

Musical Priorities in the Cultural Policy of *Estado Novo*

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Cultural policy represented a central concern within the political program of *Estado Novo*. It was called *Política do Espírito*, and was the object of particular goals, assumptions and actions. *Política do Espírito* was not *inédito*, nor a Portuguese proposal. In fact, being introduced in the Portuguese political scenario by the journalist António Ferro, in the famous 1932 series of interviews with António de Oliveira Salazar, the concept of *Política do Espírito*, was a central European construct whose origins were reported to go back to Napoleon's writings. An article signed by António Ferro in the Lisbon daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias* on November 21st, 1932, quotes the German writer Thomas Mann's report of the last meeting of the *Comité des Lettres et des Arts*, from the Nations Society. This report states the decision to 'examine and study the possibility of developing the influence of spirit on social, economic and political life'. In his article, Ferro traces the European political implementation of the concept in its various approaches, stressing especially the Russian and the Italian cases. The ideological bases and developments of the concept are however attributed to French thinkers such as Paul Valéry and Pierre Lagarde. Ferro discusses the concept, name of which had been then used by Paul Valéry as the title of a speech, and foresees its implementation within the Portuguese political context. He stresses its absence in Portugal, noting that: 'In France, in Italy, in Russia, in Germany, in England and even in

the Balkans, the State acknowledges the Policy of the Spirit and realizes it, with amplitude, morally and materially protecting all the literary and art initiatives'.¹

The struggle for the implementation of such policy was persistently pursued by António Ferro who refers to it again one month later in the long series of interviews with the head of State – Salazar. These interviews, published in a book, represented a meaningful propaganda tool for the first years of Salazar's regime. Ferro refers to the policy for the people. Quoting Maquiavel he reminds that 'to please the people without displeasing the greats, is the maxim of those who know how to govern'. To which Salazar adds that, in his opinion, 'music is one of the great elements for people's animation'² and for that he involves himself, if necessary, in the use of the 'expensive but good brass bands' (*bandas regimentais*) and in the reconstruction of the bandstands in the gardens, in Lisbon and throughout the country. And Ferro pursues, stressing that Salazar states that 'thus we will convince the people, little by little, that we think on them, that his happiness and his welfare are part of our major concerns...'.³

In fact, *Política do Espírito* was officially implemented in Portugal with *Estado Novo* in 1933 and António Ferro was its prime guardian. As the desired State Policy for cultural affairs, the concept of *Política do Espírito* was presented by Ferro in the interview entitled 'The Dictatorship and its contact with the Nation', with the dictator in 1932. In Ferro's words, the *Política do Espírito* should be:

...Intelligent and constant, consolidating the discovery, giving it highness, meaning and eternity. The spirit should not be seen as a fantasy, as a vague idea, imponderable, but as a definite, concrete idea, as a necessary presence, as an indispensable weapon for our resurgence. The Spirit is indeed also material, a precious material, the raw material of men's souls and the people's soul.⁴

1 António FERRO, *Salazar: O Homem e a sua Obra*, 3ª ed., Lisboa, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, s.d., p. 274.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 276.

As it was officially instituted, within the Portuguese political arena, at a moment of 'National reconstruction', *Política do Espírito* had a main double goal: to promote the image of the new nation through a systematic mechanism of 'spiritual' propaganda, which, in itself, should work as a constructor of national conscience. By spiritual was meant all that related to culture – a concept not much used in Portugal at the time. As was stated in the legal document that created the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* – SPN, this was the institution in charge of *Política do Espírito*. Its aim was 'to integrate the Portuguese in the moral thought that should orient the Nation'.⁵ This goal, of fundamental interest for 'national reconstruction', reflected the need for identification between the State⁶ and the Nation.⁷ This was a complex process promoted and carried out, not without some violence, by the action of a number of new and distinct institutions directed towards different segments of population. This underlying dictatorial process of identification generated the habit of consensus with hierarchically superior institutions, persons and ideas. This custom, deeply rooted in Portuguese society, promoted the submissive and uncritical position of the citizens before the central power. The tendency for consensus as well as the tendency to imitate the leader, fundamental for the development of the 'national conscience', and first priority within the dictatorial cultural policy, was discussed by Ramos do Ó.⁸ The spiritual domain occupied a basic position in Salazar's dictatorial strategy. Although the first decades were more active in terms of directives of *Política do Espírito*, namely under the guidance of António Ferro until 1949; the concern was present and lively imposed until the end of the regime. When extensively interviewed by the French journalist Christine Garnier, in the early 1950s, Salazar stressed, once more, the importance of the spirit in his concept of civilization:

⁵ Decree-Law (DL) 23.054.

⁶ According to what was taught in high school during the 1960s, 'State is a politically organized society. A collectivity fixed in a territory, in which exists a differentiation between governors and those who are governed, and a sovereign authority... The State has three basic elements: the population or collectivity, the territory and the sovereignty or government.' In A. Martins AFONSO, *Princípios Fundamentais de Organização Política e Administrativa da Nação*, Lisboa, Papelaria Fernandes, 1967, pp. 12-14.

⁷ According to the same source, 'The population of a State constitutes a Nation. Thus, State is the politically organized Nation.'

⁸ Jorge Ramos do Ó, *O Dispositivo Cultural nos Anos da «Política do Espírito» (1933-1949): Ideologia, Instituições, Agentes e Práticas*, Tese de Mestrado (Universidade Nova de Lisboa), Lisboa, 1992.

