and students in the education press do not provide any further information as they never refer to the students' preparation in relation to school journeys.

⁶³⁷ Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

⁶³⁸ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1908/1909*, 91–93.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶⁴⁰ Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

occurred.⁶⁴¹ On the one hand, this suggests that either the students' preparation was not carried out regularly until 1930, or that such preparation was not being conducted 'properly'.⁶⁴² On the other hand, the constant reiteration of the expression "properly prepared" framed by legal documents in 1930 in the subsequent school reports raises questions about what "proper" might have meant and its translated implications in practice. To grasp this, even if there is scant information, it is necessary to examine the ways in which the students' preparation was reportedly carried out.

Of the few cases in which the means of preparation was made explicit, it is clear that these were mainly those that had already been suggested by the pedagogues and teachers in 1915: readings and lectures. Of these two instruments, however, the lectures appear to have been used more often as the references to readings were only occasionally present in the school reports until the mid-1940s.⁶⁴³ Nevertheless, lectures appear to have remained the main instrument for the students' preparation throughout the period and were predominantly referred to as regular "lessons", "preparatory lessons" and as "lectures".⁶⁴⁴ Moreover, the instructions given in the legal documents after 1930

⁶⁴¹ *Relatório do Liceu do Funchal. Ano lectivo 1932/1933*, n.p.; Sebastião Tomaz dos Santos, "Relatório da Direcção da 2ª Classe," *Relatório do Liceu Luís de Camões (secção mista). Ano lectivo 1935/1936*, n.p.; Luiz Afonso, "Relatório do 1º ciclo. Secção masculina," n.p.; Ramos, "Relatório da Excursão a Aljustrel e Beja,"; *Relatório do Liceu Passos Manuel. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*; Alfredo dos Santos Balacó, "Relatório do Director do 2º ciclo," *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1939/1940*, 64–72; Arnaldo Cardoso Cunha, "Relatório da excursão realizadas às ruínas de Conímbriga," *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1940/1941*, 170–171; Tinoco, "Relatório da Excursão realizada ao Norte do País,"; Manuel Afonso, "Relatório do director do 3º ciclo," *Relatório do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano lectivo 1941/1942*, 108–116; Maria Inez Vasques Ribeiro, "Relatório da excursão feita pelos alunos do 3º ano," *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1939/1940*, 123–124; Tinoco, "Relatório da Excursão dos alunos do 1º Ciclo à cidade da Figueira da Foz,"; *Relatório do Liceu D. Felipa de Lencastre. Ano lectivo 1943/1944*; *Relatório do Liceu D. Felipa de Lencastre. Ano lectivo 1944/1945*; *Relatório Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1952/1953*; *Relatório do Liceu de Faro. Ano lectivo 1953/1954*; *Relatório Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1955/1956*; *Relatório do Liceu de Faro. Ano lectivo 1958/1959*.

⁶⁴² In an article published in 1921 about school journeys in primary education, a teacher criticised the slow implementation of the regulations regarding these activities in this level of instruction. He further pinpointed the major problem: a few school journeys were poorly prepared and conducted. He thus argued for their undertaking's advantages in relation to their purposes, preparation, execution and evaluation. Tomás, "As excursões escolares".

⁶⁴³ *Relatório do Liceu D. Felipa de Lencastre. Ano lectivo 1943/1944*; *Relatório do Liceu D. Felipa de Lencastre. Ano lectivo 1944/1945*; *Relatório do Liceu Infanta D. Maria. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*; and *Relatório do Liceu Passos Manuel (secção mista). Ano lectivo 1937/1938*.

⁶⁴⁴ Augusto Teixeira, "Relatório do 1º ciclo," *Relatório do Liceu Gonçalo Velho. Ano lectivo 1936–1937*, 1–19; and Gomes, "Relatório do Director do 3º Ciclo," 284–303.

suggested that these two instruments could be supported using visual aids, such as the projection of images in the classroom or their distribution among the students. However, they were seldom reported as having been carried out. This suggests that the preparation of the students – at least after 1930 – relied heavily on the teachers’ expertise, whose knowledge was communicated through classroom lectures, i.e. as traditional lessons, and that both readings and visual aids were considered optional complements to such a transfer of expertise. In this sense, and although it is not possible to enter the classroom ‘black box’ to know the extent to which the students actively participated in these preparatory lessons, their preparation before the school journeys appears to have been mostly, if not only, the responsibility of the teacher who thereby ensured that such preparation was “properly” carried out.⁶⁴⁵

To some extent, the assurance of such proper preparation can also be assessed by the way in which principals and teachers sometimes complemented the remark that “the students were properly prepared” with: i) information on the school subject to which the teachers responsible for the school journey related, and with ii) a direct connection to the achieved results. In my understanding, by putting the place to be visited in relation to the school subject that the teachers responsible for journey pertained to, the connection between what was to be seen and the knowledge of specific school subjects that were to be transferred was guaranteed, i.e. the required educational ‘nature’ of these activities. By doing so, the students’ “proper” preparation in relation to the educational purposes was also considered to be assured. As for the references to the students’ preparation that were put in relation to the results achieved, these mainly comprised plain statements. In a report from 1936, for example, a teacher stated that “the study visits were properly prepared” and that “good use” had been made of them “as verified by the questions [of the students] in the classroom about the observations [made]”.⁶⁴⁶ These plain and scattered statements show that the teachers and principals did not feel the need to explain the ways in which proper preparation

⁶⁴⁵ This concurs with the findings of the previous chapter in which I argued that there was a gradual transfer of the students’ responsibilities to the teachers regarding the organisation of school journeys from the mid-1910s to the 1930s and that, after this decade, the teachers were responsible for the organisation of these activities.

⁶⁴⁶ Santos, “Relatório da Direcção da 2ª Classe”.

was conducted as long as good results were achieved. As if such results were less connected to the school journey in itself and more to the preparation of the students beforehand. Curiously, in any of the analysed documents – in which preparation and results appear to be directly connected – “good results” were defined. Instead, “good results” were – again – plain statements based on the teachers’ overall considerations drawn from their assessment of the students.

After the mid-1940s, however, the school principal’s reports conveyed even less information, as the references to the students’ preparation decreased over time. Despite the either very limited or completely absent information about the students’ preparation, one report produced in 1952 stands out as an exception in the overall source material. The report in question referred to an excursion by 63 students of the lyceum Heitor Pinto in Covilhã to the cities of Aveiro and Coimbra from 2 to 4 May, 1952. Not only did the report dedicate an entire section to the “preparation of the excursion”, it also revealed a practice that was completely different to the common practice. First, it was undertaken in both the Portuguese and Natural Sciences lessons “with dedication and rightly done”. Second, preparations were made “by entrusting particular themes to each student”, ranging from “general aspects” of the cities to be visited, to their industries, agricultural life, histories, art and crafts traditions, etc. According to the report, the distribution of these themes among some students were intended for them to produce written “works” with the “teachers’ guidance” in order to read them “at the respective places”.⁶⁴⁷ Because such preparation was made through the students’ active engagement, instead of passively received through the teachers’ lectures and recommended readings, this example stands out in terms of what could have constituted the students’ preparation on a large scale if the progressive educational ideas had been applied to everyday school practice.

Along with the students’ preparation, their assessment after school journeys was equally important to ensuring the educational nature of these activities, thereby guaranteeing their good results. However, contrary to the rare indication of the ways in which the preparation of the students occurred, references to the instruments used to assess the students are present in both

⁶⁴⁷ *Relatório do Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1951/1952.*

school reports and periodicals since the first decade of the 20th century and mainly comprise questionnaires and written reports. Notwithstanding, these instruments were never defined as a means of “assessment” or “evaluation”, but were rather presented as “follow-up” activities or as “proof” of the achieved results.⁶⁴⁸ It was as if an assessment or evaluation referred to the traditional and passive aspect of schooling, i.e. the ability to remember, synthesize and present the acquired knowledge in an exam, whereas the questionnaires and the written reports – because they resulted from the students’ engagement in an active learning process – were *something else*. Indeed, the questionnaires appeared in the educational discourse and school reports as a means of “guiding” the students’ observations and curiosity during school journeys, while the written reports were to allow the students to express themselves in relation to aspects of the school journey that “caught their attention the most”.⁶⁴⁹ In any case, and despite their innovative educational character as ‘guides’ and as a means of individual expression, both questionnaires and written reports served the purpose of assessing the students.

Questionnaires

Regarding the questionnaires, their presence in everyday educational practice appears to have been constant as they were mentioned in several school reports during the first half of the 20th century. However, they were only occasionally included in these reports. Of the few examples available, the first referred to a report on an excursion by 44 students from grades four and five of the lyceum Pedro Nunes to Setúbal on 6 June, 1910. The author of this report started by indicating the grades and number of students, the adults who accompanied them – the school principal, the secretary and six teachers –, and the itinerary. Without any further information, he stated that “a process of excellent results” was “adopted” in this excursion, i.e. that “the students’ curiosity was guided through

⁶⁴⁸ See the chapter ‘Ideas on school journeys’.

⁶⁴⁹ Barata, “Excursões Geográficas,” 165–171.

[the use of] a questionnaire that was distributed to everyone”.⁶⁵⁰ During the school journey, the students were to “consult with the excursion’s directors and the city’s inhabitants” in order to “be able to complete the questionnaire which, in turn, was the subject of study in some lessons”.⁶⁵¹ Thereafter, the inclusion of the questionnaire was justified by the “opinion” that such a “process deserve[d] to be studied and improved”, suggesting that the use of these instruments during school journeys had started being implemented at the time.⁶⁵²

The questionnaire in question was structured in six sections, under which several questions were asked about the visited city. The questionnaire’s interdisciplinarity is evident by the cross references to and interconnectedness of broader themes ranging from geography, natural sciences, urbanism, administrative organisation, natural resources, industry and other economic activities, culture, education, demography, etc. Although lengthy, the transcription of such a questionnaire is necessary to show its extent and detail and to problematize the notion of ‘guided’ curiosity.

a) Is Setúbal a seaport or a fluvial port? If there is a river passing through it, what is it called? Where is its source? Where does it flow into? Is the city located close or far away from the river’s mouth? Do you know of any other village that the same river runs through? From what you have observed and the information you have collected, can you state anything about the width and depth of the river near Setúbal and in other places? Do you know if the tides have any effect on the river and, if so, to what extent? If the tides do have an effect, can you state anything about their magnitude and erosive action? After answering the last three questions, do you think there could be a relationship between the facts indicated by your answers?

Did you notice any mountains from Setúbal? Do you know their names? Do you know the names of some of the adjacent villages? Do you know if Setúbal has easy infrastructures connecting these villages?

b) Did you gain an impression of the hygienic and aesthetic conditions of the city, such as the width and cleanliness of the streets, the appearance of the houses and businesses, the existence or not of avenues, squares with trees, public gardens, etc?

⁶⁵⁰ Considering that the list of accompanying teachers only comprises male persons, I assume the author was also a man and therefore chose to use the masculine pronoun. *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1909/1910*, 89.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 89–90.

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*, 90.

Do you know if Setúbal is often visited by individuals from other places? If so, do you know why?

c) Do you know of any industries in Setúbal that are noteworthy by their development or importance? Do you think that one of these industries is of key importance in such a way as to influence the development of other industries?

What are the natural resources of the region of Setúbal that are being cultivated or explored?

d) Do you know anything about the number and kind of schools in Setúbal? Have you visited any of these schools? If so, what is your impression of these visits? Have any journals been published in Setúbal? Is there a library [in the city]? Did you see or hear about any museums? Have you observed any noteworthy monuments or works of art?

e) Do you know if Setúbal is the capital of any of the country's administrative divisions? Do you know who the highest authority of such a division is? Do you know the name of the corporation that administers the public interests of the [city's] population? Do you know if there is any court of law [in the city]? What is it called? How is it constituted?

f) Does Setúbal have many inhabitants? How many thousands? Do they seem hard-working, active and zealous? Does their work require great effort or is their work light and easily performed? Are they properly remunerated for their work? Do the products of such work represent a great benefit to society?

Have you observed Setúbal's inhabitants in order to gather information on their character? What is your impression? Have you noticed any particularity in their [use of] language?

g) Do you know anything else that is noteworthy and that hasn't been included in this questionnaire?⁶⁵³

This questionnaire was reportedly designed to guide the students' curiosity during their excursion to Setúbal. As a guiding instrument, the questionnaire did indeed refer to the students' observations and thus directed their curiosity to particular aspects of their visits, such as when it called the students' attention to Setúbal's port, the visible mountains, the width of the streets, the existing cultural and educational institutions, the inhabitants' character, etc.⁶⁵⁴ However, in my understanding, these questions either served an indicative purpose, such as stating whether or not Setúbal had a library or a "noteworthy" monument, or were

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 90–91.

⁶⁵⁴ See sections *a)*, *b)*, *d)*, and *f)* of the questionnaire.

mainly used to support questions outside of the mere range of observation. Indeed, the majority of questions addressed the students in terms of requesting them to state what they “knew” and referred to issues beyond the observations made, knowledge of which could only have been acquired through reading and/or listening.⁶⁵⁵ In addition, the references made in order to direct the students’ observation and curiosity were not always intended for the students to reason about what they had seen or learned by such observations, but to simply state it.⁶⁵⁶ In fact, despite the length and detail of this questionnaire, only four questions out of 36 were aimed at the students’ ability to reason about their observations and consequent acquisition of knowledge.⁶⁵⁷ Finally, the questionnaire ends with a question about what was *not* included as a sort of invitation for the students to add further remarks on what might have caught their attention. However, again, this question was addressed in terms of the students’ *knowledge* rather than their curiosity. In this sense, the understanding of the expression ‘guided curiosity’ employed by the teacher can be problematized by asking: what could have been left out for the students’ imagination or curiosity? The wide range of topics, the detailed set of questions and the kind of questions asked show that, indeed, such ‘guiding’ was also, if not only, designed to evaluate the students in terms of their ability to reproduce the knowledge acquired apropos of their excursion.

One explanation for the permanence of such an educational gesture of reproducing acquired knowledge while using questionnaires as didactical instruments for modern education could be that the first pedagogical considerations regarding the use of questionnaires was only published in

⁶⁵⁵ Such is the case, for example, regarding the questions about the river’s flow and the names of the adjacent mountains under section *a*); about the existing industries under section *b*); the reason why Setúbal is visited by people from other places; *c*); the journals published under section *d*); the administrative organisation and institutions under section *e*); and about the number of inhabitants, their work and the societal relevance of their economic activities under section *f*).

⁶⁵⁶ See, for example, the majority of the questions addressed under section *b*): “Have gained an impression of the hygienic and aesthetic conditions of the city, such as the width and cleanliness of the streets, the appearance of the houses and businesses, the existence or not of avenues, squares with trees, public gardens, etc.?” *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1909/1910*, 90

⁶⁵⁷ Such is the case for the questions “After answering the last three questions, do you think that there could be a relationship between the facts indicated by your answers?”; “Does their work [of Setúbal’s inhabitants] require great effort or is their work light and easily performed? ... Do the products of such work represent a great utility to society?” under sections *a*) and *f*), respectively.

Portugal in the following decade, in 1923.⁶⁵⁸ Thus, although it seems to have been undisputed as early as 1910 that these instruments were to guide the students' attention and curiosity, the ways in which they were to be designed in order to achieve such an objective were underdeveloped on the practice level. In the particular case of this questionnaire, although it was – to some extent – “arranged in a methodical sequence” in order to allow “personal work” and to “transform the exercise into an attractive task”, it did not “avoid the frequent intervention of the teacher[s]”, as the students required their expertise in order to know the answers to the questions that were asked. Moreover, the questionnaires were to follow a “heuristic” process so that “the ability to construct, generalise and reason [were] fostered, besides the observation skills”, in a “systematic display” of the scientific work, and so that the students were able to reason and think critically about the subject(s) under study. On the contrary, this particular questionnaire falls under what Vasconcelos defined as “catechetical, dogmatic” questionnaires, i.e. those that were “by the book, wordy, memorizer” and which supported repetition instead of thought.⁶⁵⁹

Although reasonable, the lapse in time between the first application of questionnaires in connection with school journeys in the 1910s and the educational discourse about their use in the following decade is not enough to explain why the inherited and criticised traditional schooling mechanisms kept being used, even if they were now wrapped in modern didactical instruments and methods. In fact, when looking at a later example, it becomes obvious that, to a large extent, questionnaires kept echoing the reiteration of acquired knowledge more than ‘guiding’ the students’ curiosity and being “opportunities for the senses, thought [and] learning” equally throughout the first half of the 20th century.⁶⁶⁰ This later example dates from 1950 and was included in the principal’s report of the lyceum Rodrigues Lobo in Leiria as a means for the reader to “appraise the objectives” intended to be achieved on the “excursion to Tomar and Castelo de Bode”.⁶⁶¹ Yet, no other information about this journey was provided in

⁶⁵⁸ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 53–55.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶⁶¹ *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 107.

order to understand its possible objectives in relation to, for example, the students' grades and the implied school subject(s). Once again, its complete reproduction allows the scrutiny of what was at stake in the questionnaires as 'proof' of the achieved results and thus as instruments of student assessment.

I – Among the medieval institutions that collaborated intensely with our monarchs, both in warfare and defence, as they were the only cantoned army at the time always ready to march on the enemy [and] both in the action of Pacific colonization action and in the economic transformation of the State, there were the Military Orders.

Do you know the Military Order responsible for the establishment of the castle you visited on one of the hills on the banks of the Nabão river? (relate to the marble inscription embedded in the door lintel of the [castle's] keep)

Once abolished, D. Diniz, upon agreement with the Pope, substituted this Order with another Order that would subsequently contribute, through its 'governor and administrator', to the glorious work of the Discoveries.

What was the Military Order that substituted the first Order?

Who was the 'governor and administrator' and what role did he play in the Discoveries' enterprise?

Castelo de Bode

II – first) Why was Castelo de Bode chosen to build the dam on the Zêzere river?

