


## HISTORICAL RESEARCH ARTICLE (ORIGINAL)

## Nurses and nursing schools in the yearbooks of the University of Coimbra, from 1866 to 1956


*Enfermeiros e escolas de enfermagem nos anuários da Universidade de Coimbra, de 1866 a 1956*

*Enfermeros y escuelas de enfermería en los anuarios de la Universidad de Coimbra, de 1866 a 1956*


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### Abstract

**Background:** The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century combine a period of profound transformations in care institutions and their professionals.

**Objective:** To know this period of nursing history in Portugal, analyze the yearbooks of the University of Coimbra, considering them as the primary source.

**Methodology:** Descriptive historical analysis of 73 yearbooks, with a survey of sources and construction of descriptive and interpretative synthesis.

**Results:** The available material was centered on the years 1896 to 1927. The analysis synthesized 4 topics: 1) names and functions of nurses; 2) nurses, in the decree of the reform of the Hospitals of the University of Coimbra, in 1911, the staff and salaries in 1915-16; 3) equine veterinary nurses and military nurses in 1915-16 and 1917-18; 4) the nursing school from 1919-20 to 1926-27 and university professors.

**Conclusion:** We found 104 names with defined functions, considered as auxiliary staff and non-clinical personnel. The head nurse comes out prominently. The nursing school of the university hospitals appears, with the identification of the university head teachers.

**Keywords:** history of nursing; nursing schools; nurses; nursing

### Resumo

**Contexto:** O final do século XIX e o início do século XX é um período de profundas transformações nas instituições de assistência e nos seus profissionais.

**Objetivo:** Conhecer este período da história da enfermagem em Portugal. Analisar os anuários da Universidade de Coimbra, considerando-os como fonte primária.

**Metodologia:** Análise descritiva histórica de 73 anuários, com levantamento de fontes e construção de síntese descritiva e interpretativa.

**Resultados:** Verificámos a concentração de material nos anos 1896 a 1927. A análise, sintetizou 4 tópicos: 1) nomes e funções dos enfermeiros; 2) os enfermeiros, no decreto de reforma dos Hospitais da Universidade de Coimbra, em 1911, o quadro e os vencimentos em 1915-16; 3) enfermeiros hípicas e militares em 1915-16 e 1917-18; 4) a escola de enfermagem de 1919-20 a 1926-27 e os professores universitários.

**Conclusão:** Encontrámos 104 nomes de enfermeiros, com funções definidas, considerados pessoal auxiliar e não pessoal clínico. O enfermeiro chefe surge com destaque. Aparece a escola de enfermagem dos hospitais da universidade, com a identificação dos professores universitários regentes.

**Palavras chave:** história da enfermagem; escolas de enfermagem; enfermeiros; enfermagem

### Resumen

**Contexto:** El final del siglo XIX y el comienzo del siglo XX es un período de profundas transformaciones en las instituciones de asistencia y en sus profesionales.

**Objetivo:** Conocer este período de la historia de la enfermería en Portugal. Analizar los anuarios de la Universidad de Coimbra, considerándolos como una fuente primaria.

**Metodología:** Análisis descriptivo histórico de 73 anuarios, con estudio de las fuentes y construcción de síntesis descriptivas e interpretativas.

**Resultados:** Comprobamos la concentración de material de los años comprendidos entre 1896 y 1927. El análisis resumió 4 temas: 1) nombres y funciones de los enfermeros; 2) los enfermeros en el decreto de reforma de los Hospitales Universitarios de Coimbra en 1911, el equipo y los sueldos en 1915-16; 3) los enfermeros ecuestres y militares en 1915-16 y 1917-18; 4) la escuela de enfermería de 1919-20 a 1926-27 y los profesores universitarios.

**Conclusión:** Encontramos 104 nombres de enfermeros, con funciones definidas, considerados personal auxiliar y no personal clínico. El enfermero jefe aparece destacado. Aparece la escuela de enfermería de los hospitales universitarios, con la identificación de los profesores universitarios a cargo.

**Palabras clave:** historia de la enfermería; facultades de enfermería; enfermeros; enfermería



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## Introduction

The nursing profession in Europe underwent a strong reconfiguration at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In Portugal, the first steps were taken for organized teaching, and several nursing schools were established. Nursing evolved in a non-homogeneous way, through various paths, “the evolution in Lisbon, Porto, and Coimbra, and the evolution in the rest of the country. In these two paths, organizational dynamics and nurses’ functions were quite different” (Santos, 2012, p. 3). In the central hospitals of Lisbon, Porto, and Coimbra, the presence of nurses was felt in professional courses structured with well-defined categories, with training in hospitals, well documented by the presence of trainees (nursing students). At this time, significantly, the first schools were no longer designated as nurses’ schools only to be designated as nursing schools. The word *nursing* expanded and was increasingly used to designate the collective of nurses, who, through their training, tried to respond to the increasing complexity of care for people who use hospitals as a result of the institutionalization of medical treatments (Chaves, 2017; Nunes, 2003). The control of physicians and medical schools over the nursing profession and nursing teaching was evident. The activity of male nurses and female nurses was still strongly secular. Pires states: “In the main hospitals of the country, care was provided by secular male and female nurses.” (Pires, 2012, p. 59). Also, without the presence of religious nursing, which occurred later, with the Second Republic, and yet, with strong resistance and weak presence, or none, to this day, in central hospitals, Lopes argues that: “when in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century many physicians opposed religious hospital nursing, they did not fight against its reintroduction, but against its introduction, which was an absolute novelty in our country” (Lopes, 2019, p. 155). For Silva, “religious nursing would once again be a topic of discussion in Portugal in the 1920s and 1930s, partly due to the political situation of the country that would allow the return of various religious orders to small hospitals”, (Silva, 2014, p. 73).

An unobjective and unprejudiced analysis shows that nursing is a balanced activity in terms of gender. The phenomenon of feminization occurred later and intensified after the 1930s. There was civil nursing and military nursing, with their developments and naturally common aspects. Ferreira reminds us that “in 1642 King João IV . . . ordered the construction of a portable hospital in the military camps when he was campaigning as well as the service of nurses for the sick and wounded” (Ferreira, 2012, p. 7).

This article aims to be a work of historical research, with a view to the enrichment of the knowledge that the historiography of nursing in Portugal has synthesized, for a period that needs to be deeply explored and can be characterized as decisive in the professional structuring of the former activity of male and female nurses. The research, through the analysis of the yearbooks of the University of Coimbra, is based on the unveiling of sources. When the yearbooks are identified, they will be analyzed in terms

of male and female nurses, nursing schools, and related materials. This research covers a time between 1866/67 and 1955/56, approximately 90 years. The time between 1896 and 1927 is highlighted, after the use of descriptors, as we will explain in the methodology. It covers the end of the monarchy, the establishment of the republic, the first republic, the revolution of 1926, and the beginning of the military dictatorship, followed by the Second Republic in 1933. It was a period also of affirmation of positivism, development of sciences, revolutions, economic crises, the return to the religious discussion, the first great war, and the pandemic outbreak of 1918-19 (pneumonic influenza). Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, hospitals, patients, and hospital staff changed and transformed. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century:

Hospitals were charities because only the poor asked for hospitalization. That is, those who did not have the means to pay for the home medical visit, to buy medication, and the indispensable chickens. Moreover, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was common to think that, with the progress of civilization, hospitals would disappear as the misery of the populations eased: No one, of course, predicted the upcoming medical-scientific revolution. (Lopes, 2010, p. 73-74)

The general objective of this research is to know better the history of nursing in Portugal of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The specific objective is to analyze the yearbooks of the University of Coimbra, considering them as the primary source. The research question is to what extent the yearbooks of the University of Coimbra give data on the History of Nursing in Portugal and Coimbra.

## Methodology

In this research, the historical methodology was used and guided by the examination of the past through its marks, the mental representation resulting from this examination, and finally the production of written text that allows communication (Mattoso, 1997), from a perspective in which historiographic production is not a simple narrative, but a description, analysis, and explanation (Rüsen, 2001). We searched for access to primary sources, materialized in the exploration of the yearbooks of the University of Coimbra, to verify and publish the material in this series of yearbooks that is of interest to the History of Nursing. The Yearbooks of the University of Coimbra are available at Universidade de Coimbra: Anuários da Universidade de Coimbra de 1866 a 1956. Retrieved from <http://bdigital.sib.uc.pt/republica/UCBG-8-118-1-3/rosto.html>. At this URL, we found digital copies of 73 yearbooks between 1866/67 and 1955/56. This series had interruptions in some academic years. The following research descriptors were used to locate the material of interest for this study in all the series: Bissaia Barreto; Ângelo da Fonseca; Costa Simões; nursing; nursing school; nursing services; male nurse(s); female nurse(s); midwife. The available material was concentrated between 1896 and 1927. The information was extracted, analyzed, and synthesized. The

data was gathered in four descriptive-analytical topics: 1) names and functions of nurses; 2) nurses in the decree of reform of the Hospitals of the University of Coimbra (HUC) in 1911, the staff and salaries in 1915-16; 3) equine veterinary and military nurses in 1915-16 and 1917-18; 4) the nursing school from 1919-20 to 1926-27 and university teachers. Finally, we produced a synthesis with a global view.