2nd) Why is the dam so thick? What materials were used to build it?

NB. – Note that the dam is larger on the bottom than on the top and that the upstream face is vertical and the downstream face is slanted.

3rd) What is the purpose of the dam? What are the advantages of this [public] construction?

4th) What [kind of] energy transformation occurs in hydroelectric power plants?

III – a) Which monuments did you visit?

b) Which [architectural] styles did you observe?

c) Describe the ornamental motifs that characterise them? [sic]

N.B. – You can illustrate your report with motifs chosen from the monuments you visited.⁶⁶²

⁶⁶² *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 107–108.

Intended to enable an understanding of the purposes to which the excursion referred, this questionnaire is structured in three parts that correspond to the alternation between the two places visited: Tomar, Castelo de Bode and, again, Tomar, respectively. These three parts, in turn, display two different questionnaire designs whose questions allow a differentiation between at least three distinct topics: history, natural sciences/geography and art. Unlike the first questionnaire analysed here, the first part of this questionnaire, which concerned the visit to Tomar, starts with an introductory text regarding the historical context of what was (being) seen and asked. On the one hand, this illustrates that the school subject it related to – history – was not considered susceptible to understanding through mere observation or any heuristic process and that it required the teacher's expertise in order for it to be grasped by the students. On the other hand, such a gesture of opening the questionnaire with an historical introduction also helped frame the questions asked, thereby directing the students' attention, not their curiosity, to what was to be learned so that they could answer these questions.

Indeed, such direction of attention more than referring to the place visited was made in order to place the students in the particular timeframe of the historical information to be learned. In fact, the only instruction that called for the students' observation as a trigger for their curiosity corresponds to an inscription in marble placed at the keep's door, the sole purpose of which was to know the military order that founded the castle being visited.⁶⁶³ Furthermore, such an instruction was placed in parentheses, which might denote the secondary status of such a visual confirmation. Finally, the kind of questions asked, which start with "Do you know" and "What was", require direct by-the-book answers and thus prevent the students from engaging in a deeper reflection on what was to be learned. It was as if visiting the castle of Tomar was more of an excuse to know the names of the medieval military orders in Portugal and one of their most known personages rather than to learn about or to understand their strategic geographical distribution and their role in supporting the Portuguese kings who

⁶⁶³ See the first question addressed in the questionnaire in *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 107.

conquered and maintained territories once occupied by Arabs. In this sense, and similar to the 1910 questionnaire, the first part of this questionnaire – produced 40 years later – shows that the students' curiosity was not quite 'guided'. Thus, the possible aims of this part of the excursion did not require observations *in situ* and could have been largely conducted through readings and lessons.

In contrast, the second and third parts of the questionnaire, which referred to the visits to the dam in Castelo de Bode and to the city of Tomar, displayed a different design. They required no introduction and simply comprised questions and notes that called for the attention of the students. Additionally, the kinds of questions asked here show that observation was useful for enabling the students' knowledge and understanding of what was (being) seen. In the second part, for example, even if only one question out of six directly concerned observable matters, all the other questions were formulated in such a way that the information provided by other sources could be complemented by the observation *in loco*, and *vice versa*.⁶⁶⁴ Thus, the act of observing the dam *in situ* appears to have served the purpose of facilitating, for example, discussions on 'reasons why', and the understanding of the purposes, advantages and operation of hydroelectric power plants.⁶⁶⁵

Finally, the third part of this questionnaire, regarding the visit to the city of Tomar, asked three questions on the monuments that the students that visited. However, these questions referred to the students' ability to remember which monuments they had visited, the names of the architectural styles to which they corresponded and the main characteristics of these styles. Again, the students' ability to reason, for example, on how the different architectural and decorative styles served to convey certain meanings in relation to particular historical context(s) was left out.⁶⁶⁶ In this sense, the third part of the questionnaire shows that the observation of such monuments during the excursion might have

⁶⁶⁴ See item 2) of the questionnaire referring to the dam's thickness which, in turn, was complemented by a note to also call the students' attention to the dam's architecture. *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 107.

⁶⁶⁵ See all of part II of the questionnaire. *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 107–108.

⁶⁶⁶ See entire part III of the questionnaire. *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 108.

facilitated the learning and differentiation of various architectural styles *in situ*, but – at the same time – it was mainly what the students remembered about what they had observed that was in focus. Their visual memory was also required at the end of the questionnaire when they were asked to “illustrate” their report “with motifs chosen from the monuments [they] visited”.⁶⁶⁷ Thus, it appears as if the students’ visual memory was also under assessment in the questionnaire.

Overall, the questionnaire produced in 1950 shows three mechanisms at work in the students’ assessment and, thereby, in their learning process: the ability to acquire knowledge, to see and to think, and to see and remember. In my understanding, out of these three, only the second can be considered to be equivalent to the New Education’s methodological aim of guiding curiosity towards leaning and reasoning, whereas the other two were to be the consequences themselves of such a process.

Even taking into account the fact that the two examples given were produced quite separately in time, their joint analysis shows that: i) the educational discourse in the 1920s could have impacted the development of questionnaires designed as curiosity guides, i.e. that were to serve as methodological devices intended to trigger the students’ engagement with what was (being) seen in order to not only learn but also to mainly cultivate their skills to reflect on what they had learned. Nonetheless, it also shows that ii) despite such an improvement, questionnaires were essentially instruments to assess the students’ acquired knowledge, to such an extent that the observation *in situ* they were supposed to guide was, at times, not even necessary. As a result, the questionnaires did not allow for *equal* opportunity for the “senses, thoughts [and] learning” as they were intended to because they primarily remained focused on the third aspect.⁶⁶⁸ For this reason, questionnaires should be principally understood as instruments for assessing the achieved results, visible in the students’ ability to reproduce and remember, more than as methodological devices of an expected heuristic learning.

⁶⁶⁷ *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 108.

⁶⁶⁸ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 54.

Furthermore, the thesis that questionnaires remained attached to the perceived traditional function of instruction in knowledge transfer despite their improvement as curiosity guides is supported by a striking difference in the way in which the two analysed questionnaires were to be used by the students. On the one hand, the questionnaire included in the 1909/1910 school yearbook was distributed to everyone beforehand and was intended to be “completed” during the excursion with the help of the teacher and the city’s inhabitants, and further discussed “in some lessons”.⁶⁶⁹ This means that, even if its design and questions were flawed with regard to guiding the students’ curiosity, its usage procedures were significantly connected to New Education’s ideas about active engagement and participation, both individually and collectively. On the other hand, the questionnaire that was produced in 1950 was reportedly “given to each of the students who took part in the excursion” so that they could produce written reports arranged to match the questionnaire’s structure and topics.⁶⁷⁰ Indeed, the first cue is the instruction following the third part of the questionnaire that suggested that the students should “illustrate” their “reports with motifs chosen” from the monuments visited.⁶⁷¹ Under it, however, a small section entitled “observations” clearly indicated how the questionnaire should be used. It established that the “issues included in each of this questionnaire’s sections shall be treated separately and on loose sheets” so that the “teachers responsible” for assessment could “easily appreciate” them. In addition, these reports were to be “handed in to the school secretary’s office within three days of the excursion”.⁶⁷² This means that, to some extent, the purpose of this questionnaire was also to regulate both the content and form of the compulsory written reports that the students had to produce in order to be evaluated.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁹ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1909/1910*, 89–90.

⁶⁷⁰ *Relatório do Liceu Rodrigues Lobo. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*, 106–107.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*

⁶⁷³ It is important to note that I am introducing a deliberate distinction between assessment and evaluation here. I understand assessment as something that is formative and evaluation as something that is summative, meaning that the term *assessment* also implies an attention to the processes by which learning is achieved, whereas *evaluation* is only concerned with the quantification of results, placing them on a particular scale and ignoring the means by which learning occurred.

The use of questionnaires to facilitate the writing of reports appears to have been relatively common after the 1940s. In some school reports, though the questionnaires themselves were not included, teachers and principals made reference to them as instruments to support compulsory written reports.⁶⁷⁴ In this sense, it was as if questionnaires were gradually less important as devices to trigger learning processes or to assess the students, and instead were increasingly viewed as instruments for writing. This, in turn, placed writing as the ultimate instrument of assessment.

Written reports

Although the production of reports by the students who participated in school journeys had only been prescribed by law since 1917, some reports written by students after school journeys were already included in the school yearbooks of the lyceums Pedro Nunes in Lisbon and Alexandre Herculano in Oporto between 1908 and 1916.⁶⁷⁵ At the same, and at least from 1909 onwards, students' written reports were also published in the journals of several schools. However, such publication is concentrated in the period between 1934 and 1952. In addition, and in contrast to the principals' reports published in the school yearbooks, the reports sent to the Ministry of Education between 1930 and 1960 simply mentioned the use of written reports as follow-up activities that provided evidence of the achieved results, thereby excluding their reproduction. For this reason, and similarly to the analysis of questionnaires, the examination of the reports produced by the students in this chapter mainly focuses on two examples, one included in a Pedro Nunes' yearbook and the second published in the journal of the Academia Figueirense. On the one hand, when put in relation to both educational ideas, legal framework and reported practices, the analysis allows an understanding of how the students' written reports can be understood as instruments of assessment in the context of school journeys. On the other hand,

⁶⁷⁴ See, for example: *Relatório do Liceu Jaime Moniz. Ano lectivo 1939/1940*; and Tinoco, "Relatório da Excursão dos alunos do 1º Ciclo à cidade da Figueira da Foz".

⁶⁷⁵ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917.

scrutiny of the written reports brings about a growing standardization of their structure and content, thus triggering a problematization of the stable conventionality in the students' writing.

The first example refers to one of the first written reports by a student to be included in a school yearbook. Prior to the transcription of the student's report, a short introduction provided information regarding four study visits to the zoological garden in Lisbon, undertaken by each of the first grade's classes, the teacher responsible for each of those visits and the dates they occurred.⁶⁷⁶ Following the introductory information, the school principal introduced the author of the report that was then "published": "the student, Santos Pereira".⁶⁷⁷ The lyceum Pedro Nunes's student started by explaining that "on 30 January, students were invited on an excursion" to the zoological garden. The first paragraph of the report describes the route to the destination, namely, the two trams used and the location at which the students changed trams, to which the student added his remarks on such an itinerary by stating that "on [his] way", he "really like[d] the landscape" that he passed, in particular, the fact that "the avenues and fields [were] very beautiful". After this, the author focused on the visit to the zoo. However, instead of articulating what he and his fellow students had observed and what they'd learned, he simply listed the animals he liked the most, and why:

We entered [and] the first animal we came across with was a camel. I find this animal very beautiful because of the two humps or bulges on its back. I also like the zebra because of the stripes on its coat. I also really like the monkeys, particularly the noble little monkey that nimbly ate the seeds we threw, which shows it is [used to] exercise. When we tossed a rock at another monkey, it returned it with extraordinary strength.

Of the felines, I like the civet cat; it is remarkable due to its huge eyes.

Of the wild animals, I like the panther, the bear, the lioness and the jackal. This animal is very funny because it is always wandering around in circles in its cage. (...)

⁶⁷⁶ First class on 27 February, second class on 20 February, third class on 30 January and fourth class on 12 March, 1908.

⁶⁷⁷ *Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1907/1908*, 66.

Of the birds, I think the parrots are beautiful with their very pretty green and red feathers.⁶⁷⁸

After his comments about the animals that had caught his attention the most and the reasons why, the student proceeded to describe the return itinerary, which was the same as the route taken to the zoo, and concluded his report by thanking the school principal and teacher in charge for the study visit: “Having arrived at the school”, he wrote, “each one [of us] returned to their homes grateful to our good principal” because he “always provided us with such good and interesting journeys” and “to Mr. Barbosa for his care, for such a rewarding lesson and also for such pleasant company”.⁶⁷⁹

Overall, this report shows two things in relation to undertaking school journeys and the use of written reports in the first decade of the 20th century. Firstly, the school’s principal played a leading role in the proposal and subsequent undertaking of school journeys when they first started to be implemented. Indeed, the author of this report pointed to three aspects that support this conclusion: the students were “invited”, the teacher was regarded as “company” as much as someone from whom the students benefitted in relation to the lessons given, and the principal was reported as having “always provided” opportunities for journeys. This is relevant because it complements the analysis of the early reports on school journeys regarding their organisation. On the one hand, these reports suggest that the organisation of study visits and school excursions relied heavily on the accomplishment of the students’ associative and collaborative work. On the other hand, the lack of preliminary plans for school journeys at the beginning of the century makes it difficult to know the extent to which students organised school journeys. In this sense, though the organisation of school journeys relied on the students’ associations, it may still have been an adult who often prompted the execution of such journeys.

The second aspect of this report shows us the students’ freedom of speech in relation to formal education, i.e. the opportunity for them to write about what and how it pleased them when reporting an educational activity in which they

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., 67.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid.

participated. Indeed, the report shows that the student who wrote it was not concerned with, for example, using diversified language, nor with the articulation between the animals observed and the knowledge acquired about them, focusing instead on the personal reasons why he liked them.⁶⁸⁰ In my understanding, this report is only ‘formal’ regarding the content’s organisation, in this case, a three-part essay structure: it starts with an introduction, which describes the route from the school to the zoo, followed by the body of text about the visit to the zoo, and concludes with the author’s expression of thanks. Notwithstanding, it could be said that the inclusion of this freely written testimony in the principal’s report at such an early stage of the undertaking of school journeys is more about showing what is being done and how students perceive it, than assessing the students in terms of their knowledge acquisition. This means that such freedom of speech in relation to formal education, though probably common practice at the time, was also used as a means of advertising school journeys.

In any case, this should be regarded as an exception since subsequent student reports that were either included in the schools principal’s annual reports or published in the schools’ journals – though retaining the same three-part structure – show a considerable shift regarding the issues presented in the body of texts, even in the period from 1910–1916. Although still highly personal, in terms of focusing on what the students liked the most about what they had observed, which was usually the topic that had been chosen to write about, these personal accounts were never based on the reasons why the authors liked the journey, but rather on how they found it interesting.⁶⁸¹ This shift from enjoyment to interest is visible in the growing articulation between the objective aspects learned and personal remarks, thus suggesting an increased standardisation of the students’ writings as proper reports about an educational activity. Indeed, of the reports made available in the schools’ yearbooks and journals, the prevalence

⁶⁸⁰ See, for example, the repetitive use of the adjective ‘beautiful’.

⁶⁸¹ *Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1910/1911; Anuário do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Ano escolar de 1910/1911; Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1912/1913; Anuário do Liceu Alexandre Herculano. Ano escolar de 1913/1914; Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1915/1916; and Anuário do Liceu Central de Pedro Nunes. Ano escolar de 1916/1917.*

of interest over enjoyment appears to have become completely established by 1917.

This means that a growing standardization was already under way when, for the first time, the law required the mandatory production of reports, as well as when pedagogues and teachers conveyed their expectation that written reports would stimulate the students' observations and their ability to organise, synthesise and present the notes on their observations, i.e. as a means of "recapitulating" and "remembering" what had been learned *in loco*.⁶⁸² In this sense, it appears as if the students were at liberty to express themselves freely in relation to their school journeys in the early reports but that such freedom was progressively regulated in order to conform to the educational "nature" of these activities, i.e. in order to correspond to a proper schooling 'report'. Furthermore, although the inclusion or publishing of the students' written reports were never justified in both the yearbooks and in the educational press, nor formally regulated in terms of structure or content in either of these sources, the evidence of a canon of writing in the mid-1930s suggests a link between the students' standardised writings and their use as "proof" of the achieved results in relation to the expected educational nature of school journeys.⁶⁸³

One example of such a canon is the report produced by a fifth grade student, Olívio de Carvalho, and published in his school's journal, *O Académico Figueirense*, following a visit to a glass factory. The article is called "How glass is made: annotations from a study visit" and is structured according to the aforementioned three-part essay structure. In the introduction, the author starts by stating the date and place of the visit⁶⁸⁴, then explains that the students were

⁶⁸² Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917; Vasconcelos, *Uma Escola Nova*; Idem., *Didática das Ciências Naturais*; Barata, "As excursões geográficas"; Brito, *A Educação artística*; and Fernandes, *A minha escola*.

⁶⁸³ It is not possible to analyse the progressive establishment of a writing canon in the students' reports between 1917 and 1934 since very few reports were published as articles in the school journals during this period. Instead, the school periodicals published the lists of school journeys undertaken. See, for example: Associação Escolar, "Visitas, passeios educativos, higiénicos, etc," *Boletim da Escola Oficina nº 1* I, no. 2 (1918): 142–145; Anon., "Resenha das festas, récitas, excursões e conferências, promovidas pelo Liceu de Aveiro," *Labor. Revista trimestral de educação e ensino e extensão cultural* I, no. 2 (1926): 126–128; and Alfredo Tenório Figueiredo, "Visitas de Estudo e Excursões Escolares," *Boletim do Liceu Normal de Lisboa (Pedro Nunes)* II, no. 4 (1932) 112–114.