## Results and discussion

From the research carried out in the sources described, it was possible to identify a considerable number of male and female nurses. Their names are listed by academic years throughout the yearbooks, indicating their situation, function, and professional category. From the entire series of yearbooks analyzed, from 1866 to 1956, the listed names of nurses are limited to the period from 1896 to 1927. Although there is some discontinuity, for instance, as to female nurses, there was a first group from 1896-97 to 1900-01 and, then, a second group from 1919-20 to 1926-27. Regarding male nurses, the list of names begins in 1911-12 and continues until 1926-27.

The analysis of female data shows the first concentration, with reference to Maria do Carmo Teixeira Marques, who attends the 10<sup>th</sup> curricular unit of the midwife course (1896-97), and two other ladies: Maria Florinda da Costa, who in the academic year 1899-90 is a student in the first year of the midwife course, moving on to the second year of the course in the following academic year; and Maria Assumpção Macedo, who in 1900-01 is a first-year student. While, in the first reference, Maria do Carmo attends a curricular unit of the university course, in the following two years, a specific course is identified in the case of Maria Florinda and Maria de Assumpção, with a first and second years. This area of activity, obstetrics, is also evidenced by the identification of the hired nurse, Maria das Neves Rangel Perdigo, between 1921-22 and 1924-25, for Clínica Dr. Daniel de Matos.

In this second period, from 1919-20 to 1926-27, the following categories were found: head nurse; temporary head nurse; deputy head nurse; *enfermeira de 1ª classe* [first-class female nurse]; *enfermeira de 2ª classe* [second-class female nurse]. Then, trainees and school students were identified. It should be noted that it was possible to identify four head nurses: Cristina Augusta Júlio; Olinda Augusta Júlio; Ermelinda de Matos, and Maria do Carmo Duarte. The temporary head nurse Emília Simões also appears as deputy head nurse, along with four other deputy head nurses named Maria Pilar, Ernestina Conceição Sousa, Teresa da Conceição Silva, Augusta do Nascimento. As shown in Table 1, the HUC, at least in the wards adjacent to the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Coimbra in the years 1924-25 to 1926-27, integrated eight *enfermeiras de 1ª classe* [first-class nurses] and six *enfermeiras de 2ª classe* [second-class nurses]. There is also nine trainees, two who go from school students to trainees, and nine students. The staff lists and the permanence of the students and trainees show that the school period was 2 years and the training period of these aspiring nurses was 3 years.

Still regarding female staff, Delfina Dias appears as a hired nurse in the Radiology and Electrology Laboratory, from 1922-23 to 1924-25; Mariana Dias, from 1919-20 to 1921-22, and Maria José Marques de Almeida Pessanha from 1924-25 to 1926-27, as nurses in the National Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences; and Palmira de Jesus as the massage nurse in the years 1924-25 to 1926-27.

In total, 51 female names of nurses, midwives, midwifery students, and trainees were identified. On the other hand, in a balanced way, there were 53 male names of nurses and students and trainees. A total of 104 concrete names. This means a slight increase for the male gender, which is in line with what studies on nursing history in Portugal have emphasized: at least in central hospitals, as is the case of HUC, there is a strong presence of male nurses, if not preponderant until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The feminization of nursing intensified, especially after 1926, with the military dictatorship and in 1933 with the Second Republic, even at the limit of this series.

Table 1  
*Female nurses, midwives, students, and trainees in the HUC from 1896 to 1927*