⁶⁸⁴ The "glass factory of the glass company" in Fontela, a locality in the school's district, Figueira da Foz, on "31 January, 1934". Olívio Carvalho, "Indústrias Figueirenses. Como se faz o vidro. Apontamentos de uma visita de estudo" [How glass is made. Notes on a study visit], *O Académico*

welcomed at the factory by its administrator, “whose kindness” the author “want[ed] to highlight”, and who then introduced them to a “distinguished chemical engineer” who was the present “inspector of the principal glass factories in Spain”. The author further added that this engineer “immediately started explaining (...) the fabrication process” in a “clear and interesting way”.⁶⁸⁵

Having finished the introduction, the student proceeded to the body of text by stating the he was going to “try to summarise all we’ve *heard* during the [engineer’s] magnificent lesson”.⁶⁸⁶ He therefore reproduced the technical information that had been communicated about the substances from which glass is made, including the different percentages in relation to various types of glass and about how the types of glass produced have different applications (such as in bottles, optics, imitations of precious stones, etc.). Once “the different glass components [were] described”, the students “observe[d] the operation” of how glass is fabricated. However, the description that followed appears to have been less the result of the factory observation and more a continuation of the reproduction of the technical information acquired from their guide. In fact, the following 31 short paragraphs cover an extremely detailed description of each stage of the glass fabrication process, without any personal comments. However, in the conclusion of the report, which started by declaring that “the exposition of the engineer ended”, the author explained that after that exposition the students had another short visit. This short visit was to the “workshop in which around 130 women were working on covering demijohns in straw in an unsurpassable perfection” of wickerwork, and to “the remaining facilities” in which they took “photographs” as mementos of a “lovely morning of practical study that delighted [them]”.⁶⁸⁷

When put in relation to other reports produced by students and published in their schools’ journals, the analysis of this report shows that, regarding study visits, the students followed a writing ‘formula’ that always started with the basic

Figueirense. Órgão dos alunos do Externato Academia Figueirense: Mensário educativo, instrutivo e recreativo I, no. 5 (1934): 2.

⁶⁸⁵ Carvalho, “Indústrias Figueirenses,” 2.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, (emphasis added).

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

information about the study visit, such as place, date and sometimes the students' grade and the adult(s) accompanying them, continuing with a description – as detailed as possible – not of what had been observed but of the knowledge acquired/transferred during the visit, concluding with personal comments about the author's or the students' satisfaction. Regarding excursions, the reports used the same formula, except for two important and different aspects: the first being that most introductions also included personal remarks about the journey and brief descriptions of the landscape, and the second that the descriptions of what was learned were more often articulated with the students' personal impressions regarding what they had observed. Even so, an important distinction must be made regarding the students' writings about their journeys. While there is a slight difference between the writings about study visits and excursions, in which the former are more content focused than the latter, there is also a similarity regarding the kind of places visited. For the most part, whether during short visits or excursions, reports about visits to industries, companies, built environments and higher education institutions mainly focused on aspects of the knowledge to be acquired and a detailed description. However, the reports about visits to historical sites, natural environments and social institutions also included comments about the aesthetic, moral and national aspects inherent to the places visited.

In any case, the reiteration of the knowledge *per se* and of the commonplace comments about the nation was frequently the core of the students' narrative, instead of being closely articulated with comments on the observations made. It appears as if either the observations were not the learning's point of departure or the students were not aware of this and therefore remained focused on writing reports that could be easily evaluated by the teachers. In my understanding, even though it is not possible to assert the extent to which the former could have been true, the latter is a plausible hypothesis. In fact, the teachers also welcomed such reiterative reports because they showed "that the students listened attentively to the explanations given" during the visits.⁶⁸⁸ This means that, the teachers' concern was about the reproduction of acquired

⁶⁸⁸ Gomes, "Relatório do Director do 3º Ciclo," 293.

knowledge and, in this sense, it is reasonable to assume that the formula used by the students in their reports is something that enables the teachers to evaluate what they knew and learned, i.e. as a remnant of a long-stable schooling practice. In addition, the legal instructions after 1930 also made clear that the teacher in charge of the journey was responsible for assessing the school reports. In my understanding, such a requirement was intended to ensure that the school subject(s) to which the study visits referred, i.e. under which certain learning was to occur, matched the expertise of the teacher in charge these school subjects. However, in the case of excursions, school principals allocated the responsibility of assessing to the Portuguese teacher, regardless of the different school subjects to which the journey related. As if the reports on excursions, for their interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary purposes, were more easily assessed in terms of the students' ability to write, i.e. their language skills.

Notwithstanding, since 1917 and then again in 1930, the law required the students reports to be “documented with photographs or in some other way”, and to be presented and discussed in school sessions “in front of the school students” or in “small conferences”, attendance of which was compulsory.⁶⁸⁹ When put in relation to the schools' everyday practice, as reported by the principals in their annual reports, the students' reports appear to have seldom included such required visual materials.⁶⁹⁰ This suggests that both their use and the joint discussion about the journeys were considered optional complements to the main activity, the production of the written reports, and thus, to some extent, were unnecessary in terms of their assessment. Likewise, when the students' reports were published in the school's journal, photographs or drawings were only

⁶⁸⁹ See, respectively, Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917 and Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

⁶⁹⁰ Concerning the reference to the use of photographs and drawings in the school principals' reports, please see: *Relatório do Liceu Infanta D. Maria. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*; Catarino, “Relatório da excursão feita pelos alunos do 1º ano”; *Relatório do Liceu D. João III. Ano lectivo 1944/1945*; *Relatório do Liceu de Aveiro. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*; *Relatório do Liceu de Castelo Branco. Ano lectivo 1951/1952*; *Relatório do Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1953/1954*; and *Relatório do Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1954/1955*. On what concerned the reference to undertaken lectures or debates in relation to the produced written reports, please see: Gomes, “Relatório do Director do 3º Ciclo”; Amadeu Barata de Sousa Teles, “Relatório do 2º ciclo”; *Relatório do Liceu Infanta D. Maria. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*; *Relatório do Liceu Bocage. Ano lectivo 1937/1938*; *Relatório do Liceu D. Felipa de Lencastre. Ano lectivo 1944/1945*; *Relatório do Liceu de Aveiro. Ano lectivo 1949/1950*.

occasionally included.⁶⁹¹ In any case, the rare examples of students' articles that combined text and images show interesting intertwined materialities in storytelling that allow one to become immersed in the students' perspectives on their experience.

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In the legal documents and educational writings of the first half of the 20th century, the students' preparation and assessment was considered fundamental to ensuring the desired success of school journeys as modern active methods with an educational nature. However, although both preparation and assessment were considered equally important, the analysis of the school reports and press articles published in this period shows that they were unevenly taken into consideration in practice.

Regarding the former, there are no references to the students' preparation before their school journeys until the 1930s. Additionally, the reports produced by teachers and principals after this decade mainly reiterated the term "proper preparation" framed by the legal regulations promulgated in 1930, disregarding any considerations on the means through which such proper preparation was made. Of the few cases that explicitly mentioned how the students were prepared, all of them corresponded to two traditional schooling forms of learning: readings and lessons. In fact, the use of visual materials to complement such readings and lessons appear to have been scarcely used, if used at all. The dependence on traditional forms of learning, particularly on lessons given by the teachers, suggests that the assurance of properness required their expertise and was connected to the need to match the places visited with particular school subjects and to the transference and acquisition of appropriate knowledge, thereby guaranteeing the school journeys' educational nature and 'good results'. Despite this being the norm, one example from the 1950s shows the students' preparation

⁶⁹¹ Regarding the use of photographs and drawings in the students' reports published in school periodicals, see: AA.VV., "A Excursão Científica a Monchique," *O Nosso Collegio, anno de 1909 a 1910*, no. 6 (1909): 85–109; Alfredo Filipe Matos, "Uma excursão escolar," *Revista escolar. Publicação mensal de educação e ensino* 2, no. 5 (1922): 145–149; Carvalho, "Indústrias Figueirenses"; AA.VV., "Excursão de Estudo pelo Alentejo e Algarve," *O Académico Figueirense* IV, no. 7 (1937): 7–10; AA.VV., "Excursão de Estudo pelo Alentejo e Algarve," *O Académico Figueirense* IV, no. 9 (1937): 3–4, 7–9; Maria Fernanda Gonçalves, "Uma visita de estudo," *O Académico Figueirense* V, no. 6 (1938): 4; and AA.VV., "Um passeio interessante," *O Académico Figueirense* V, no. 9 (1938): 5.

based on their active engagement and therefore what could have been possible on a large scale, if new and progressive education ideals had been applied to the everyday school practice, instead of passively preparing the students through the teachers' lectures and recommended readings. Indeed, regarding the students' preparation, their engagement and participation was – once again – restricted to that of listeners and readers.

Regarding the latter, two main instruments of assessment were used throughout the period: questionnaires and written reports. The questionnaires were intended to guide the students' observation and curiosity *in loco*, and the written reports to stimulate observation, the recapitulation of notes taken on the school journey and the memory of what had been observed and learned. The analysis of the questionnaires showed that, for a mere curiosity guide, they were considerably detailed and that the majority of the questions were formulated in such a way as to identify what the students 'knew' rather than to promote curiosity and learning through observation. For this reason, an understanding of the use of the term 'guided curiosity' can be problematized by asking: "what was left for the students' imagination or curiosity?" I consider such 'guiding' as having been mainly designed to evaluate the students in terms of their ability to reproduce the knowledge acquired during the school journey. In addition, it was argued that questionnaires targeted the students' senses, thoughts and learning equally. Yet, they were mainly focused on the third, which referred to the acquisition of knowledge, thus undermining the new education aim of contributing to the integral education of each student. Moreover, even if the questionnaires from the beginning of the century were, to some extent, more connected to the ideas of active engagement as they were supposed to be completed by the students during their school journeys, the questionnaires eventually evolved to become a means of supporting the students' mandatory production of written reports after the journey, thus placing writing as the ultimate instrument for assessment.

Like the use of questionnaires, the written reports were also in use before their legal enactment in 1917. The written reports from the first decade of the century show the students' freedom of speech regarding the contents included, namely the possibility of freely expressing the personal reasons why students liked what they had observed during the visits. However, while the use of the

questionnaires appears to have gradually shifted to a stricter form of evaluation, the written reports quickly evolved in that direction. From the 1910s onwards, although still personal to some extent, the reports shifted from a plain expression of enjoyment to a statement of interests that articulated objective and personal accounts. The growing prevalence of interest over enjoyment can be understood in relation to a growing standardisation of the students' reports in order to conform to the educational 'nature' of school journeys, i.e. to correspond to a proper 'schooling' report. By the 1930s, a writing canon is evident: it always starts with basic information about the study visit, continuing with a detailed description not only of what was observed but also of the knowledge acquired/transferred during the visit – both considerably lacking in personal remarks –, and concluding with personal comments about their satisfaction with the journey. However, two important distinctions must be made. First, between the reports on study visits and the reports of excursions: in the latter, personal impressions were more often included and articulated with what was observed than in the former. While for the most part all reports on study visits were content-focused, the reports on historical sites, natural environments and social institutions also included comments on aesthetic, moral and national aspects inherent to the places visited.

Nevertheless, the reiteration of the knowledge *per se* and of commonplace comments on the nation formed the core of the students' narrative, instead of closely articulated personal observations and thoughts about the knowledge acquired. In this sense, it appears as if either the observations were not the learning's point of departure or the students were unaware of this and therefore remained focused on writing reports that could easily be evaluated by the teachers who, in turn, also welcomed reiterative reports because they proved the students' attention to what was transferred to them. Contrary to the aims of modern didactics, the students were not being taught to observe, learn *and* think about what they had learned, but rather to simply reiterate the established practice of reproducing the acquired information. For this reason, teachers weren't to decode the reasoning processes by which the students learned as a means of helping them develop their reasoning skills, but to simply note that they did or did not learn, and what they learned, i.e. they were not to assess the students in

terms of both knowledge acquisition, observation and reasoning skills, only to grade the former. Likewise, the sparse references to the use of images, both when preparing and assessing the students, and which were highly recommended by pedagogues and heavily present in the law, suggest that these were secondary and complementary elements and therefore not as necessary for the students' learning process as much as the readings, lectures, questionnaires and reports. Thus, this shows the persistence of the perceived traditional way of making schooling in which listening and writing were the main mechanisms for the students' preparation and assessment, and makes clear that the instruments used to achieve this operated within that logic – even if in the context of an active method.

In this sense, all the instruments used to prepare and assess the students in relation to school journeys appear to reflect the *educational paradox*, i.e. the gap between the idealised practices proposed by the new and progressive education movements and everyday practice. Indeed, the instruments used to prepare and assess students – though in place within an active and modern method – still reverberated with the long established practices based on: i) the teachers' expertise as the foundational source of learning; ii) the superiority of intellectual aspects within the schoolwork, in the view of the importance of the senses that was argued by pedagogues and teachers, iii) the prevalence of memory exercises rather than reasoning skills; and iv) the positioning of learning exclusively in relation to outcomes, ignoring the importance of the process for accomplishing the desired outcomes, such as the ability to think critically and impairing the achievement of an integral education.

8. School journeys and the ‘Reason’ of schooling

The study of school journeys in secondary schooling in Portugal between the 1890s and the 1960s was conducted by focusing separately on three interconnected aspects: policy, educational discourse and everyday practice. The analysed material was a scattered and fragmented corpus of data comprising legal documents, monographs and didactical handbooks produced by pedagogues, education press articles written by pedagogues, teachers and students, and school principals’, teachers’ and students’ reports. Throughout the chapters I examined: i) how school journeys were legally framed; ii) which ideas were addressed by pedagogues and teachers about the educational relevance of these activities; iii) how they were reportedly organised and undertaken, where and in relation to what; and iv) how the students were prepared and assessed. By scrutinizing the various parts of a desired *new* way of thinking and making schooling, my aim was to expand the knowledge on the history of school journeys and contribute to the research on the ideas and practices of educational modernity.

In this chapter, I bring together policy, educational discourse and everyday practice to articulate the main empirical findings of this dissertation, and to discuss them. When intertwined chronologically, they show different but connected periods that signal both turning points and overlapping aspects throughout the period. Uncovering discontinuities and continuities allow an understanding of the emergence, implementation and naturalization of school journeys, not only in relation to their historical context but also how broad ideas of educational modernity were put into practice. Moreover, the articulation of the main findings into transversal and intersecting themes enables a wider discussion on school journeys in relation to the ‘Reason’ of schooling. Altogether, both the chronological overview and the thematic discussion aim to provide a summary of the research findings, suggest the core ideas to which they refer, offer one possible problematization of one of the most enduring modern schooling practices and suggest possible further lines of inquiry and investigation.

School journeys in Portugal (1894–1960): chronological overview

Desires, expectations and adaptations

The advent of school journeys in schooling in Portugal is deeply connected to the desires and expectations embedded in the growing idea of an education capable of contributing to societal renewal and thus to the modernisation and progress of the nation. Such desires were not so much those of pedagogues and politicians but were part of the circulating discourses conveyed by the Portuguese enlightened elite way of reasoning on society and change in the 19th century. Throughout this century, a group of intellectuals generated a wider public debate on the aims of education in relation to their societal and national regeneration function, which established, in the Portuguese context, a common understanding of schooling as an instrument of progress and therefore paved the way for the pedagogues' claims and the politicians' continuous efforts towards achieving the modern and progressive education that was so desired. This common understanding and desire entail two key aspects that would remain – in essence – unchanged in the systems of reason that governed schooling in Portugal from the 19th century onwards.

The first aspect is the binary oppositions: tradition *vs.* modernity, old *vs.* new, stagnation *vs.* innovation, etc., that framed the dichotomic rationale within which all educational ideas were thought, discussed and acted upon, regardless of the social, economic and political circumstances of the country at any given time. The second aspect is schooling's deeply entrenched aim of making society and the nation by making the citizen, i.e. of the possibility of designing the desired future through the fabrication of each and every individual as actors of the expected change. Such fabrication, in turn, referred to a particular kind of person and citizen-to-be: emancipated, responsible, active and committed, the cosmopolitan individual,⁶⁹² to which schooling practices were to contribute.

⁶⁹² Tomas Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions. (Re)constituting the nation, the Child & the Teacher in the Educational Sciences* (Lisboa: Educa, 2002); Idem, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform. Science, Education, and Making Society by Making the Child* (New York: Routledge, 2008); and Idem, *The "Reason" of Schooling. Historicizing Curriculum Studies, Pedagogy, and Teacher Education* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

Regarding secondary education, despite failed attempts throughout the century, an exhaustive reform was finally implemented in 1894–5 to modernise secondary education. It established the structure, organisation, curricula and educational methods, i.e. the framework of schooling, carefully arranged and presented in accordance with the principles and aims of modern education. Such a legislative effort instituted a school grammar paradigm that remained, in essence, the same throughout three quarters of the 20th century and that constituted the outset of the emergence of school journeys. Put in relation to the school timetable as an example of a possible activity to be executed in connection with the school subjects of the natural sciences, geography and history, these activities were regarded as one of the many active methods to be enacted for the sake of the modernisation of schooling.

In addition, the appearance of several organisations related to educational issues in the first decades of the 20th century contributed to the emergence and proliferation of a specialized educational discourse with a strong social reform claim and agenda. In spite of the gap between the progressiveness of the circulating ideas and the country's capacity to implement them, the reflection on the social significance of education through the education of each individual increased and some isolated innovative pedagogical experiments appeared. Nevertheless, this gap allowed for the Portuguese case of New Education to be quite different from many others in Europe. Instead of comprising specific educational organisations, such as new schools, the New Education ideas spread through the general education system and the use of new methods and activities emerged in the schools' quotidian life, therefore contributing to the incorporation of new ways of doing education into the grammar of schooling.

In this context, the educational discourse from the late 19th century regarded school journeys as a means of such modernisation and therefore presented their relevance to the overall aims of a new and modern education. Their relevance related to their ability to promote an active, attractive and intuitive learning process based on scientific principles of observation and experimentation, and to support the complete and balanced development of each child so that each student was to learn and become. That is, to acquire a broad knowledge and develop the will and interest to be actively engaged in the present

learning in order, by force of habit, to become emancipated and virtuous citizens in the future.

First experiences and increasing regulation

Notwithstanding the perceived importance of these activities to the desired outcome, they start to be slowly executed because most secondary schools struggled financially to organise and execute them. The strategy adopted in the early 20th century, and which lasted throughout the entire period even after the regulation which established that the funds for school journeys would come from the budget of the Portuguese Youth, was the creation of membership-based student associations in schools. The recognition of the success of these cases in using their members' annual fee and fundraising initiatives to organise school journeys resulted in the proliferation and adoption of such strategies in several other secondary education institutions across the country from the mid-1910s onwards. This, in turn, then spread the experimentation of school journeys across the country, despite the persistence of complaints about financial restrictions and limitations. At the same time, because the first attempts to gradually implement school journeys were intuitive, the pedagogues and teachers started addressing issues of method, considered necessary to ensuring the educational purposes of these activities.