		Years and categories				
Maria do Carmo Teixeira Marques	1896-97	Attending the 10th curricular unit of the midwife course				
Maria Florinda da Costa	1899-00	First-year student of the midwife course		1900-01 Second-year student of the midwife course		
Maria de Assumpção Macedo	1900-01	First-year student of the midwife course				
Mariana Dias	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	Nurse in the National Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences		
Cristina Augusta Júlia (Júlio)	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Olinda Augusta Júlia (Júlio)	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
(Maria) Emília Simões	1920-21	1921-22	Head nurse (temporary)		1924-25	1925-26 1926-27 Deputy head nurse
Maria das Neves Rangel Perdigão	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	Hired nurse in Clínica Dr Daniel de Matos	
Delfina Dias	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	Hired nurse., Radiology and Electrolgy Laboratory		
M <sup>a</sup> José Marques de Almeida Pessanha	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27 Nurse in the National Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences			
Ermelinda de Matos	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Head nurse		
Maria do Carmo Duarte	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Head nurse		
Maria Pilar	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Deputy head nurse		
Ernestina da Conceição Sousa	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Deputy head nurse		
Teresa da Conceição Silva	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Deputy head nurse		
Augusta do Nascimento	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Deputy head nurse		
Palmira de Jesus	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Massage nurse		
Júlia da Conceição	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 1º classe</i>		
Maria do Carmo e Sousa	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 1º classe</i>		
Maria da Luz	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 1º classe</i>		
Ermelinda da Conceição	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 1º classe</i>		
Celeste da Conceição	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 1º classe</i>		
Ana de Moura Hall	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 1º classe</i>		
Amélia Duarte Ferreira	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 1º classe</i>		
Teresa de Jesus Pereira Marcelino	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 1º classe</i>		
Otilia Martins Velindro	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 2ª classe</i>		
Rita Augusta Júlio	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 2ª classe</i>		
Otilia Ribeiro	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 2ª classe</i>		
Ana Pereira de Figueiredo	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 2ª classe</i>		
Júlia da Conceição.	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeira de 2ª classe</i>		
Elvira Rosa Mesquita	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee		
Maria José Marques de Oliveira	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee		
Maria da Anunciação Madeira	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee		
Maria Emília Soares Dias	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee		
Maria Glória Narciso	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee		
Laura Mesquita da Cruz	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee		
Maria Aurélia Mesquita	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee		
Maria Glória dos Santos	1924-25	School student	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee	
Celeste dos Santos	1924-25	1925-26	Trainee (?)	1926-27	School student	
Maria José Duarte Ferreira	1924-25	1925-26	<i>Enfermeira de 2ª classe</i>			
Júlia da Conceição Quaresma	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee			
Felicidade Joaquina Paulos	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee			
Diolinda Duarte Rafael	1925-26	1926-27	School student			
Aurora da Silva Borges	1925-26	1926-27	School student			
Maria Augusta de Sousa	1925-26	1926-27	School student			
Esmeralda da Silva Temudo	1925-26	1926-27	School student			
Maria da Natividade	1926-27	School student				
Maria José	1926-27	School student				
Palmira Augusta Mendes	1926-27	School student				
Raquel Mendes Campante	1926-27	School student				

The detailed observation of the male list of nurse names (Table 2) contains the same distribution by categories and functions, as in female activities, such as chief nurse; head nurse; *enfermeiro de 1ª classe* [first-class male nurse], *enfer-*



*meiro de 2ª classe* [second-class male nurse], trainees, and school students. There is also a male massage nurse, Luiz Lopes Rodrigues, recorded in the yearbooks of 1924-25, 1925-26, and 1926-27. There is the presence of several trainees hired in the year 1924-25.

José Ferreira dos Santos opens the list in 1911-12 and is identified as a chief nurse until 1917-18. Two head nurses, Manuel Duarte and António Santos Apóstolo, appear next, chronologically speaking, for the years up to 1926-27. From 1924-25 to 1926-27, deputy head nurses Joaquim Carvalho, José António Agostinho, Aires Gonçalves Barata, Francisco dos Santos Apóstolo, António Fernandes Ferraz and José Pinto Teles (prominent figure in later years) were also listed. The list presents seven first-class male nurses, and seven second-class male nurses, to which are added, in the 1915-26 and 1926-27 biennium, two other *enfermeiros de 2ª classe* [second-class male nurses], who were previously trainees. Also, ten more names of trainees and 17 school students. Of the latter, six previously appeared as hired trainees. The analysis of these data showed that the most central structure of functions – head nurse, deputy head nurse, *enfermeiro de 1ª classe* [first-class male nurse] and *enfermeiro de 2ª classe* [second-class male nurse] – remains in the HUC, and in Portuguese nursing until 1983, when a new nursing career is established. Another relevant finding is the presence of one male and one female massage nurses, in a time far from what would become rehabilitation nursing in the late 1960s. On the other hand, the presence, and in both genders, of school students and trainees, shows the existence of

schooled education and a strong practical component in the hospital context (trainees). Another aspect, suggested by the simple analysis of names, is related to the hypothetical family ties between the various nurses. It would be very interesting to carry out a biographical study to explore this aspect further. Note, for instance, that in the men's lists, with the surname Santos Apóstolo, there is António, Francisco, and Júlio. In the female lists, with the surname Augusta Júlia, there is Rita, Cristina, and Olinda. Still, also with the surname Duarte Ferreira, there is Amélia and Maria José, and also Delfina Dias and Mariana Dias. Also, there is one José Paulos and one Felicidade Joaquina Paulos. It is possible, also, that there are other family ties, evidenced by the surnames Conceição e dos Santos.