Thus, from the mid-1910s onwards, the growing concern about what the organisation of school journeys required became palpable. The ideas that were addressed revolved around three aspects: the need and importance of a clear and thorough plan, the students' preparation beforehand and their subsequent assessment. These three aspects were always framed within the reasoning and arguments for the integral education and active engagement of students that was conveyed by new and progressive education movements, and their relevance was connected to the need of accomplishing the best outcomes possible. In fact, the planning, preparation of the students and follow-up of these activities were at the centre of the ideas on school journeys as an educational method, whereas the arguments regarding their undertaking were under-discussed, if not almost non-existent throughout the entire period. It was as if a reflection on the undertaking

of these activities was not needed because as long as everything was carefully prepared and properly followed-up, they would be effective.

However, even if the concern that school journeys needed to be executed in order to make the best out of them was constantly present throughout the first half of the 20th century, it is interesting to note that on no occasion were these ‘best possible results’ defined or explicitly stated in the educational writings nor the legal documents despite recurrent references to them. Likewise, when looking at the reported practice, the purposes of each school journey were rarely put in focus. Indeed, although the importance of having clear purposes for each school journey was constantly stated in the educational discourse, references to them in the school reports were neglected in favour of highlighting the places visited and discussing the logistical aspects required by these activities. Indeed, in the school yearbooks from 1906 to 1916, the aims of these activities were more often merely listed as the places visited than being explicitly articulated with any pedagogical aim or with the school subjects’ syllabi.

It was as if the places being visited made it obvious what was going to be seen, which therefore made the purpose of the school journeys obvious in relation to the school subject(s) to which these places related. For this reason, in order to connect the places visited to the aims related to the school subjects, it is necessary to look into the pedagogues’ and teachers’ writings. Regarding the aims that corresponded to the natural sciences, school journeys were to foster the students’ ability to use scientific methods, and thereby develop their observation, analysis and critical reasoning skills. In addition, visits to natural sites allowed students to make contact with the country’s landscapes and natural environments, to admire and better understand them, thereby instilling a personal connection with their homeland. Visits to industrial sites could be explored from both a scientific and a social perspective as these places were at the same time “living lessons” on current production processes and “social experiments” of labour organisation. Regarding history, school journeys appear to have been less discussed in relation to the transmission and acquisition of historical facts and were more about fostering a historical consciousness which was understood as a means of fostering the students’ individual identity as part of a particular community.

On the one hand, the absence of explicit information on the *reported* practice regarding the aims of school journeys related to school subjects might lead to deducing that their purpose was being themselves extraordinary opportunities of extramural and differential learning. In this sense, school journeys were in line with the overall aims of New Education of promoting the integral education of the students based on their own experience and direct observations. On the other hand, when looking at the above-mentioned *expected* aims of school journeys in relation to several school subjects, what becomes obvious is their connection to the defined goals of the mission of Portuguese secondary education to provide a broad culture in order to produce emancipated persons and to prepare them for societal life, i.e. the alchemy of school subjects at work: the production of a particular kind of person.

Like the absence of explicit purposes, and despite the educational discourse's focus on the planning and follow-up of school journeys, the reports on undertaken school journeys at the beginning of the period often do not discuss organisational aspects in relation to the school's practice. The few examples available point to processes of organisation that relied heavily on the accomplishment of the students' associative and collaborative work. Yet, because there are no references to the preliminary plans for school journeys at the beginning of the century, it is difficult to know the extent to which these preliminary plans were made by the students. Moreover, although both preparation and assessment of the students were considered equally important, the analysis of the school reports and press articles published in this period shows that they were unevenly taken into consideration on the practice level.

Regarding the preparation of the students, there are no references until the 1930s. As for the assessment, the two main instruments of used were questionnaires and written reports. The questionnaires were intended to guide the students' observation and curiosity *in loco* and the written reports to stimulate their memories regarding what had been observed and learned, and were recapitulations based on the notes taken during the school journey. Furthermore, even if the questionnaires at the beginning of the century were, to some extent, connected to the ideas of active engagement as they were supposed to be completed by the students during their school journeys, they eventually

evolved to becoming a means of supporting the students' mandatory production of written reports after the journey, thus placing writing as the ultimate instrument of assessment. As for the written assignments, those of the first decade of the century show the students' freedom of speech regarding the contents included and the expression of the personal reasons why the students liked what they had observed during the visits. However, while the use of questionnaires appears to have slowly shifted towards a stricter format, the written reports quickly evolved in that direction. From the 1910s onwards, although still personal to some extent, the reports shifted from the simple expression of enjoyment to a statement of interests that articulated objective and personal accounts. The growing prevalence of interest over enjoyment can be understood in relation to a growing standardisation of the students' reports in order to conform to the educational 'nature' of school journeys, i.e. to correspond to a 'proper' school report.

While the extensive secondary education reform of 1894–5 was the trigger for the emergence of a discussion about the ideas behind school journeys, their regulation as a method, however, was sparked by the growing exchange of ideas and practices aimed at improving and perfecting a methodological procedure. Although under-regulated until 1917, from that year up until to 1930, school journeys were progressively regulated in order to guarantee all of their "educational benefits".⁶⁹³ These, in turn, related to the four main aims of these activities, which were finally made explicit: 1) an objective learning process based on personal observations and experience; 2) instilling respect for monuments while learning about historical facts; 3) providing knowledge about society; and 4) preparing students for societal life.⁶⁹⁴ It was the preoccupation with ensuring educational benefits that led, in 1918, to a shift in agency intended to clarify the role of the teacher during school journeys: the teacher was no longer a 'guide', but the person responsible for the preparation, undertaking and assessment of these activities. This is also visible in the principals' reports earlier in that decade, indicating that such a shift was already happening at the micro-level before being

⁶⁹³ Decreto 3091 of 17/04/1917.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid.

made ‘official’. The increasing responsibility of the teachers for these activities was justified in the principals’ reports by the need to create conditions to avoid the playful nature of school journeys, thereby ensuring a more educational nature.

Boom and naturalisation

The increasing concern of educational discourse at the beginning of the 1920s with the method associated with the discussion about the need to ensure the expected educational nature of school journeys was accompanied by a *boom* in school journeys in Portuguese secondary education from the mid-1910s to the early years of the 1930s that put the regulatory efforts at the centre of the political agenda of the recently established political regime – a dictatorship with fascist contours. Indeed, in 1930 and from this year onwards, school journeys as an educational method were *specifically* defined in their different possible forms – study visits and excursions – and were meticulously directed from above, i.e. unerringly regulated in terms of what was strictly allowed and possible. From preparation to assessment, school journeys were dissected and were considered “for all intents and purposes schoolwork”.⁶⁹⁵

This, in turn, introduced a shift – which was so subtle that it is almost imperceptible. Throughout the first decades of the 20th century, school journeys were presented and discussed, thus considered circum-curricular activities. And although *circum-curricular* was never defined in the legal documents or in the pedagogues’ and teachers’ writings, it appeared as something that was complementary to ‘proper’ schoolwork: the curricular aspects connected to the school subjects. In this sense, school journeys were a supplement intended to boost classroom work. By being defined, in 1930, as schoolwork, these activities were no longer perceived as an addition but as an integral part of school activities and were therefore in need of stricter regulation and control.

The intensification of the State’s directives regarding the thorough methodological regulation and complete legal control of school journeys, in line with what was expected of a political regime that had authoritarian characteristics

⁶⁹⁵ Decreto 18486 of 18/06/1930.

and instruments, had an obvious impact on the extent to which educational issues were subsequently discussed. Indeed, the educational ideas that were exchanged and addressed appear to have become ‘hostage’ to the decree promulgated in June 1930 and, by the 1940s, virtually no writings were discussing the ideas behind school journeys. Nevertheless, it is important to note that by this decade the implementation of school journeys had also become practically established in the everyday life of schools. Furthermore, the lack of legal documents regulating school journeys after 1930 suggests that these activities remained attached to the regulations then stipulated, thus becoming crystallised. This means that they were fully part of the “organisational framework” of schooling. Thus, their legal crystallisation and naturalization at the micro-level dismissed the need for further discussion. This, in turn, established a discursive consensus, i.e. by the following decade, the educational ideas on school journeys had also become completely naturalized.

This is not to say that the fascist dictatorship instituted the beginning of an era in the history of school journeys. On the contrary, the new regime – though radically different from the previous ones – built upon the existing dichotomous rationale (new *vs.* old, progress *vs.* tradition, etc.) to support an idea of modernity in which schooling was, once again, an instrument for the regeneration of the nation. Moreover, the fascist dictatorship not only borrowed the existing educational arguments regarding the social importance of schooling in regenerating the nation by fostering each and every future citizen, it also appropriated past educational practices and mobilised them all – ideas, aims and practices – under a new ideological paradigm, intended to impose new social ways of thinking and behaving. Thus, the educational arguments and instruments at the turn of the 20th century that supported a modern way of doing schooling in Portugal were appropriated in their essence, meticulously refined, reinforced and used.

Taking into consideration the period in which a new idea of education was intensely discussed (1890–1930) in relation to the subsequent decades, although the idea of integral education in relation to school journeys is still present, the subsequent writings tend to address it mainly in terms of education of the character. In my understanding, the use of the term ‘integral education’ is directly

linked to the modern education discourse's definition of the harmonious development of all human faculties. This, in turn, allowed education to help each student shape their own character, at the time, more frequently referred to as their personality. Over time, however, the focus on the intellectual and moral aspects of education completely reconfigured the idea of personality into the formation of a person's character. Indeed, the latter also appears to be more in line with the ideological framework of the recently established dictatorship in the sense that the term 'character' was more closely connected to ethical assumptions related to a person's conduct. Similarly, when looking at the importance attributed to the use of active methods, the learning process was still put in relation to the observation of objects and phenomena. Like in the past, such observation was not only for developing the students' ability to use scientific methods and facilitate the acquisition of facts, it was also to build bridges to discourses and values regarding the nation and humanity, thereby fabricating identity. However, while observation in relation to the natural sciences was more often discussed until the 1930s, observation in relation to the social sciences acquired more importance after the 1930s. It is not that these two aims didn't coexist, but this visible shift in importance can be explained by the intensification of the political regime's ideology and agenda, which emphasised the importance of monuments, historical sites and industries as a means of fostering a particular sense of community connected to national belonging.

In any case, and like the previous decades, the principals' reports produced from the 1930s onwards conveyed very little explicit information on the purposes of the undertaken school journeys in relation to school subjects, instead, comprising lists, tables and schemes. The analyses of these lists, tables and schemes regarding the places visited showed a consistent and continued balance between science and history-related places throughout the entire period, an evident increase in visits to industrial sites, and an upsurge in visits to charitable and social institutions after the mid-1940s. In the reports that conveyed explicit information, however, it is possible to see that: 1) school journeys to natural sites were generally still related to the New Education's ideas of observation and active learning throughout the period, but at the same time such observation and activity served a patriotic agenda, which was increasingly conveyed after the

1930s; 2) visits to industrial sites related to science school subjects as much as to an understanding of how society was organised, how it worked in the particular context of the nation and how it was relevant to national social and economic progress; 3) the visits to social and charitable institutions were connected to the particular Christian ethics conveyed by the Catholic Church in Portugal; and 4) the visits to historical sites were evidently intertwined with both the intellectual and moral education of the pupils, often mobilising national historical characters as young people's *moral* role models. Nevertheless, it is important to make clear that even if the mobilisation of historical actors as role models only became visible during the dictatorship, the fostering of the students' *nation belonging* in relation to the different kinds of places visited had been an underlying constant since the late 19th century and particularly so after the mid-1910s.

In this sense, when crossing the school principal's reports produced after 1930 with the publications of pedagogues and teachers from previous decades, it is evident that journeys to natural sites were to contribute to a "better understanding of the Portuguese land and consequently to strengthen the love for the homeland in the students' souls"⁶⁹⁶; that the visits to industrial sites were to promote the understanding of how some school subjects related to 'real' life, how human resources were organized and worked in society, how the nation made use of its natural resources and their relevance and, finally, that the visits to historical sites were to develop historical consciousness and, by doing so, establish a connection between the past and the present that served the purpose of fostering the students' collective identity. Such a connection can also be understood as a connection between the present and the future, as a way of instilling in the students the will to contribute to their country's progress, thereby fostering their moral character. Overall, even if the knowledge attached to the places visited was connected to the syllabi of the specific school subjects, the values attached to these places and communicated to the students referred to secular morals and Christian ethics, as much as to the well-established narratives of national progress and belonging that inscribed the student onto a particular notion of civic

⁶⁹⁶ J. H. Barata, "As excursões geográficas" [The geographic excursions], *Labor* 7 (1927): 166–171.

virtue of “overcoming one’s self-interest to take up the common interest”, i.e. to “act in the name of common good”.⁶⁹⁷

Further aspects that point to continuities refer to the rare inclusion of preliminary plans for school journeys in the school principal’s annual reports between the 1930s and the 1960s, despite their perceived importance in relation to the indispensable educational nature of such journeys. Once again, when they were included, most plans contained scant information about the curricular or methodological aspects of the educational activity to which they referred, instead focusing on the participants’ grades, the places to be visited and, sometimes, logistics aspects. Similarly, although the equally perceived important task of preparing the students was never addressed before the 1930s, from this decade onwards, most reports simply stated it in terms of having ensured the pupils’ “proper preparation”, disregarding any considerations of the means by which such proper preparation was made. Of the few cases that explicitly mentioned how the students were prepared, all of them corresponded to two traditional forms of learning: readings and lessons. In fact, the use of visual materials to complement such readings and lessons appears to have been scarcely used, if used at all. The dependence on perceived traditional forms of learning, particularly on lessons given by the teachers, suggests that ensuring properness required their expertise and was connected to the need to match the places visited with particular school subjects and to the transference and acquisition of appropriate knowledge, thereby guaranteeing the educational nature of the school journeys and ‘good results’. Indeed, regarding the students’ preparation, their engagement and participation appear to have been restricted to that of listeners and readers.

In any case, although the reinforcement of the teachers’ responsibility is made obvious during the dictatorship, the gradual switch of the expected roles of teachers and students had already been happening since the mid-1910s and justified by the growing importance of achieving the best possible results and of ensuring the educational nature of school journeys. Indeed, although at the very

⁶⁹⁷ Daniel Tröhler Thomas S. Popkewitz, and David F. Labaree, *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century. Comparative visions* (New York: Routledge, 2011), xii.

beginning of the implementation of school journeys, there were a few examples of activities undertaken during school journeys that promoted the students' active participation and in which the teacher acted as a facilitator of the students' own work – such as excavations in archaeological sites, orienteering exercises, hiking and collecting diverse specimens in natural environments – the students' role as observers, listeners and writers of notes, and of the teachers' role of experts providing lessons, lectures and explanations or, in the case of guided tours, of mediators between the expert and the students, guarantors of discipline and assessors of what was learned *in loco*, had already been engrained in the grammar of schooling by the 1930s.

For this reason, it is no surprise that the students' two main instruments of assessment – questionnaires and written reports – which had been used since the beginning of the period and argued for within the modern education principles in order to facilitate observation, guide curiosity and recall what had been observed and learned, evolved into something else. The questionnaires became considerably detailed for a mere curiosity guide and the majority of the questions that were asked were formulated in a way that would identify what the students 'knew' rather than promote curiosity and learning through observation. Such 'guiding' became primarily designed to evaluate the students in terms of their ability to reproduce the knowledge acquired apropos of their school journeys. In addition, questionnaires became a means of recalling and summarising what the students listened to as much as observed during the visit in order to support the writing of a mandatory report. This, in turn, was then established as the main assessment instrument and therefore quickly evolved in form and content in order to correspond to a proper report.

By the 1930s a writing canon was evident: it always started with basic information about the study visit, continuing with a detailed description not primarily about what had been observed but of the knowledge acquired/transferred during the visit – both considerably lacking in personal remarks –, concluding with personal comments about the author's or the students' satisfaction. However, it is important to note that while most reports were content-focused, the reports about historical sites, natural environments and social institutions often conveyed comments regarding aesthetic, moral and

national aspects inherent to the places visited. Nevertheless, the reiteration of the knowledge *per se* and of commonplace comments on the nation formed the core of the students' narrative, instead of closely articulated personal observations and thoughts about the knowledge acquired. In this sense, it appears as if either the observations were not the learning's point of departure or the students were unaware of this and therefore remained focused on writing reports that could easily be evaluated by the teachers. These, in turn, also welcomed reiterative reports because they were proof that the students paid attention to what was transferred to them. Contrary to the aims of modern didactics, it then becomes visible that the students weren't being educated to observe, learn *and* think about what they had learned, but rather to simply reproduce and reiterate acquired information.

For this reason, teachers were not supposed to decode the reasoning processes by which the students learned as a means of helping them develop their reasoning skills, but to simply note that they did or did not learn, and what they learned. Thus, the teachers were not to assess the students in terms of both knowledge acquisition, observation and reasoning skills, only to grade the former. Likewise, the sparse references to the use of images, both when preparing and assessing the students, and which were highly recommended by pedagogues and heavily present in the law, suggests that these were secondary and complementary elements and therefore not as necessary for the students' learning process as much as the readings, lectures, questionnaires and reports.

Thus, if we think of the stable grammar of schooling in which – for a long time – listening and writing were considered to be the ultimate instrument for the students' preparation and evaluation, respectively, it becomes clear that the instruments used to do so – even if in the context of an active method – appear as something reminiscent of a long-established school practice. This, in turn, can be justified by the fact that, when entering the practice arena, the New Education ideas progressively developed in combination with long-established practices based on: i) the teachers' expertise as the foundational source of learning; ii) the superiority of intellectual aspects in face of the argued importance of the senses within the school work, iii) the prevalence of memory exercises rather than reasoning skills; and iv) the placement of learning exclusively in relation to

knowing, neglecting the ability to think critically, and thus impairing the achievement of an integral education. Altogether, this asks for a problematization of school journeys in relation to the 'Reason' of schooling.

The 'Reason' of schooling beyond the classroom

New ideas, methods and grammar to fabricate the new man

From the very beginning, school journeys appeared as an undisputed method for an education desired to be radically different from the one that was in place in schooling. The perceived and criticized traditional education, in which the student was a passive actor expected to sit quietly in the classroom listening to the teacher, reading and writing summaries in order to memorize the transmitted knowledge, was to be substituted by a *new* way of doing schooling increasingly advocated by enlightened elites and pedagogues since the 19th century. This novelty was therefore to subvert the long-established roles of teachers and students. The former were no longer the foundational or exclusive source of all knowledge, but were supposed to guide the students' interest, curiosity, observations and experiences, to foster their will to know, to provide the means for an active learning based on scientific methods, and to promote the integral education of each child; whereas, the latter were supposed to actively engage in the learning process in order to develop themselves physically, intellectually and morally and, by force of habit, to become new men.

Rooted in the belief of science as a means of progress, this new, modern and progressive education was itself understood as scientific, because it was based on the scientific knowledge of the child, and was therefore capable of intervening in each and every young person in the present in order to foster the person of the future, i.e. as an instrument of societal progress. On the one hand, it placed the child as an individual at the centre of all educational initiatives and, on the other hand, the fostering of each and every one of them was to be conducted within and in connection with the community to which they belonged. In the obviousness of the causality links that connected modernity, science, education, progress and society, and thus the past, present and future, the

emergence of nation-states, themselves auto-proclaimed modern and progressive, quickly captured education as a means of producing a future – again, modern and progressive – by those who were to be educated in this new system. It was then within this system of reason, slowly engrained in Western societies during the long 19th century, that modernity – including educational modernity – was advocated and attempted.

In Portugal, such a transformation from tradition to modernity required an extensive reform capable of establishing a new grammar of schooling within which new ideas and methods could be materialised. However, while the new grammar was received by school actors with distrust and resistance, given the schooling system's real limitations and restrictions, the ideas upholding it – argued *new* in face of the *old* – were quite undisputed. Indeed, they were part of a growing internationally circulating discourse on education and progress, and by the late 19th century these ideas were well established due to the continuous public debate on what education needed to be in order to materialise what society and the nation should be. Likewise, and regardless of the schools' immediate capacity to implement them, active methods were unarguably one of *the* ways for schooling to fabricate the new man, because they embodied one of the crucial aspects of the “making of kinds of people” in schooling: the “principles about *how* one should know (didactics and learning theories)”, which were perceived as being as important as “*what* one should know (the school curriculum)”.⁶⁹⁸ Both were connected to the normative function of the alchemy of the school subjects in which *how* and *what* one should *know* is intertwined with what one should *be*: the cosmopolitan individual,⁶⁹⁹ i.e. an emancipated and proactive person “whose self-responsibility orders change in the world through changes in the ‘self’”, an “agent who enacts the collective purpose embodied as the nation-state”.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁸ Thomas S. Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*, 2 (emphasis added).

⁶⁹⁹ Tomas Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*; Idem, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform. Science, Education, and Making Society by Making the Child* (New York: Routledge, 2008); and Idem, *The “Reason” of Schooling*.

⁷⁰⁰ Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*, 9; Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry Franklin, and Miguel Pereyra *Cultural history and education. Critical essays on knowledge and schooling* (New York and London: Routledge Falmer, 2001), 17.

Given that “the fabrication of the cosmopolitan self is the ‘heart’ of modernity”,⁷⁰¹ it was then in the context of such a ‘Reason’ of schooling, aimed at producing a specific kind of person/people – wise and well-educated, i.e. knowledgeable and virtuous –, that school journeys emerged and were gradually implemented at the same time that a new grammar was slowly materialising. Indeed, school journeys were at the core of the modern idea of the integral and complete education of the child and of the nation-state’s agenda of transforming students into future citizens.

Firstly, because they consisted of attractive opportunities for the equal development of all human faculties: physical because they were “an exercise of culture and hygiene”;⁷⁰² intellectual because they allowed for both the acquisition of a broad culture,⁷⁰³ which was regarded as the “general knowledge which enables critical thinking, rather than being the result of the accumulation of memorized facts”⁷⁰⁴ and promoted the students’ intellectual emancipation,⁷⁰⁵ meaning “the ability of the children” to perform “their elaboration and assimilation of intellectual elements”;⁷⁰⁶ moral because they were perceived as “practical occasions for communal life” and as spaces in which the conditions for

⁷⁰¹ Popkewitz, *Cultural Productions*, 12.

⁷⁰² António Faria de Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais* [Natural Sciences Didactics] (Paris-Lisboa: Aillaud and Bertrand, 1923), 87–88.

⁷⁰³ J. Augusto Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], vol. I. (S. Paulo: Teixeira & Irmão, 1891); António Faria de Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental* [Lessons of Experimental Paedology and Pedagogy] (Lisboa: Antiga Casa Bertrand, 1909); Idem., “Problemas Escolares” [School Problems], in *Obras Completas de Faria de Vasconcelos (1933–1935)*, ed. J. Ferreira Marques (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2010 [1934]); Adolfo Coelho, “Questões Pedagógicas” [Pedagogical Issues], *O Instituto: revista científica e literária* 58, no. 3 (1911): 129–137; Manuel Domingues Heleno Júnior, *A Geografia no Ensino Secundário* [The Geography in Secondary Education] (Lisboa: Tipografia do Comércio, 1919); Leonardo Coimbra, *O Problema da Educação Nacional: tese apresentada ao Congresso da Esquerda Democrática* [The Problem of National Education] (Porto: Maranus, 1926); José Tavares, “A necessidade de cultura geral e o alargamento contínuo dos conhecimentos humanos” [The need of a broad culture and the continuous enlargement of human knowledge], *Labor* 17 (1929): 23–25; Adolfo Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica* [Sociological Pedagogy], vol. I (Lisboa: Couto Martins, 1932); and Idem., *Pedagogia Sociológica* [Sociological Pedagogy], vol. II (Lisboa: Livraria Escolar Progredior, 1936).

⁷⁰⁴ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 179.

⁷⁰⁵ Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I; Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*; Idem., “Ideias e Factos. A Orientação Profissional” [Ideas and Facts. The Professional Orientation], in *Obras Completas de Faria de Vasconcelos (1921–1925)*, ed. J. Ferreira Marques (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2006 [1922]); Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I; and Alberto Pimentel Filho, Alberto, *Lições de pedagogia geral e de história da educação* [Lessons of general pedagogy and history of education], 2nd ed. (Lisboa: Guimarães e Ca., 1932).

⁷⁰⁶ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 200.

ethical and social development were met: “social interests” were created, “friendly and confident relationships” between teachers and students were grounded, “solidarity” could be “tried out”, and both “patience” and the “spirit of sacrifice” were “cultivated”;⁷⁰⁷ and aesthetic for they required “the students’ attention” to “the beauties of nature and of works of art”,⁷⁰⁸ attached to which were patriotic narratives of national belonging and progress.⁷⁰⁹

Secondly, the attractiveness of these activities captivated the students’ will to know as they embodied the positivist scientific spirit of learning through observation, given that they “evoke the spirit of observation, feed the curiosity [and] provide numerous objects for experimentation and study which call for intelligence, awake the attention [and] ask for imagination”.⁷¹⁰ And finally, because they required the students’ active engagement in decoding, reasoning and internalising what was being observed as theirs, thereby contributing to a student’s “plenitude of physical, intellectual and social life” through “habits of virtue”, i.e. they created the conditions “for an educational ‘environment’ from which influences intended to modify the student would emanate”.⁷¹¹ Additionally, because they served to “attain a complete and perfect life, both individually and socially”⁷¹² in relation to all disciplinary subjects, the internalisation of what was observed was also the beauty and magnificence of the nation evidently imprinted on its landscapes, historical heritage and industries.

Even if we would argue today, like Serres, that “seeing” can presuppose “a motionless observer”, it was already understood then that “to visit requires our understanding while we move”, i.e. “that moving changes the perceived space” in which the “familiar and strange juxtapose (...) connecting, little by little, intimal

⁷⁰⁷ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 88.

⁷⁰⁸ F. Vieira e Brito, *A Educação artística nos liceus* [Artistic education in the lyceums] (Braga: Tip. da Oficina S. José, 1929), 17.

⁷⁰⁹ Inês Félix, “Herança e cidadania: Visitas de estudo, excursões escolares e educação estética na educação dos jovens escolares portugueses (1894–1960)” [Heritage and Citizenship: study visits, school excursions and aesthetic education in Portuguese young pupils’ education] (M.A. thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2011).

⁷¹⁰ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 88.

⁷¹¹ J. Augusto Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia* [Principles of Pedagogy], vol. III (S. Paulo: Teixeira & Irmão, 1893), 493–494, 495.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, 492.

spaces (...) in a sort of analytical prolongation”.⁷¹³ This means that the whole ideal of modernity was deeply engraved in the overall aims of these activities in which learning and becoming were indisputably indissociable from each other, in what Jorge do Ó called a *reflexive extension* of the students.⁷¹⁴ Thus, it is not surprising that we see both imageries of the *cosmopolitan individual* and of the *alchemy of school subjects* so explicitly reflected in the discourses about the aims of these activities.

However, even if the ideas on the aims of school journeys remained the same throughout the period, to the point when they became naturalised and appear – since then – to be unchanged and unchangeable, the discourses on their use, and their gradual implementation and regulation, resulted in shifts that ultimately betrayed the “original” basis upon which they were imagined and the “ideal” function they were to perform.

The imperative of outcomes and the changes in agency

As attempts to operationalise the highly sought after new, modern and progressive ways of making education are being put in place, the desired and innovative *new* way of thinking education slowly exhibited signs of carrying aspects of the *old* system of reason that it was trying so hard to define and establish itself against. Being part of the promising new and active methods, school journeys were caught in the tension between tradition and modernity.

The first signs were already present, though almost invisible, in the earlier educational discourses and eventually became quite evident: within all the wide-ranging potential of school journeys for the coordinated and equal development of all human faculties,⁷¹⁵ two of faculties appear to have been given particular attention. Even at the peak of the influence of New Education ideas, the intellectual and moral aspects of the students’ education were favoured to the

⁷¹³ Michel Serres, *Atlas* (Porto Alegre: Instituto Piaget, 1994), 64, 65.

⁷¹⁴ Jorge Ramos do Ó and Luís Miguel Carvalho, *Emergência e Circulação do Conhecimento Psicopedagógico Moderno (1880–1960): Estudos Comparados Portugal-Brasil* [Emergence and Circulation of the Modern Psychopedagogical Knowledge (1880–1960): Comparative Studies Portugal-Brazil] (Lisboa: Educa, 2009).

⁷¹⁵ Vasconcelos, *Didática das Ciências Naturais*, 87. See also: Coelho, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, vol. I; Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*; Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vols. I and II.

detriment of their physical and aesthetic education. To a great extent, the latter were placed at the service of the former, which were thereby perceived as key elements in the fabrication of the knowledgeable and virtuous citizen-to-be. Indeed, the educational concern with the body of the child and his health was justified by the “mutual influence” between “physical and mental functions” following the logic of *mens sana in corpore sano*,⁷¹⁶ whereas aesthetics would bring together the contemplation of beauty and the sublime with national narratives of greatness, thus linking the past to the present which, by providing the students with a collective identity and sense of belonging, would then imprint on their spirit the most honourable virtue of all: be willing to “act in the name of common good”, the good of the nation.⁷¹⁷

The second, arising first in the aftermath of the first experiences and then in the educational discourses on purpose and method until it became established by law in 1918, has to do with the imperative of outcomes, of achieving the best possible results. While these were never explicitly defined despite constant references to them after the mid-1910s, it can be deduced that the best possible results equally related to the specific aims of secondary education to provide a broad culture and produce emancipated persons, to the overall modern education claims of integral education and to the State’s agenda of producing future citizens. However, when scrutinizing the reported practice, the question regarding which were the best results that these activities could produce, though still unanswered, puts in perspective the use made of modern didactics and learning theories, i.e. the “principles about *how* one should know”, in the face of *what* one should know and become.⁷¹⁸ This, in turn, made visible how the integral education of the students had somewhat been relegated to a secondary position in order to favour the acquisition of knowledge and the fabrication of subjectivities.

In this context, it is curious to note how one of the main features of these activities – their attractiveness – was also their Achilles’ heel. Such attractiveness soon became related to a “fortuitous” nature in much need of control in order to

⁷¹⁶ Vasconcelos, *Lições de Pedologia*, 30.

⁷¹⁷ Daniel Tröhler, Thomas S. Popkewitz, and David F. Labaree, *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century. Comparative visions* (New York: Routledge, 2011), xii.

⁷¹⁸ Popkewitz, *The “Reason” of Schooling*, 2 (emphasis added).

ensure the educational nature of school journeys. On the one hand, it was as if fostering the students' will to know and to become through such attractiveness was not enough because more important aspects were at stake. On the other hand, it was also as if the fact that they represented physical displacement from the classroom was, in itself, already attractive enough and, therefore, not in need of further 'alluring' aspects that would only distract the students from what was really important. Likewise, it was not as if their ability to foster the students' integral education wasn't at all present or taking place. Instead, it was just assumed that this was indeed at work because of the opportunities that school journeys, i.e. the activity itself, represented rather than because any effort was intentionally put into it. In addition, both educational ideas and practice *always* assumed that what was to occur during these activities was *obvious*, and that the results would eventually follow as long as the journeys were properly prepared and followed-up. At first sight, it would appear as if modern methods and didactics were being engulfed by the school grammar they were intended to combat.

Thus, it is in the silent obviousness of the texts that a 'audible' evidence can be found: the imperative of outcomes produced a palpable effect on the practice of school journeys, especially after being enacted in 1918, which undermined their 'modernity' and 'progressiveness' (at least as far as they had been idealised). Indeed, even though the practice of school journeys was determined to maintain their overall utility in the production of a metamorphosis from student to citizen, *how* one should know was subverted and made subservient by *what* one should know and become. On this account, such an effect was nothing less than the shift between the desired roles of teachers and students: what was, in the beginning, an activity as much as possible initiated by the students and based on their collaborative work together with the teachers and/or school principal, gradually evolved into something else. With the exception of *one* reported school journey in 1952, in which the students – with their teachers' guidance – actively participated before and during their excursion to Aveiro and Coimbra,⁷¹⁹ most of the reports after 1910 show the complete opposite. And this doesn't appear to

⁷¹⁹ *Relatório do Liceu Heitor Pinto. Ano lectivo 1951/1952.*

have been due to the inability of the school system to overcome its own limitations. In fact, when experiments with school journeys first started, some schools developed local strategies not only to be able to fund them but also to make collaborative work a reality, i.e. through the school associations. These strategies, in turn, spread throughout the country and became well established practices in most – if not all – secondary schools. In addition, from the preparation to the assessment, all instruments used started resembling the criticized tradition of teaching. Instead of promoting the acquisition of knowledge in order to enable “critical thinking”, as they were intended to, they resembled “the result of the accumulation of memorized facts” that modern didactics and learning theories so eagerly desired to combat.⁷²⁰

Thus, a reconfiguration of the agency of these activities’ actors, placing the teacher in the role of expert and in absolute control from the beginning to the end, and relegating the students’ participation to that of an observer, reader, listener, and writer of notes/summaries occurred. It was this reconfiguration that made evident a pedagogical paradox and that shows the extent to which the intended *new* way of doing schooling developed in articulation with long-established school mechanisms. For my part, it is in the in-betweens of tradition and modernity, of old and new, that different layers of how one can look at change became visible. On the one hand, new ideas and methods are brought into the school system to change it from within, and on the other hand, the system itself appears to have used them to cover the *old* with a coat of novelty and innovation.

This is not to say that nothing changed and that everything remained. Rather, it is to say that there were continuities in change as much as changes in continuity. There is consensus, among Portuguese education historians, that secondary schooling did change with the reform of Jaime Moniz in 1894–5 and that after this it remained, in essence, the same up to this day. However, what this dissertation brings forward is the evidence that within a *new* paradigm, *old* mechanisms kept working. It therefore adds to the thesis that novelty was often “rapidly assimilated to the traditional structures and rules”,⁷²¹ the fact that the

⁷²⁰ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 179.

⁷²¹ David Tyack and William Tobin, “The ‘grammar’ of schooling: why has it been so hard to change?,” *American Educational Research Journal* 31, no. 1 (1994), 456.

perceived “striking regularities over time in how teachers taught within institutional arrangements”⁷²² are not only the result of the new being absorbed by the old but could also be because of the perseverance of old mechanisms within new structures and rules. This can also explain why the ideas behind school journeys remained intact even when the instruments used to support their practice subverted and reconfigured some of their original intentions, as well as why the desire for a new, modern and progressive education was continuously mobilised by successive and antagonistic political regimes. Because, despite everything, the perceived modernity of school journeys embodied the promise of making the nation by making the child.

Learning and becoming: making the nation by making the child

This research on the ideas and practices of school journeys sets wide open a twofold key aspect of the ‘Reason’ of schooling. On the one hand, the persistence – even if sometimes only implicit – of an idea of learning connected to the scientific method and reasoning that required activity and engagement as a means of becoming knowledgeable, emancipated and productive. It shows how the causality link between modernity, science, education, progress and society connecting each and everyone’s past, present and future was cemented in the ways of thinking about schooling for over a century in Portugal. On the other hand, the ways in which the alchemy of school subjects placed that idea of learning not only in connection to but also in interdependence with narratives of belonging and progress in the service of making the nation by making the child. This was done by scrutinizing the ways of making schooling, i.e. the reported practice, and showing how reconfigurations moving away from the ideal of educational modernity still observed its ultimate purpose. In the overlapping tensions between tradition and modernity, this study showed how school journeys operated within the ‘Reason’ of schooling in practice.