Looking at the set of names, we find personalities that have knowingly played notable roles in the development of nursing, such as José Pinto Teles, who appears here as a deputy head nurse. Although the purpose of this study is not to detail the professional path of each nurse, we mention some developments. For example, the then deputy head nurse, in the years 1924 to 27, Aires Barata, is, in 1929, the Coimbra delegate of the Grémio dos Enfermeiros de Terra e Mar do Norte de Portugal [Guild of Land and Sea Nurses of Northern Portugal]. In the list of nurses from Coimbra who first enrolled in this Guild, according to Silva (2008), of those listed in Table 2, there is José António Agostinho, José Pinto Teles, Francisco dos Santos Apóstolo, Manuel Dias de Santo António, João Ferreira da Costa, António Fernandes Ferraz, Eduardo Carvalho, and Armando Costa.

Table 2  
*Male nurses and trainees in the HUC from 1911 to 1927*

<b>name</b>	<b>Years and category</b>								
José Ferreira dos Santos	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	Chief nurse
Manuel Duarte	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Head nurse		
António dos Santos Apóstolo	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Head nurse		
Joaquim Carvalho	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Deputy head nurse					
José António Agostinho	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Deputy head nurse					
Aires Gonçalves Barata	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Deputy head nurse					
Francisco dos Santos Apóstolo	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Deputy head nurse					
António Fernandes Ferraz	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Deputy head nurse					
José Pinto Teles	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Deputy head nurse					
Luiz lopes Rodrigues	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Massage nurse					
José Carvalho	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 1º classe</i>					
António Carlos	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 1º classe</i>					
António Pimenta dos Reis	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 1º classe</i>					
Júlio dos Santos Apóstolo	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 1º classe</i>					
António Alves	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 1º classe</i>					
Eduardo Silva	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 1º classe</i>					
Francisco de Matos	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 1º classe</i>					
António Marques	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 2º classe</i>					
António Paulos	1924-25	1925-26	<i>Enfermeiro de 2º classe</i>						
António Augusto Cardoso	1924-25	1925-26	<i>Enfermeiro de 2º classe</i>						
José Rodrigues Castela	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 2º classe</i>					
Adolfo Costa	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 2º classe</i>					
José Silvério Pita	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 2º classe</i>					
Carlos Augusto Larcher	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 2º classe</i>					
José Duarte	1924-25	Trainee	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 2º classe</i>				
Álvaro Lopes	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee					
Gumersindo Lourenço Paixão	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee					
Eduardo Carvalho	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee					
Francisco Alves	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee					
José Domingues	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	Trainee					
José Paulos (Paulo)	1924-25	1925-26	Trainee						
Manuel António Pereira	1924-25	Trainee	1925-26	1926-27	<i>Enfermeiro de 2º classe</i>				
António Esteves Mõcho	1924-25	Trainee							
Elísio Gonçalves do Carmo	1924-25	1925-26	School students			1926-27	Trainee		
José Braz	1924-25	School student			1925-26	1926-27	Trainee		
Adriano dos Santos	1924-25	School student			1925-26	1926-27	Trainee		
João Ferreira da Costa	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	School student					
Arnaldo Alves dos Santos	1924-25	1925-26	School student						
Álvaro Rodrigues da Paz	1924-25	1925-26	School student						
Armando da Costa	1924-25	1926-27	School student						
Antonio Botinas	1924-25	Hired trainee	1925-26	School student					
Manuel Ferraz de Carvalho	1924-25	Hired trainee	1925-26	1926-27	School student				
José dos Santos	1924-25	Hired trainee	1925-26	1926-27	School student				
Gil Augusto Correia	1924-25	Hired trainee	1925-26	1926-27	School student				
Abel de Matos	1924-25	Hired trainee	1925-26	1926-27	School student				
Aníbal Rodrigues	1924-25	Hired trainee	1925-26	1926-27	School student				
José da Costa Pereira Júnior	1925-26	1926-27	School student						
José Roque dos Reis	1925-26	1926-27	School student						
Manuel Marta	1925-26	1926-27	School student						
Joaquim Correia de Frias	1925-26	1926-27	School student						
Fernando Augusto Diniz Carvalho	1926-27	School student							
Joaquim Rib.Soaes Pereira de Menezes	1926-27	School student							
Manuel Dias de Santo António	1926-27	School student							