Indeed, school journeys were intimately connected to the making of the nation by making the child not only because they assumed themselves to be

⁷²² Ibid., 454–455.

opportunities to intervene in every child's *learning* and *becoming* processes, but also because they were reportedly undertaken as such. In my understanding, the fact that physical displacement was often reported as *the* purpose of each and every school journey, can be perceived as an evident sign of the alchemy of school subjects being at work. On the one hand, it makes invisible the connections to specific school subject's syllabus; and, on the other hand, such invisibility is at the same time the obviousness of what connects the child to what the visited site has to offer. First, by always linking the grade of the students, which is directly related to their own stage of development, and the type of place visited; and second, by attributing to each place visited certain knowledge and values that were to be both acquired and embodied. Furthermore, the embodiment of such knowledge acquisition and values was more often than not – if not *always* – articulating the past, present and future and therefore connecting what intimately constituted the child to what explicitly constituted the nation. Finally, by supporting the shaping of one's identity as that of the country, school journeys would enable a metamorphosis that identified what the student was with what they were to become, i.e. it put the individual's future in direct correlation to the future of the community to which they so intimately belonged.

However, the *learning* and *becoming* of the students in order to make the nation by making the child lacks further problematization. The evident reconfiguration of the teachers and students' roles and therefore of their agency within these activities in order to produce the best possible outcomes raises questions of *exactly* what kind of student was being produced in order to impact the nation's future. This means that it allows not only what the students *were* in schooling to be questioned, but especially the kind of future citizen to which these activities were contributing. Indeed, the pedagogical paradox made it obvious that the desired active engagement of the students became restricted to the role of passive participants. As a modern educational method, school journeys were expected to promote the students' comprehensive education through their initiative, engagement and responsibility because – ideally – students should be those who not only suggested, but also planned, organised and conducted these activities, whereas the teachers were to act as their guides in this process. If this was what would allow them to become wise and virtuous, "independent and

responsible”,⁷²³ then what kind of citizen would such a shift in power – in which the teachers were those responsible for preparing the journey, who provided the introductory materials and lessons, who conducted or mediated the visit, who assessed the students’ reports and promoted the follow-up activities –; what kind of citizen would such a power shift produce?

Additionally, as if the evident pedagogical paradox wasn’t enough to pose this question, the analysis of the instruments used before, during and after school journeys that showed the persistence of old mechanisms within this new modern education method and grammar also shows the power effects that produce passive participants. Indeed, their activity was reduced to that of observers, readers, listeners and writers of notes and summaries that reverberated with the knowledge and values that were to be acquired and embodied. This, in turn, makes evident that such reconfiguration produced students whose activity and engagement had eventually little to do with becoming emancipated. If emancipation was connected to the children’s ability to perform “their elaboration and assimilation of intellectual elements” in order “to have the freedom to think and opine”,⁷²⁴ i.e. “being independent and autonomous based on the use of their reason”, then the result of these mechanisms was that “the ones being emancipated remain[ed] completely dependent upon the ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’ revealed to them by the emancipators”.⁷²⁵ Thus, this concurs with Depapepe’s argument that some education history studies that focused on discourses have shown “how the great dream of emancipation is considerably more problematic than anticipated”, which is shown in this research by putting the reported practice in relation to the circulating discourses that framed it, and showing why it is so.⁷²⁶

Similarly, the reconfiguration in agency that limited the possibilities for the students’ emancipation also raises the question of the productiveness and

⁷²³ Jorge Ramos do Ó, *O governo de si mesmo. Modernidade pedagógica e encenações disciplinares do aluno liceal (último quartel do século XIX – meados do século XX)* [The self-government. Pedagogical modernity and disciplinary scenarios of the lyceum’s student (last quarter of the 19th century – mid-20th century)] (Lisboa: Educa, 2003), 112.

⁷²⁴ Lima, *Pedagogia Sociológica*, vol. I, 10, 200.

⁷²⁵ Gert Biesta, *The Beautiful Risk of Education* (London: Paradigm Publishers, 2013), 80, 78.

⁷²⁶ Marc Depapepe, *Order in progress. Everyday Educational Practice in Primary Schools Belgium, 1880–1970* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 12.

usefulness of the citizen-to-be in the face of the passive role performed by the student in the context of school journeys. In this case, however, it appears that the connection between present and future was secured. On the one hand, usefulness and productivity appear to have been considered as being mutually constituted because they were constantly put in relation to each other. One's ability to become productive was – at the same time – one's certain usefulness. Likewise, one's ability to become useful was also the certainty of one's productiveness. On the other hand, the connection between these two entails them being less dependent on the students' agency in school journeys and much more reliant on their will to contribute to the progress of the nation. The will to contribute to the nation, often presented as the will to know and become, wasn't – as we saw – so much related to the attractiveness of school journeys. Rather, it was determined by the capacity of these activities to engrave in the soul of each student a sense of belonging to the nation which would then not only materialise in the students the desire for its progress, prosperity and greatness, but their will to contribute to it. In this sense, – it could be asked – whether the students' passive role wouldn't actually be better suited to the fostering of national belonging, and thereby the student's collective identity and individual will, i.e. if old school mechanisms together with the observation of physical testimonies of the nation's beauty and greatness didn't allow for a more durable and deeper impression of the student's future responsibility.

Despite raising issues connected to the students' *learning* and *becoming* processes in the context of school journeys, despite showing the persistence of an idea of future citizens as *active*, *useful*, *productive* and *emancipated* and how the mechanisms at work possibly impacted the students in the present, this research did not *specifically* answer the question of what kind of citizen school journeys were producing for the future. First because, although deeply related to the results of this research, it was not its purpose, and second, because the exploration of the question pertaining to the citizen-to-be in Portugal in this period would have to better address it in the context of three different political regimes. Thus, asking “what citizen did politicians and educationalists talk about when they discussed the making of the nation by making the child?; which similarities and differences can be found throughout the period?; and how was

this connected to what was reportedly being conducted in schooling?” would have to include sources representative of a wider discussion on citizenry, e.g. parliamentary debates. Moreover, such an exploration would require – in my understanding – a study of its own, particularly if one were to delve deeper into what each of these attributes - *active*, *useful*, *productive* and *emancipated* – entail so that they could be problematized in relation to both changing societal and moral values and persistent schooling mechanisms.

In any case, this research showed that a modern schooling project naturalized a *gesture* that established objective systems for apprehending both individuals and the world, connecting each other by shaping an idea of cultural empowerment and emancipation through knowledge and identity. And while presenting an innovative transdisciplinary set of goals and methods for the students’ uniqueness, this *gesture* provided strength to a standardized worldview, guaranteeing not only the preservation and transmission of cultural objects and values over generations, but also guaranteeing the continuity of stable national narratives in which some questions are no longer asked.

Spaces for further exploration

Any history, no matter how comprehensive, will always leave some issues untackled either due to the sources’ contingency, methodological or theoretical options, or even due to the author’s own journey while making sense, exploring and explaining the empirical material, thereby choosing one out of a multitude of potential pathways. In the case of this dissertation, the path chosen to pursue in articulation with the sources and bibliography available for scrutiny was that of the school journeys’ connection to the ideas and practices of educational modernity in secondary education, particularly those that reverberated with an education focused on the student’s *learning* and *becoming*.

Besides the question of what kind of citizen was produced by schooling in relation to school journeys, addressed in the previous section, other aspects of the ideas and practices of school journeys that require further investigation include observation as a culture of classification and the ways in which it was mobilised by schooling, framed in a broader perspective. While not completely absent from this dissertation, the primacy of observation as *the* way of learning in the context

of educational modernity could be further explored, for example, by connecting school journeys, object lessons and school museums. This could be done by exploring the possible connections of two distinct ideas: on the one hand, the modern idea of education in which an active learning process is understood as a process of discovery, shaping a movement towards the unknown; on the other hand, the positivistic idea of knowledge as a whole organized according to categories into compartmented scientific domains, establishing a recognition of what's already known. Indeed, while school journeys took students outside advocating physical displacement as a condition of knowledge, school museums brought within the school walls a wide set of objects representative of various scientific domains. Such exploration could, for example, investigate whether this double movement translated the same gesture: although different and regardless of whether the action is taken inside or outside the school, both practices allowed an encyclopaedia-based approach to knowledge.

Likewise, school journeys could be further investigated in relation to broader outdoor education issues, particularly those relating to informal education movements, such as scouts and pioneer camps, by examining the ways in which both formal and informal education were not only shaped by circulating discourses on the importance of being out in nature in its various domains: moral, social, physical, etc., but also how they probably informed each other as well. In any case, even if not in articulation with other familiar phenomena, there are two aspects of school journeys that deserve additional attention. One is the physical aspect of these activities, which could be problematized in connection with discourses on hygiene, moral hygiene and/or on the students' discipline. This, in turn, could be approached by focusing the pupils' self-government and/or the ways in which ideas of the nation were inscribed in the bodies of school children. The second aspect that deserves attention refers to school journeys as social activities and requires an articulation with the ways in which schooling was designed as a mini-society, particularly by attending to the role played by such activities in the socialisation projects and processes in schooling, such as school associations and journals.

Following the growing research on the materialities of schooling, there are multiple lines of investigation that are worth pursuing, particularly the students'

productions related to school journeys. A difficult but not impossible task would be to trace and study the drawings and/or photographs taken by the students either as a free-standing study object looking at representations of their experience, or in connection with the written production of school journal articles. The exploration of the latter would, in itself, allow shedding light on the students' perceptions of both their learning process and schooling experience, thereby substantially expanding the scope of the present dissertation on the ideas and practices of school journeys. This would offer a complementary perspective as it could also move in a different direction and delve into the study of the reasoned emotions involved in educational practices concerned with the making of the (national) citizen that shape shared (universal) understandings and feelings towards cultural heritage.

Eventually, this could all be developed even further if research on school journeys went beyond methodological nationalism and engaged in transnational comparative perspectives. Ultimately, school journeys offer a multitude of entry points into the history of educational modernity and of the ideas and practices of schooling besides those suggested here. They have the potential to push forward our historical and educational understanding of enduring school practices and contribute not only to the field of education history but also – to borrow Foucault's own words – to the critical ontology of ourselves.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁷ Michel Foucault, "What is Enlightenment?," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. P. Rabinow. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 13.

Sammanfattning på svenska

Skolresor: Reformpedagogiska idéer och praktiker i Portugal (1890–1960)

Tidigare forskning om de pedagogiska idéer och rörelser som blomstrade och spreds runt om i världen kring sekelskiftet 1900 ger en bred insikt i de utbildningsdialoger och den praxis som lade grunden för moderniseringen av samhället. De flesta av dessa studier avgränsas dock till aspekter som rör skolans egna rum och förbiser därmed det utbildningsmässiga värdet i aktiviteter utanför skolans murar, såsom skolresor. Skolresor innebar att eleverna skulle få lämna skolor och klassrum för att istället observera, studera och aktivt uppleva historiska arv, industriella processer, naturliga föremål och fenomen samt samhällsinsatser i sina naturliga omgivningar. Dessutom var idén om skolresor sammanknuten med en önskan om att göra elever till medborgare genom att främja deras fria och självständiga bildningsprocesser.

I denna avhandling undersöker jag skolresor inom sekundärutbildningen i Portugal under perioden 1890 till 1960 med fokus på statlig reglering, pedagogiska idéer och skolpraxis och anknyter detta till de breda diskussioner om skola och utbildning som florerade vid sekelskiftet 1900. De övergripande forskningsfrågorna avser tre fokusområden: (1) lagstiftning – hur behandlades skolresor ur ett juridiskt perspektiv? (2) idéer – vilka pedagogiska idéer låg bakom dessa aktiviteter? (3) praxis – hur organiserades och utfördes de, var och i förhållande till vad samt hur förbereddes och utvärderades eleverna? Genom att granska var och en av dessa aspekter och sedan sammanföra dem i en gemensam analys är syftet med studien tvåfaldigt. Dels är ambitionen att utöka den specifika kunskapen om införande, implementering och införlivande av skolresor i sekundärutbildningen i Portugal mellan 1890 och 1960, dels ämnar studien bidra till den vidare förståelsen av progressiv utbildning och modern skolundervisning.

De handlingar som har analyserats innefattar lagstiftning; pedagogiska monografier och didaktiska handböcker; utbildnings- och skoltidningsartiklar författade av pedagoger, lärare och elever; årsböcker från enskilda skolor; och skolrapporter av rektorer och lärare. I analysen används begreppen *grammar of schooling*, *pedagogisk paradox*, och *alchemy of school subjects*. Det första, *grammar of schooling*, myntat av Tyack och Tobin, ger stöd för analysen av skolresor i förhållande till sekundärutbildningssystemet i Portugal över tid, nämligen de sätt varpå dessa aktiviteter introducerades och införlivades. Det andra, *pedagogisk paradox* av Marc Depaepe, används för att identifiera överensstämmelser och avvikelser mellan olika upplevda diskussionsnivåer i granskningen av idéer och praxis för skolresor. På så sätt bidrar begreppet till en förståelse av hur vardaglig skolpraxis kan vara relaterad till mer övergripande idéer och diskussioner om utbildning och pedagogik. Det tredje, *alchemy of*

school subjects av Thomas S. Popkewitz, stöder förståelsen för hur kunskapsidén bakom skolresor anknöt till beskrivningar av tillhörighet och utveckling i syfte att forma nationen genom att forma barnet. Utifrån Popkewitz arbete argumenterar jag för att skolresorna måste förstås i förhållande till *'Reason' of schooling*, dvs. den logik som klassificerar, organiserar och styr ämnesundervisningen.

För att förstå de historiska och diskursiva förhållanden vari skolresor uppstod och befästes i Portugal mellan sent 1800-tal och mitten av 1900-talet är det viktigt att man riktar in sig på kopplingen mellan skola och modernitet. Denna koppling uppstod i Portugal under tidigt 1800-tal till följd av en upplyst elits syn på behovet av att hitta nya sätt att utforma skolundervisning. En offentlig debatt uppstod kring utbildningsfunktionens roll för nationell pånyttfödelse. Genom att dikotomiskt ställa ett traditionellt sätt att utforma utbildning (föreläsningscentrerad och elevpassiv samt baserad på att lära sig utantill) i opposition till progressiv utbildning (experimentell och aktiv samt baserad på vetenskapliga observationer), bidrog portugisiska intellektuella till spridningen av progressiva pedagogiska idéer och etableringen av en gemensam förståelse av vikten av utbildning som ett instrument för samhällelig och nationell utveckling. Därtill bidrog framträdandet av skilda organisationer med fokus på utbildningsmässiga frågeställningar till uppkomsten och spridningen av en professionell pedagogisk dialog med en kraftfull social reformagenda. Trots gapet mellan de progressiva idéer som cirkulerade och landets förmåga att verkligen implementera dem började nu reflektioner kring den sociala betydelsen av utbildning att frodas. Parallellt ökade användandet av nya metoder och aktiviteter i skolornas dagliga verksamhet.

Framhårdandet av en dikotomisk logik – ny kontra gammal, utveckling kontra tradition – som understödde modernitet och idén om utbildning som ett instrument för nationens utveckling underlättade mobiliseringen av ytterligare idéer samt tankar om mål och praxis kopplade till skola hos olika och ibland antagonistiska politiska regimer. Den fascistiska diktatur som etablerades 1933 lånade inte bara befintliga argument från samtiden utan använde även tidigare utbildningsmetoder och mobiliserade dem – idéer, mål och praxis – under ett nytt ideologiskt paradigm med avsikten att införa nya sociala tänkesätt och beteenden. Detta innebar att de pedagogiska instrument som understödde en modern utbildningsmetod som skulle möjliggöra en förvandling från elev till medborgare, varav skolresor var en viktig del, systematiskt utnyttjades av olika politiska regimer under den studerade perioden.

Efter ett århundrade av debatter där utbildning stod i centrum för samhällsmässig förnyelse och nationell utveckling, och där man argumenterade för att det *nya* skulle övervinna det *gamla*, etablerades till slut en modern sekundärutbildning år 1894, vilket i sin tur öppnade upp möjligheten att implementera nya pedagogiska metoder. Denna "Jaime Moniz reform" angav skolresor som ett exempel på en aktivitet att företa i anslutning till naturvetenskap, geografi och historia. År 1906 var skolresor etablerade som en

aktiv metod som behövde användas för att utbildningen skulle moderniseras. Skolresor förblev dock i stor utsträckning oreglerade fram till 1917. Från och med det året och fram till 1930 uppfattades skolresor fortfarande som pedagogiskt progressiva även om de blev alltmer reglerade. Fastän de pedagogiska vinsterna inte definierades förefaller de uppfattade fördelarna hänga samman med att skolresorna skulle: 1) vara en objektiv inlärningsprocess baserad på personliga iakttagelser och erfarenheter, 2) ingjuta respekt för monument medan man lärde sig historiska fakta, 3) förmedla kunskap om samhället och 4) förbereda elever för samhällslivet. Intresset för att säkerställa de pedagogiska vinsterna ledde till att lärarnas roll förtydligades 1918. Läraren var inte längre enbart en guide, utan den som ansvarade för förberedelserna, genomförandet och utvärderingen av dessa aktiviteter. År 1930 blev skolresor som utbildningsmetod mer exakt definierad och reglerad avseende vad som var tillåtet och möjligt. Dessutom beskrevs de då som en integrerad del av skolundervisningen och inte längre som ett komplement för att lyfta lektionsarbetet. Eftersom det finns få hänvisningar till skolresor i juridiska handlingar efter 1930 förutsätter jag att de förblev anknutna till den metodreglering som då fastställdes.