The yearbook of 1910-11 provides for analysis the Decree of April 27, 1911 (Universidade de Coimbra, 2010), on the Reform of the University's Hospitals, published in the *Diário do Governo* [Government Gazette], no. 100, of May 1, 1911. In terms of nursing, the article 6 stipulates the administrator's responsibility to submit to the supervisory board the proposals for the appointment of nursing staff, and Article 7 states that the role of the supervisory board is to assess the appointment proposals. Article 10 establishes that hospital staff is divided into clinical staff and auxiliary staff. Article 11 states that the clinical staff comprises teachers of clinical classes,

first assistants, second assistants, and medical students in complementary practical teaching. Article 12 identifies the auxiliary staff: nursing – head nurse, nurses, assistants, and trainees; pharmacy – head pharmacist, assistant, and trainees; secretary – head secretary, secretary, and amanuenses; guard and subordinate services – clothing manager, pantry manager, doormen, and servants. Article 26 establishes the salary of the chief nurse in the same group with the administrator, clinicians, head pharmacist and head secretary, accountant, pantry and laundry managers, and the remaining staff had the salaries defined in the annual budget (Table 3).

Table 3

*Annual salaries of HUC staff established in the decree of April 27, 1911 (Universidade de Coimbra, 2010)*

Function	Wage
Administrator, residing or not in the hospitals	300\$000
Teachers of clinical classes	300\$000
First assistants	600\$000
Second assistants	300\$000
Head pharmacist, residing in the hospitals	350\$000
Head secretary	420\$000
Accountant	200\$000
Chief nurse	300\$000
Pantry manager	250\$000
Clothing and laundry manager	250\$000

In the 1915-16 yearbook, *HUC assistant* staff is identified, as well as their salaries. On page 23, a first section appears with the *nursing staff*, divided by males and females, and on page 24 there is a fourth section concerning the hydrotherapeutic facilities. The following professional categories were identified: chief nurse, massage nurse (only male), male nurses and female nurses, nursing assistants, trainees, and servants (of both genders), and in the hydrotherapeutic establishment a male bath nurse and a female bath nurse. Salaries decrease by the order presented in the previous paragraph, the chief nurse and the massage nurse being at the top, with wages of more or less 90 daily *centavos* and 98 *centavos*, respectively,

and 300 *escudos* per year for the massage nurse, and on the bottom the male servants with 28 daily *centavos* and female servants with 22 daily *centavos*. Note the prestigious remuneration position of the massage nurse, close to, possibly higher or equal to that of the head nurse who had daily wages. Silva, 2008, also highlights the prestigious position of massage nurses and bath nurses: “judging by the salary, which in the case of the nurse was equal to that of the chief nurse” (p. 119). There is a substantial difference between the male and female groups. For example, nurses earn 12 *centavos* less daily than their male colleagues and 2 *centavos* less than nursing assistants (Table 4).

Table 4  
 1915-16 yearbook, HUC auxiliary staff and their salaries. (Universidade de Coimbra, 2010)

Page 23
I — Nursing staff
Men
1 Chief nurse, 300\$ per year. [+ or -\$90 per day]
6 Nurses, at \$60 per day.
1 Massage nurse, at \$98 per day.
6 Nursing assistants, at \$48 per day.
7 Trainees, at \$40 per day.
12 Servants, at \$28 per day.
Women
6 Nurses, at \$46 per day.
6 Assistants, at \$38 per day.
(24) 7 Trainees, at \$34 per day.
2 Servants, at \$22 per day.
Page 24
VI — Hydrotherapeutic facilities
1 Doorman, at \$38 per day
1 Ticket seller, at \$50 per day.
1 Male bath nurse (is described in nursing staff).
1 Female bath nurse, at \$46 per day.
1 Male servant, at \$28 per day.
2 Female servants, at \$22 per day.

The yearbook of 1915-16 refers to equine veterinary nurses under Decree No. 2:384 of May 12, 1916 (Universidade de Coimbra, 2010), regulating the situation of students of the Faculty of Medicine and Veterinary Medicine. Students between 20 and 30 years old must report within 5 days after the end of the examination period at military health units or in the military veterinary hospital. Fourth- and third-year students will be promoted to aspiring medical or veterinary officers, and second- and first-year students will attend a nursing sergeant's school or an equine veterinary nurse's course in military health units or military hospitals. In this period of military integration, in the middle of the First World War of 1914-18 and the beginning of the 1918 flu pandemic, it is relevant to mention a school of *enfermeiros sargentos* [nurse sergeants] and, in the veterinary area, of equine veterinary nurses.

Also, the yearbook of 1916-17 presents Decree No. 2:620 of September 13, 1916 (Universidade de Coimbra, 2010), which states that medical and veterinary medicine students who do not have the qualifications required for the position of aspiring officer will attend a practical course of nurses or equine veterinary nurses. The yearbook of 1917-18 publishes Law No. 778 of August 21, 1917 (Universidade de Coimbra, 2010). In this law, it is established that are transferred to the military health units and promoted to *primeiros sargentos enfermeiros* [first nurse sergeants]: the military officers who are attending the classes corresponding to the first four years of the former course of the Faculty of Medicine and Surgical Schools of Lisbon and Porto; and to *segundos sargentos enfermeiros* [second nurse sergeants], the military offices who have the second degree of the nurses' school, or completed the

classes corresponding to the first two years of the former course of the Faculty of Medicine and Medical-Surgical Schools of Lisbon and Porto, or even the position of nurse in one of the hospitals in Lisbon, Porto, or Coimbra, duly proven. In the Law No. 779 of August 22, also published in the yearbook of 1917-18 (Universidade de Coimbra, 2010), it is established that for the promotion of the *primeiro sargento enfermeiro cadete* [first nurse sergeant cadet] it is necessary to pass the exams of anatomy, histology and physiology of any of the Faculties of Medicine; for the promotion to *segundo sargento enfermeiro cadete* [second nurse sergeant cadet], it is necessary to pass the anatomy exam of any of the Faculties of Medicine; and for the promotion of the *primeiro cabo enfermeiro cadete* [first nurse corporal cadet], to complete the first degree of a nurses' school.

In this period, the yearbooks refer to the equine veterinary nurse with relation to veterinary activities; military nursing school(s); practical course of nurses; *primeiros e segundos sargentos enfermeiros (cadetes)* [first and second nurse sergeants (cadets)]. There was a concern that having a given level of knowledge was essential to practice nursing, which is observed in the requirement to attend certain classes before being promoted.

The Yearbooks of the University of Coimbra, from 1919-20 to 1921-22 and from 1924-25 to 1926-27, refer to the Nursing School. The Decree No. 5.736 of May 10, 1919 (Universidade de Coimbra, 2010), in four articles, regulates the reorganization of HUC services, details the organization of a nursing school, explaining its objectives, general plan of the course, and teaching staff. The school "is intended for the qualification of nursing staff, and their diplomas are required for the definitive appointment



of staff of the Hospitals of the University of Coimbra” (Silva, 2008, p. 110). The teachers were appointed by the director of the HUC from among the doctors of the institution and could count on the support of the head nurses for practical education (Silva, 2008). We found that in three yearbooks, from 1919-20 to 1921-

22, Dr. Adelino Vieira de Campos de Carvalho and Dr. Fernando Baeta Bissaia Barreto Rosa are presented as teachers of the school. In another 3 years, from 1924-25 to 1926-27, Dr. Adelino Carvalho is not referred to, and Dr. Bissaia Barreto becomes the first reference, followed by another teacher, Dr. Egídio Aires de Azevedo (Table 5).

Table 5  
*Teachers of the Nursing School from 1919-20 to 1921-22 and from 1924-25 to 1926-27*

Yearbook	page	Teachers of the Nursing School (Facilities adjacent to the faculties)
1919-20	71	Dr. Adelino Vieira de Campos de Carvalho Dr. Fernando Baeta Bissaia Barreto Rosa
1920-21	28	Dr. Adelino Vieira Campos de Carvalho Dr. Fernando Baeta Bissaia Barreto Rosa
1921-22	29	Dr. Adelino Vieira Campos de Carvalho Dr. Fernando Baeta Bissaia Barreto Rosa
1924-25	131	Doutor Fernando Baeta Bissaia Barreto Rosa Doutor Egídio Aires de Azevedo
1925-26	129	Doutor Fernando Baeta Bissaia Barreto Rosa Doutor Egídio Aires de Azevedo
1926-27	125	Doutor Fernando Baeta Bissaia Barreto Rosa Doutor Egídio Aires de Azevedo

Fernando Baeta Bissaia Barreto Rosa is a well-known, investigated, and biographed figure. He was born in 1871 and gave its name to the Bissaia Barreto Nursing School. The yearbooks identify him as teacher of the Nursing School, in the 6 academic years of this series of yearbooks, from 1919-20 to 1926-27. Less well known are the teachers also mentioned, Adelino Vieira de Campos Carvalho and Egídio da Costa Aires de Azevedo, both teachers of the Faculty of Medicine and clinicians of the HUC. Adelino Carvalho was born in Calvos - Póvoa de Lanhoso, in 1867, and died in Coimbra in 1935. He opened in the HUC, in 1928, with the collaboration of Dr. Ângelo da Fonseca, the first anti-tuberculous dispensary of Coimbra and boosted the creation of the course of visiting nurses. Egídio Aires de Azevedo was born in Nogueira, Vila Real, in 1887 and died in 1957. He held several positions at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Coimbra. He conducted several courses at the Faculty and was a teacher at the Nursing School.