Analysen av samtlig lagstiftning visar att skolresor genomgående implementerades i skolornas verksamhet för att modernisera utbildning. Skolresornas etablering som en naturlig del av sekundärutbildningen är tydligt inte bara för att de först omnämndes som en uppenbart möjlig aktivitet för att genomföra aktiva inlärningsmetoder, utan också eftersom de – när de väl introducerats – inte genomgick någon större förändring under hela perioden. Istället reglerades de gradvis i handlingarna, både genom att delar av tidigare regleringar fastslogs och genom att regleringarna fördjupades och kompletterades allt eftersom. Genomgående var implementeringen och regleringen av skolresor i lagstiftningen sammanflätad med tankarna om syftet med skolresor och deras användning som metod.

Tankarna kring skolresor kan betraktas i ljuset av en indelning i tre överlappande perioder. Från 1890-talet till 1930-talet ansåg pedagoger och lärare att skolresor hörde till kärnområdet i idéerna om New Education. De framhöll att skolresor utgjorde en aktiv och attraktiv inlärningsform som understödde varje elevs bildningsprocess och möjliggjorde för eleverna att både inhämta kunskap och att utveckla ett aktivt intresse och engagemang i sin egen inlärnings- och karaktärsbildning. Från mitten av 1910-talet till sent 1930-tal fokuserade idéerna kring skolresor på deras användning som metod, vilket i sin tur var relaterat till behovet av att åstadkomma bästa möjliga resultat. Från tidigt 1930-tal till 1960-talet upphörde utbytet av idéer nästan helt och de få skrifter som publicerades under denna period behandlade tidigare hanterade frågor på ett oförändrat sätt. Det är tydligt att idéerna kring syfte och metod inte längre krävde en aktiv diskussion efter att regelverket kring skolresor konkretiserades år 1930.

När det gällde varje elevs sammantagna bildningsprocess (dvs. deras intellektuella, fysiska, moraliska och estetiska utveckling) visar analysen, trots

argumentet att alla mänskliga förmågor var lika viktiga, att elevernas intellektuella och moraliska utveckling värderades högre än deras fysiska och estetiska bildning. Som ett instrument för direkt observation skulle skolresor användas på olika sätt beroende på skolämnet. När det gällde naturvetenskapliga ämnen skulle skolresor dels väcka elevernas förmåga att använda den vetenskapliga metoden, dels erbjuda dem ett sätt att komma i kontakt med landets naturskönhet, att beundra och bättre förstå denna och därmed skapa en personlig anknytning till hemlandet. Besök på industrier kan ses från både vetenskapliga och sociala perspektiv eftersom dessa platser både var "levande lektioner" om produktionsprocesser och "sociala experiment" för arbetsorganisation. Besök på historiska platser handlade mindre om historiska fakta och mer om att främja historiskt medvetande och elevernas identitet och samhörighet med samhället.

Detta tydliggör skolresornas anknytning till den portugisiska sekundärutbildningens mål att tillhandahålla en bred kultur, producera frigiorda människor och förbereda dem för samhällslivet. Som metod skulle skolresor realiseras genom elevernas aktiva deltagande där läraren skulle agera som guide. Detta underminerades dock successivt av det uttalade behovet att uppnå givna studieresultat. Även om det inte uttryckligen definierats skulle resultaten säkerställas genom korrekt planering, förberedelse och utvärdering av eleverna: allt på lärarens ansvar. Även om elevaktivitet var önskvärt blev eleven till slut förpassad till rollen som deltagare. Själva genomförandet av skolresorna diskuterades knappt alls under hela perioden. Det var som om man inte behövde reflektera över genomförandet eftersom skolresorna antogs vara effektiva så länge de förbereddes och utvärderades.

I och med att idéerna om skolresor var djupt rotade i debatten kring ny, progressiv och modern utbildning rådde generellt sett ett samförstånd kring skolresornas pedagogiska betydelse. Detta, tillsammans med de juridiska handlingarnas förändringar, stödde det gradvisa framträdandet och implementeringen av skolresor och möjliggjorde deras införlivande i skolverksamheten i Portugal. Medan pedagogiska idéer och regelverk tillhandahöll teoretiska grunder och metodiska ramar för skolresor visar rapporter kring hur skolresor utfördes skolresornas möjligheter och begränsningar i praktiken och i förhållande till skolornas vardag.

Rapporterna visar att organiserandet av skolresor under de första två decennierna av 1900-talet var starkt beroende av elevernas samarbete och initiativ. Från mitten av 1910-talet uppstod en gradvis förändring där lärarna fick större och större ansvar för skolresorna, och efter 1930-talet är det tydligt att alla regler och rutiner sattes av skolpersonal. Trots att betydelsen av att ha tydliga mål konstant påpekades av pedagoger och lärare, och att detta även framgick av de juridiska handlingarna, visar rapporterna även att syftet med skolresor ofta inte nämndes alls eller endast rapporterades genom att de platser som besökts angavs. Det var som om de platser som besökts i sig själva även antogs klargöra

syftet med skolresorna i förhållande till skolämnena. I de få rapporter där uttrycklig information förmedlades kopplades skolresorna till idéer från New Education och till främjandet av nationell tillhörighet, mer tydligt förmedlat efter 1930. Liksom i pedagogernas och lärarnas skrifter fokuserade kravet på observation som en förutsättning för modern utbildning tydligt på den intellektuella och moraliska utbildningen av eleverna, dvs. intelligens, karaktär och patriotism. Fastän skolresor så tydligt anbefalldes visar rapporterna att de flesta skolor hade ekonomiska svårigheter och svårt att kunna organisera och genomföra dem. Vissa skolor skapade under tidigt 1900-tal medlemsbaserade skolföreningar och penninginsamlingsaktiviteter, en strategi som spreds över hela landet och varade under hela perioden. Skolresor finansierades därmed på många håll huvudsakligen av eleverna själva och skolan bidrog endast med en mindre summa.

De platser som besöktes innefattade historiska platser, industrier och naturområden liksom utbildnings- och sociala institutioner. Under de första tre decennierna av 1900-talet togs elever ofta till historiska platser och naturområden, huvudsakligen till monument och naturmiljöer. På 1930-talet ser man en tydlig ökning av besök på industrier och företag, och efter 1940-talet ökade antalet besök på sociala institutioner. Monument förblev dock de huvudsakliga besöksmålen, men de små förändringarna i besöksmål reflekterar etableringen av en diktatur som avsåg att ge eleverna en specifik syn på nationen och staten. Till största delen förblev aktiviteterna under skolresor desamma under hela perioden. Besöken på historiska platser, industrier och naturområden innefattade vanligen lektioner på plats av en lärare; medan museibesök, besök på fabriker, företag, fördämningar och gruvor, och högskolor alltid hade guide visningar, oftast av någon som arbetade där. Besök på zoo och realskolor var gratis tillsammans med vuxen utan någon särskild aktivitet. Medan det var vanligt i början av århundradet att låta elever göra utgrävningar på arkeologiska fyndplatser, orienteringsövningar, vandringar eller insamlande av diverse prov i naturmiljöer med läraren som ledare av arbetet, var detta högst ovanligt på 1930-talet. Det är emellertid tydligt nästan från allra första början att de aktiviteter som genomfördes gynnade elevernas roll som åskådare, lyssnare och förande av anteckningar, och lärarnas roll som experter som tillhandahöll lektioner, föreläsningar och förklaringar, eller, när det gällde guide besök, som medlare mellan experten och eleverna, ordningspersoner och bedömare av vad som lärdes på plats. Dessutom antyder intensifieringen av en nationell identitetsbyggnad efter 1930 att det tidigare främjandet av intellektuellt frigjorda människor övergavs till förmån för produktionen av ett konformt engagerat folk.

När det gällde förberedelsen och utvärderingen av elever, även om bäge ansågs lika viktiga, visar analysen att de beaktades i olika grad på praktisk nivå. För det första saknas hänvisningar till elevernas förberedelser före 1930-talet. För det andra upprepar de flesta rapporter därefter endast uttrycket vederbörlig förberedelse. De få rapporter som uttryckligen omnämner hur eleverna

förbereddes hänvisar samtliga till läsning och lektioner. Det är troligt att goda resultat krävde att lärarna hade förmåga att organisera förberedelser som kunde para ihop de platser som besöktes med skolämnenas kunskapsinnehåll, en förmåga som de knappast hade uppövat inom ramen för de traditionella undervisningsformerna. När det gäller elevernas utvärdering användes frågeformulär och skriftliga rapporter som instrument. Trots idéerna om aktivt deltagande visar analysen att frågeformulären var detaljerade och huvudsakligen utformade för att utvärdera elevernas förmåga att återge kunskapsinnehållet. Vidare utvecklades frågeformuläret gradvis till att understödja elevernas obligatoriska produktion av skriftliga rapporter, och på så sätt gjordes skrivandet till det ultimata instrumentet för utvärdering. Innan utvärderingen reglerades 1917 och dokumenten fick ett striktare format visar innehållet i skriftliga rapporter på elevernas yttrandefrihet. Rapporternas innehåll förändrades emellertid snart från uttryck av glädje till redogörelser som mer överensstämde med en "riktig" skolrapport, ett ideal som var uppenbart etablerat vid mitten av 1930-talet. Då uppvisade elevernas rapporter vanligen ett upprepande av kunskapsinnehållet *per se* tillsammans med banala kommentarer om nationen.

Sammanfattningsvis: skolresor presenterades för första gången som en resurs för moderniseringen av utbildning i den omfattande realskolereformen år 1894, i en tid då portugisiska pedagoger alltmer skrev om nya utbildningsmetoder. Skolresor började genomföras ett årtionde senare, men gavs en något vacklande start på grund av skolornas ekonomiska begränsningar. Detta gav upphov till finansieringsstrategier på mikronivå som inte krävde ytterligare finansiering från staten, strategier som ledde till att många realskolor i hela landet började genomföra skolresor. Allteftersom skolresor blev vanligare uttryckte pedagoger och lärare sina idéer både kring skolresornas bildande syfte och kring användandet av skolresor som en metod. Dessa utbildares största bekymmer med metoden var att säkerställa en pedagogisk miljö och goda resultat. Detta bekymmer fick med tiden påverkan på den praktiska nivån: intellektuell och moralisk utbildning blev det centrala och lärarnas och elevernas roller omkastades. Dessutom reglerades skolresorna alltmer efter 1917 för att bemöta den oro som pedagoger och lärare förmedlat. Under de första tre decennierna av 1900-talet utvecklades skolresor från att vara en progressiv aktivitet nära knuten till idéer från New Education till att utgöra en väletablerad pedagogisk praxis med spår av det tidigare, kritiserade sättet att bedriva utbildning. År 1930, under framväxten av en diktatur, blev skolresor noggrant definierade och reglerade och på 1940-talet upphörde utbytet av idéer kring deras syfte och användning som metod. Konkretiseringen av regelverket för skolresor banade kort sagt väg för införlivandet av både dialoger och praxis vilka, trots att de fortfarande kallades nya i förhållande till det gamla, kombinerade det nya med det gamla sättet att bedriva utbildning. Trots förändringarna under tidens gång var tanken konstant att skolresor genom att forma barnet via både

kunskapsöverföring och förkroppsligandet av nationstillhörighet bidrog till att forma nationen.

Kopplat till begreppet *grammar of schooling* blir det tydligt att det fanns kontinuitet i förändringarna lika mycket som det fanns förändringar i kontinuitet över tiden. Oaktat att realskolereformen 1894 faktiskt förändrade utbildningssystemet; vad denna avhandling har visat är att inom ett *nytt* paradigm fortsatte *gamla* mekanismer att fungera. Detta utgör ett tillägg till Tyack och Tobins arbete; den uppfattade slående stabilitet med vilken elever utbildas är inte endast resultatet av att det nya införlivas i det gamla utan det kan även bero på uthålligheten av gamla mekanismer inom nya strukturer och regler. Detta kan även förklara varför idéerna bakom skolresor förblev intakta trots att de instrument som användes för att understödja deras praxis undergrävde och förändrade några av deras ursprungliga intentioner. Det kan också förklara varför önskan om en ny, modern och progressiv utbildning kontinuerligt mobiliserades av efter varandra följande och antagonistiska politiska regimer. Begreppet *pedagogisk paradox* gör det tydligt att det avsedda nya sättet att bedriva undervisning utvecklades i linje med väletablerade skolmekanismer. Studien åskådliggör hur den idealiska respektive den rapporterade organisationen på olika sätt reflekterar förändringar i skolreseaktörernas medverkan, genomförandet av skolresorna och i de instrument som användes för att förbereda och utvärdera eleverna. Den *pedagogiska paradoxen* tydliggör att lärarnas expertis var grunden för utbildningen och att elevernas förväntade aktiva deltagande för det mesta var passiv inläring. I själva verket var elevernas aktivitet reducerad till rollen som åskådare, läsare, lyssnare och författare av sammanfattningar som återgav kunskapsinnehållet och de värden som skulle anskaffas och förkroppsligas. Länken mellan kunskapsöverföring och förkroppsligade värden synliggörs av konceptet *alchemy of school subjects*. Detta begrepp lät mig visa att såväl *hur* som *vad* någon bör *veta* är sammanflätat med vad någon bör *vara*: vis, frigjord, proaktiv, ansvarsfull och dygdig. Det avslöjar att såväl kunskapsförvärv som förkroppsligande av värden under skolresor ofta uttryckte det förflutna, nuet och framtiden, och knöt samman vad som utgjorde barnet med vad som utgjorde nationen. Genom att stödja formandet av individens identitet såsom en del av nationen identifierade skolresor vad eleverna *var* med vad de skulle *bli*: den framtida medborgaren. Det är i detta avseende jag argumenterar för att skolresor var en del av '*Reason*' of schooling med syftet att producera en särskild sorts individ som en del av ett folk. I formandet av nationen, genom formandet av barnet, gav skolresor möjligheter och resurser att ingripa i varje elevs kunskapsprocess och utveckling. Skolresorna kopplade individerna till nationen genom en idé om kulturell delaktighet som identitet.

Resumo em português

Viagens escolares: Ideias e Práticas da Educação Nova em Portugal (1890-1960)

A investigação que tem sido feita sobre as ideias e movimentos educativos que floresceram e se disseminaram mundialmente na viragem do século XX fornecem um vasto conhecimento sobre os discursos e práticas escolares que contribuíram para a modernização das sociedades. Contudo, a maioria destes estudos focam-se em aspectos relacionados com os espaços escolares *strictu sensu*, descurando assim a importância educativa de actividades extraescolares, como por exemplo, as viagens escolares. Estas incluíam visitas e excursões de estudo, e destinavam-se a retirar os alunos da escola por forma a poderem observar, estudar e experienciar activamente *in situ* o património histórico, processos industriais, objetos e fenómenos naturais e conquistas sociais, ou seja, toda a cultura relacionada com devia ser visto, pensado e sobre o qual o indivíduo actuaria. Além disso, as viagens escolares estavam imbuídas do desejo de produzir uma metamorfose do aluno para o cidadão ao promover os processos de aprendizagem e de transformação dos alunos.

Na presente dissertação analiso as viagens escolares na educação secundária em Portugal entre 1890 e 1960, focando-me na regulação estatal, nas ideias educativas e na prática escolar relacionando-os com discursos mais amplos sobre a forma de pensar e fazer a educação na viragem do século XX. As principais questões de investigação colocadas referem-se a três *foci*: (1) regulação – como foram legalmente enquadradas as viagens escolares?; (2) ideias – quais foram as ideias educativas por detrás destas actividades?; (3) prática – como foram organizadas e realizadas, onde e com que objectivos?; e finalmente, como foram preparados e avaliados os alunos? A junção de cada um destes aspectos num único estudo tem um duplo propósito. Por um lado, pretendo alargar os conhecimentos específicos sobre a introdução, implementação e naturalização das viagens escolares no sistema de ensino secundário em Portugal entre 1890 e 1960. Por outro lado, pretendo também contribuir para uma compreensão mais alargada da Educação Nova e da própria modernidade pedagógica.

Os documentos analisados incluem legislação, monografias e manuais didácticos publicados por pedagogos; artigos da imprensa de educação e ensino escritos por pedagogos, professores e estudantes; anuários escolares; e relatórios escolares produzidos por professores e reitores. A análise utilizou os conceitos *gramática escolar*, *paradoxo pedagógico*, e *alquimia das disciplinas escolares* com diferentes propósitos. O primeiro, *gramática escolar*, cunhado por Tyack e Tobin, permite sustentar a compreensão das viagens escolares em relação ao sistema de ensino secundário em Portugal na longa duração, nomeadamente a forma como estas actividades foram introduzidas e se naturalizaram. O segundo,

paradoxo pedagógico, descrito por Marc Depaepe, incentivou-me olhar para ideias e práticas das viagens escolares no sentido de identificar convergências e divergências em diferentes níveis de discussão. Contribui, por isso, para uma compreensão abrangente do que poderá ter sido o quotidiano das escolas em relação às ideias e discursos a que essas práticas escolares se referem. O terceiro, *alquimia das disciplinas escolares*, de Thomas S. Popkewitz, envia uma compreensão do modo como a ideia de saber estava ligada a narrativas de pertença e progresso, por sua vez ao serviço de *fazer a nação fazendo a criança*, neste caso no contexto das viagens escolares. Em articulação com o trabalho de Popkewitz, defendo que as viagens escolares devem ser entendidas como estando ligadas à “*Razão*” da escolarização, isto é à lógica que classifica, ordena e governa os sujeitos na escola.

Para compreender as condições históricas e discursivas em que as viagens escolares emergiram e se consolidaram em Portugal entre o final do século XIX e meados do século XX, é importante abordar a ligação entre a escola e a modernidade. Esta ligação emergiu em Portugal no início do século XIX, fruto das ideias de uma elite esclarecida sobre uma nova forma de fazer a escolaridade que trouxe para o debate público a função educativa da regeneração nacional. Operando dentro da dicotomia que opunha uma forma tradicional de fazer a escolaridade (assente na transmissão passiva, baseada na memorização) a uma progressista (experimental e ativa, baseada em observações científicas), os intelectuais portugueses contribuíram para a proliferação das ideias da modernidade educativa e para o estabelecimento de um entendimento comum sobre a importância da escolaridade como instrumento para o progresso social e nacional. Além disso, o aparecimento de várias organizações preocupadas com questões educativas nas primeiras décadas do século XX contribuiu para a emergência e proliferação de um discurso educativo especializado com uma forte agenda de reforma social. Apesar do fosso entre a progressividade das ideias circulantes e a capacidade do país para as implementar, a reflexão sobre a importância social da educação aumentou e novos métodos e atividades apareceram no quotidiano escolar.

A persistência, no entanto, daquela dicotomia – novo *vs.* antigo, progresso *vs.* tradição – que apoiava uma ideia de modernidade e a escolaridade como instrumento para o progresso da nação, facilitou a mobilização de ideias e práticas por regimes políticos não apenas diferentes, mas antagónicos. A ditadura de cariz fascista estabelecida em 1933 não só tomou emprestados os argumentos existentes construídos sobre essa dicotomia, como também se apropriou das práticas educativas passadas e mobilizou-as todas – ideias, objetivos e práticas – sob um novo paradigma ideológico destinado a impor novas formas sociais de pensar e de se comportar. Ou seja, os instrumentos educativos que apoiaram uma forma moderna de fazer a escolaridade em Portugal, dos quais as viagens escolares eram uma parte importante, foram sistematicamente apropriados por

diferentes regimes políticos ao longo do período em estudo, no sentido de fazer operar uma metamorfose de aluno para cidadão.

Depois de um longo século de debates que colocaram a educação no centro da renovação social e do progresso nacional, uma gramática moderna do ensino secundário foi finalmente estabelecida em 1894 com a Reforma de Jaime Moniz, abrindo as possibilidades de implementação de novos métodos educativos. Esta reforma, que reorganizou o ensino secundário de acordo com os princípios da modernidade educativa, apresentou as viagens como uma possível atividade a ser realizada no âmbito das disciplinas de ciências naturais, geografia e história. Em 1906, as viagens escolares eram consideradas um método ativo cuja realização era urgente para que se desse a modernização escolar. Ainda assim, estiveram praticamente por regular até 1917. A partir desse ano e até 1930, embora aparecessem ainda ligadas a ideias de educação progressiva, as viagens escolares foram sucessivamente regulamentadas para garantir todos os seus benefícios educativos. Embora não indicados, estes benefícios estariam relacionados com os objetivos destas atividades: 1) promover a aprendizagem objetiva baseada em observações e experiência pessoais; 2) incutir o respeito pelos monumentos ao mesmo tempo que se aprendem factos históricos; 3) fornecer conhecimento sobre a sociedade; e 4) preparar os alunos para a vida social. Em 1918, a preocupação com os benefícios educativos levou também ao estabelecimento e clarificação do papel dos professores face a documentos anteriores. O professor não seria um 'guia', mas o responsável pela preparação, realização e avaliação destas atividades. Finalmente, em 1930, as viagens escolares como método educativo foram minuciosamente definidas e regulamentadas em termos do que era estritamente permitido e possível. Além disso, foram consideradas parte integrante da escola e não um suplemento destinado a impulsionar o trabalho em sala de aula. Sendo escassas as referências às viagens escolares nos documentos legais após 1930, parto do princípio de que estas atividades se mantiveram ligadas ao decreto então promulgado, tendo-se assim cristalizado na letra da lei.

A análise da legislação do ensino secundário mostra então que as viagens escolares eram uma parte consensual da atividade escolar cuja implementação viria a permitir a modernizar a educação. A sua *naturalidade* é visível não apenas por terem sido primeiramente referidas como uma atividade óbvia no desejo de implementar métodos de aprendizagem ativos, mas também porque – uma vez introduzidas – não sofreram grandes reestruturações ao longo do período. Em vez disso, os documentos regulamentaram-nas gradualmente, tanto através da recuperação de partes de documentos anteriores como servindo-se deles para aprofundar e completar a regulamentação da sua utilização como método educativo. Finalmente, importa referir que os esforços legais para implementar e regular estas actividades estavam fortemente interligados com as ideias educativas sobre os objectivos das viagens escolares e sobre a sua utilização como método.

As ideias educativas sobre as viagens escolares podem ser entendidas em três momentos que se sobrepõem. Entre 1890 e a década de 1930, pedagogos e professores colocaram as viagens escolares no centro das ideias da Educação Nova. A importância destas atividades devia-se ao facto de constituírem um processo de aprendizagem activo e atractivo, capaz de promover a educação integral de cada aluno. Ou seja, de promoverem a aquisição de conhecimento e o interesse do aluno em envolver-se activamente na sua aprendizagem e na formação do seu próprio carácter. Entre meados da década de 1910 e finais da década de 1930, as ideias sobre as viagens escolares centraram-se na sua utilização como método, tornando-se cada vez mais focadas na necessidade de alcançar o melhor resultado possível. Finalmente, desde o início da década de 1930 até à década de 1960, a troca de ideias quase deixa de existir, e os poucos escritos publicados durante este período são reiteraões de questões anteriormente abordadas. No rescaldo da cristalização do quadro legal dessas atividades em 1930, as ideias sobre os seus objetivos e método não requeriam a continuação de uma discussão resiliente.

No que respeita à educação integral de cada aluno (isto é, o seu desenvolvimento intelectual, físico, moral e estético), apesar do argumento de que todas as faculdades humanas têm igual importância, a análise que incidiu sobre as ideias educativas mostra que o desenvolvimento intelectual e moral dos alunos era mais valorizado do que a sua educação física ou estética. Como meios privilegiados para observação direta, as viagens escolares teriam, assim, funções diferentes dependendo da disciplina escolar. Para as disciplinas de ciências naturais, as viagens escolares deveriam fomentar não apenas a capacidade de os alunos usarem o método científico, mas também a admiração e compreensão das belezas naturais do país e, assim, incutir uma ligação pessoal com a pátria. As visitas a indústrias deveriam abordar aspectos científicos e sociais, uma vez que estes locais eram simultaneamente “lições vivas” sobre os processos de produção e da organização do trabalho. Por sua vez, as deslocações a sítios históricos seriam menos sobre o conhecimento de factos históricos e mais sobre fomentar a consciência histórica e a identidade e pertença dos estudantes a uma comunidade.

Isto torna evidente a ligação das viagens escolares aos objetivos do ensino secundário português de fornecer aos alunos uma cultura de carácter geral, de produzir pessoas emancipadas e prepará-las para a vida social. Como método, as viagens escolares deveriam ser realizadas através do envolvimento activo dos alunos, que seriam guiados pelo professor. No entanto, este desejo foi pervertido pela necessidade expressa de alcançar resultados. Estes teriam de ser assegurados pelo planeamento, preparação e avaliação dos alunos: todos eles da inteira responsabilidade do professor. O papel activo dos alunos, embora altamente desejado, acabou por ser consignado ao de um participante passivo. Por último, as ideias pedagógicas sobre a realização destas atividades são quase inexistentes durante todo o período. Como se uma reflexão sobre a sua realização não fosse

necessária porque, desde que devidamente preparadas e avaliadas, as viagens escolares seriam eficazes.

As ideias educativas sobre as viagens escolares, profundamente enraizadas nos discursos defensores de uma educação nova, progressista e moderna, estabeleceram um consenso sobre a importância destas viagens como método. Juntamente com a legislação, as ideias educativas apoiaram o aparecimento e implementação gradual das viagens escolares em Portugal, e tornaram possível a sua incorporação e naturalização na gramática escolar. Ainda assim, embora estas ideias e o enquadramento legal constituam a base teórico-metodológica da organização e realização destas atividades, são os relatórios de professores e reitores que mostram as potencialidades e limitações destas atividades em relação ao quotidiano escolar.

No que concerne a organização das viagens escolares, os relatórios mostram que esta se baseava fortemente no trabalho associativo e colaborativo dos alunos durante as duas primeiras décadas do século XX. Contudo, a partir de meados da década de 1910, observa-se uma mudança gradual em que os professores se tornaram cada vez mais responsáveis por essas atividades. Depois da década de 1930 é evidente que todos os procedimentos estavam a cargo de funcionários da escola. Apesar da importância de apresentar objectivos claros ter sido constantemente defendida por pedagogos e professores, também evidentemente requeridos nos documentos legais, os relatórios mostram que os objectivos das viagens escolares eram muitas vezes meramente listados como os locais visitados ou não eram de todo mencionados. Era como se os locais visitados tornassem óbvio o propósito das viagens escolares tendo em conta a possível conexão entre os locais visitados e as disciplinas escolares. Nos poucos relatórios com informação explícita a este respeito, as viagens escolares estavam intimamente ligadas às ideias da Educação Nova e a narrativas de pertença nacional. Tal como nos escritos de pedagogos e professores, os relatórios mostram que o imperativo da observação como condição para a modernidade pedagógica estava claramente concentrado na educação intelectual e moral da educação dos alunos, na sua inteligência e carácter, e na promoção da identidade nacional. Não obstante a importância consensual das viagens escolares, os relatórios mostram que estas surgiram titubeantemente uma vez que a maioria dos liceus não tinha condições financeiras para as poder organizar com frequência. A estratégia adotada por alguns liceus no início da década de 1900 espalhou-se por todo o país e consistia na criação de associações escolares cujos membros pagavam quotas e organizavam atividades de angariação de fundos. As viagens escolares foram assim financiadas principalmente pelos alunos.

Os locais visitados incluíam sítios históricos, industriais e naturais, bem como instituições sociais e de educação. Durante as primeiras três décadas do século XX, a maioria das visitas tinham como destino locais históricos e naturais, principalmente monumentos e espaços naturais. Embora os monumentos tenham sido a ser o local mais visitado durante todo o período, na década de 30

é visível um decréscimo das visitas a espaços na natureza e um aumento das viagens a instalações industriais e empresas, e após os anos 40 um aumento de visitas a instituições sociais. Tais mudanças podem ser justificadas pelo estabelecimento da ditadura e do seu objetivo de proporcionar aos estudantes uma imagem específica da nação e do Estado.

Na sua maioria, as atividades realizadas durante as viagens escolares mantiveram-se as mesmas ao longo do período. A maioria das visitas a sítios históricos, industriais e naturais incluíam lições *in loco* fornecidas por um professor; visitas a museus, fábricas, empresas, barragens e minas, e instituições de ensino superior consistiam sempre em visitas guiadas por um dos trabalhadores; e visitas a jardins zoológicos e escolas secundárias eram visitas livres que, embora acompanhadas por adultos, não incluíam qualquer outra atividade. Enquanto no início do século era comum ter os alunos a fazer escavações arqueológicas, caminhadas, exercícios de orientação ou recolha de diversos espécimes em ambientes naturais, onde o professor atuava como facilitador do próprio trabalho dos jovens, na década de 30 estas eram ocorrências excepcionais. Em todo o caso, é evidente desde o início que as atividades realizadas privilegiaram o papel dos alunos como observadores, ouvintes e escritores de notas, e o papel dos professores como especialistas que ministram aulas, palestras e explicações ou, no caso das visitas guiadas, de mediadores entre o especialista e os alunos e, assim, garantes de disciplina e avaliadores.

Por último, no que concerne a preparação e avaliação dos alunos, embora ambos tenham sido considerados igualmente importantes, a análise mostra que na prática estes foram desigualmente tomados em consideração. Primeiro, não há referências à preparação dos alunos até à década de 1930. Segundo, depois disso, a maioria dos relatórios simplesmente reiterou a expressão “preparação adequada”. Dos poucos casos que mencionam explicitamente a preparação dos alunos, todos eles se referem a leituras e lições. A dependência de formas tradicionais de aprendizagem sugere que a garantia de uma preparação adequada exigia os conhecimentos dos professores para que os locais visitados estivessem ligados aos conteúdos de disciplinas escolares, garantindo assim bons resultados. Quanto à avaliação dos alunos, os instrumentos utilizados eram questionários e relatórios escritos. A análise dos questionários mostrou que, apesar de terem sido imaginados como um guião da curiosidade dos alunos durante as viagens escolares, estes eram consideravelmente detalhados, isto é, que a maioria foi concebida principalmente para avaliar a capacidade de os alunos reproduzirem o conhecimento adquirido. Além disso, os questionários evoluíram gradualmente para apoiar a produção obrigatória de relatórios escritos, colocando assim a escrita como o instrumento final de avaliação. Tal como a utilização de questionários, os relatórios já eram usados antes da sua promulgação legal em 1917. Os da primeira década do século mostram a liberdade de expressão dos estudantes em relação aos conteúdos incluídos, mas rapidamente evoluíram para

um formato mais rigoroso. Passaram da expressão de fruição para a declaração de interesse e articulavam observações objectivas e pessoais no sentido de corresponder a um “verdadeiro” relatório escolar, cujo cânon se torna evidente em meados da década de 1930. A reiteração do conhecimento adquirido e dos lugares comuns sobre a nação eram o foco da narrativa dos estudantes.

Em suma, voltando a olhar para o arco cronológico deste estudo, na mesma altura em que os pedagogos portugueses escreviam cada vez mais sobre uma nova forma de fazer educação, as viagens escolares foram pela primeira vez apresentadas como meios para a modernização escolar numa extensa reforma do ensino secundário em 1894. Embora a sua importância educativa fosse consensual, estas atividades começaram hesitantemente e apenas uma década mais tarde sobretudo devido aos constrangimentos financeiros das escolas. Estes constrangimentos, por sua vez, levaram à criação de estratégias locais de financiamento que não requeriam grandes fundos do Estado. A adopção generalizada destas estratégias, por sua vez, permitiu que os liceus de todo o país comessem a realizar viagens escolares com maior frequência. À medida que emergiam e proliferavam nas escolas, os pedagogos e os professores exprimiam as suas ideias não apenas sobre os propósitos destas atividades para a educação integral e activa dos alunos, mas também sobre o uso das viagens escolares como método. A maior preocupação destes educadores era garantir a sua natureza educativa e bons resultados. Esta preocupação acabou por ter claras implicações na prática: a educação intelectual e moral foi privilegiada, e os papéis de professores e alunos foram invertidos. Além disso, após 1917, as viagens escolares foram cada vez mais reguladas pelos sucessivos governos para responder a essa preocupação com a obtenção de resultados. Ao longo das primeiras três décadas do século XX, as viagens escolares evoluíram de uma atividade próxima dos desejados ideais da Educação Nova para uma prática educativa que se desenvolveu em articulação com vestígios da antiga e criticada forma de fazer a educação escolar. Em 1930, no advento do estabelecimento de uma ditadura, as viagens escolares foram meticulosamente definidas e regulamentadas. A cristalização do quadro legal das viagens escolares abriu caminho a que, na década seguinte, tanto os discursos como as práticas se naturalizassem. Embora ainda defendidas inovadoras face à tradição, elas combinavam as novas e antigas formas de fazer educação. Apesar das alterações na longa duração, a crença em *fazer a nação fazendo a criança*, para a qual as viagens escolares contribuiriam por permitirem a transferência de conhecimento e a assimilação da pertença nacional, foi constante durante todo o período.

Ao usar o conceito *gramática escolar*, torna-se evidente que houve continuidades na mudança, assim como mudanças de continuidade ao longo do tempo. Não obstante o facto de a reforma do ensino secundário, em 1894, ter alterado o sistema educativo; o argumento que apresento nesta dissertação é que dentro de um novo paradigma, mecanismos antigos continuaram a funcionar. O estudo acrescenta assim ao trabalho de Tyack e Tobin a percepção de que a enorme

estabilidade do modo como os alunos são ensinados na escola não é apenas o resultado da assimilação do novo pelo velho, mas pode ainda dever-se à perseverança de mecanismos antigos dentro de novas estruturas. Isto também pode explicar porque é que as ideias por detrás das viagens escolares permaneceram intactas mesmo quando os instrumentos utilizados para apoiar a sua prática subverteram e reconfiguraram algumas das suas intenções originais. Pode ainda explicar por que razão o desejo de uma nova educação, moderna e progressista, foi continuamente mobilizado até por regimes políticos antagónicos. Da mesma forma, a utilização do conceito *paradoxo pedagógico* tornou igualmente evidente que a tão ansiada nova forma de fazer a escolarização se desenvolveu em articulação com mecanismos escolares há muito estabelecidos. Este conceito permitiu-me mostrar a reconfiguração da agência dos actores das viagens escolares, presente tanto na idealização como na realização destas atividades e nos instrumentos utilizados para preparar e avaliar os alunos. Entre ideias e práticas, este conceito tornou evidente que a competência dos professores era a base da educação e que o desejado envolvimento activo dos alunos era, na verdade, passivo. De facto, a atividade dos alunos foi reduzida à situação de observadores, leitores, ouvintes e escritores de resumos que reverberavam o conhecimento e valores a ser adquiridos e assimilados. A ligação entre a transferência de conhecimento e a incorporação de valores tornou-se visível usando o conceito *alchemy of school subjects*. Este conceito permitiu-me mostrar que *como* o aluno deveria aprender e o quê estavam ambos profundamente ligados ao que o aluno deveria *ser*: sábio, emancipado, proactivo, responsável e virtuoso. Isto revela que tanto a aquisição de conhecimentos como a assimilação de valores durante as viagens escolares articulavam passado, presente e futuro, ligando o que constituía intimamente a criança ao que explicitamente formava a nação. Ao apoiar a formação da identidade de cada um imbrincando-a com a da nação, as viagens escolares enlaçaram o que o aluno era àquilo em que se tornariam: o futuro cidadão. Neste sentido, as viagens escolares faziam parte da “Razão” da escolarização que pretendia produzir um tipo específico de pessoa. Na verdade, ao *fazer a nação fazendo a criança*, as viagens escolares eram não apenas oportunidades, mas meios para intervir no processo de aprendizagem e transformação de cada aluno. Elas ligaram os indivíduos à nação através de uma ideia de empoderamento cultural como identidade.

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