In 1950, Aires de Azevedo, together with Bissaia Barreto, was part of the jury of the aptitude exams to the Complementary Course of the Nursing School, and taught Pathology, Hygiene and Epidemiology of the second year of the General Course. Aires de Azevedo already taught epidemiology in the 1949-50 academic year (Silva, 2008). It should be noted that the course of the Nursing School of the Hospitals of the University of Coimbra had already been divided in 1920 into a two-year General Course and a one-year complementary course (Soares, 1997). There are several references to other teachers of the Faculty of Medicine of Coimbra, with a connection to nursing and nursing schools in this city. Some that research has already demonstrated and consolidated include Augusto Costa Simões, who created, in the HUC, the first nursing school in 1881, of private initiative and short duration, with

the collaboration of the physician Inácio Rodrigues da Costa Duarte, responsible for the “technical or practical part of caring for patients” (Silva, 2008, p. 61); Ângelo da Fonseca, who in 1931 gave his name to the HUC nursing school as a result of a petition from the nurses of the institution, in a process that still needs historical exploration (Silva, 2008); and Bissaia Barreto, already mentioned above. In addition to these teachers, others were found with a connection to nursing and nursing teaching, such as Dr. João Maria Porto and Dr. Álvaro Fernando de Novais e Sousa, and assistant Dr. João José Lobato Guimarães. The yearbook of 1954-55 reports the appointment, on March 31, 1955, of Dr. João Porto and Dr. Novais e Sousa as members of the committee in charge of studying the constitution of the clinical and nursing staff of central hospitals. The yearbook of 1955-56 mentions Dr. Lobato Guimarães, appointed member of the committee in charge of carrying out the study of a program to promote nursing, social work, and other auxiliary services.

Dr. João Porto was born in Nisa in 1891 and died in Coimbra in 1967. He was Director of Pediatric Medicine in 1928 of the Faculty of Medicine from 1936 to 1941 and of the HUC from 1942 to 1950. He was Director of the Dr. Ângelo da Fonseca Nursing School. He “took over the direction of the Hospitals of the University of Coimbra and that of the Nursing School in 1942, when Ângelo da Fonseca died” (Silva, 2008, p. 185-6). In 1961, Dr. João Porto reached the age limit for public functions and left the school board. The school was run by Mario da Gândara Norton throughout the 1960s. Dr. Novais e Sousa was born in 1886 and died in 1962. He was Director of the School Maternity of the Hospitals of the University of Coimbra from 1926 to 1930, and of the Faculty of Medicine in 1940. He was head teacher of the

Midwives' Course in 1916. Novais e Sousa who makes the eulogy at the funeral of Ângelo da Fonseca (Silva, 2008). João José Lobato Guimarães was born in 1916 and died in 1975, and he was a member of the Portuguese parliament, professor at the University of Coimbra, and teacher of the Nursing Schools in Coimbra. He was the chairperson of Ordem dos Médicos [Portuguese medical association]. In the academic year of 1949-50, Lobato Guimarães was the head teacher of Therapy and Pharmacology of the Ângelo da Fonseca and Rainha Santa schools (Silva, 2008).

The material from the yearbooks made it possible to identify concrete names, confront other data, other researchers, and other sources. In this sense, it becomes relevant for constructing the history of nursing in Portugal. There was an interest in preparing nurses in hospitals, without any indication that there was any recognition of their own nursing knowledge. Medical school physicians conducted the training. In the period under analysis there is no presence of nurse teachers, only the contribution of head nurses to practical education.

## Conclusion

The yearbooks of the University of Coimbra, between 1896/97 and 1926/27, identify male and female nurses and midwives of the HUC and their outbuildings, in a total of 104 names. There is a balanced distribution by gender, 53 men and 51 women. The analysis of names allows assuming the existence of family networks, which can be explored by further studies.

Functions are defined hierarchically, which points to an established career, though always subordinated to physicians. There are many trainees (students in the hospital context) in different periods, which is in line with the fact that hospitals are where nurses learn and train, focusing more on practical skills. Some designations appear and disappear, such as bath nurse, massage nurse, equine veterinary nurses (in veterinary practice), and military nurses. There is no record of religious nurses in the HUC, as they did not exist. Nurses are considered auxiliary staff and not clinical staff. The head nurse emerges with a prominent place, with salary differentiation. Women win less than men. The officialization of the nursing school of the HUC is documented in the yearbooks, with the identification of the university head teachers. University teachers linked to the school and the training of nurses are observed in all the yearbooks.

## Author contributions

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