The political conception which does not recognize the superiority of the spirit and the duty to subjugate wealth to it, may lead to the edification of a brilliant society but never of an authentic civilization. As I see it, the content of a civilization should be considered essentially spiritual and constituted mainly by goods and manifestations of the spirit.⁹

In a world at war, the 'new' Portuguese nation managed to remain at peace. This precious achievement, copiously celebrated in the grandiose centennial commemorations of 1940,¹⁰ gave the dictatorship the authority to proclaim the country as 'an island of peace in a world at war'.¹¹ This authority with which the dictatorship was invested promoted the regime's self-confidence, namely in what concerns ideological principles. The educational attitude of the government, guided by the supremacy of spiritual molding, was thus reinforced and seen as legitimately authorized by the political success of Salazar's dictatorship within the World strategy of war. The maintenance of peace, Salazar stressed, promoted the 'integrity of the national territory'.¹² The image of the nation, product of a well-orchestrated construction of 'national conscience', proved to be efficient. Through this process of legitimization of authority, the main goals of cultural policy produced powerful substance for the assumptions previously constructed. Among the most prominent in the field of cultural policy were those related to the 'great certainties', in 1937:

- ⁹ Christine GARNIER, *Férias com Salazar*, 9^a ed., Lisboa, Companhia Nacional Editora, 1955, p. 126. This book represented an important propaganda tool, including texts written directly by Salazar. It was recently reedited.
- ¹⁰ The grandiose *Exposição do Mundo Português* in June 1940 coincided with the highest moments of the centennial commemorations – 1140, the foundation of the nationality, and 1640 the recovering of Portuguese sovereign position after sixty years of Spanish domination. It coincided as well with the signature of the *Concordata*, an important protocol with the Holy See, concerning, among others, important missionary procedures. The exhibition remained as the emblematic symbol of the apogee of *Estado Novo* and its values.
- ¹¹ Fernando ROSAS e José do Ó, *O Estado Novo. Do 28 de Maio ao Fim da Autarcia (1926-1959)*, Lisboa, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1986, p. 73.
- ¹² C. GARNIER, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

To the souls lacerated by the century's doubt and negativism we tried to return the comfort of great certainties... Without fear, we placed Portuguese nationalism at the indestructible base of *Estado Novo*; first, because it is the most clear imperative of our History; second, because it is an inestimable factor of progress and social elevation; and third, because we are the living example of how the fatherland sentiment, through the action exercised in all continents, served the interest of Humanity.¹³

Invested with such assumptions, a number of new institutions engaged, since the early 1930s, in the organized cultural conversion of the spirits. Although the knowledge of the action of these institutions is as yet in a very preliminary stage, it is already possible to delineate a plausible dictatorial strategy for cultural control. This strategy was based on two fundamental principles: propaganda and censorship. These principles were systematically applied, in a myriad of subjects, to the different sectors of the population. The first sector contemplated was that of labor. Among the most active nation-wide institutions were the National Syndicates reorganized in 1933, the FNAT *Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho*,¹⁴ founded in 1935, with the aim to 'promote, by all the means available to it, the exploitation of the Portuguese workers' leisure time, in a way that assures their physical development and the elevation of their moral and intellectual level'.¹⁵ This institution would be of paramount importance for the development of the Portuguese people's musical profile for at least the coming forty years. The second sector of population considered was that of youth. The *Mocidade Portuguesa*,¹⁶ created in 1936, was responsible for the 'complete formation' of the young. 'It should embrace all the school and non-school youth, and its aim is to stimulate the integral development of their physical capacities, the formation of character and the devotion to the fatherland, within the feeling of order, the taste of discipline, and the obedience to

¹³ António de Oliveira SALAZAR, *Discursos e Notas Políticas. vol. III – 1938-1943*, 2ª ed., Coimbra, Coimbra Editora Lda, 1959, pp. 130-32.

¹⁴ Literally the 'National Foundation for the Joy in Work'.

¹⁵ DL 25.495.

¹⁶ 'Portuguese Youth'.

the military duty'.¹⁷ The third sector of population targeted was the family sector. In the same year, a new institution was created, the *Obra das Mães pela Educação Nacional*¹⁸ to 'stimulate the educative action of the family',¹⁹ to guide the Portuguese mothers and to organize the future *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*, founded in 1937, advocating the pleasures of domestic life.²⁰

The concept of political propaganda, presented by the dictator as the central means of control from which all cultural policy of the *Estado Novo* expanded, was focused on in a famous speech on February 26th, 1940. Propaganda was presented as the political education of the people with two basic functions: 'first to inform, and then to politically form.' Once more he reiterated that 'politically, only what one knows does in fact exist' and 'politically, what seems is'.²⁰ This speech clearly states the dictatorial attitude of forming the public conscience and educating habits, taking profit from what was called the absence of the critical spirit of the Portuguese people.

You care for, organize, protect the worker and the fruit of his work; provide for *his* home in clean and joyous neighborhoods; spread access to instruction; strengthen moral conduct; improve the life of the younger generation within the local conditions; embellish the small villages...

For the formation of the public conscience, for the creation of a certain environment, given the absence of a critical attitude and the individual's difficulty in collecting evidence, appearance has the value of reality, in other words: appearance is a political reality.²²

The practice of political propaganda by the dictatorship included two related strategies of control: censorship and categorization of cultural phenomena. These were the strategies used by the government to construct 'the true Portuguese culture'. As Marcello Caetano, the Ministry of the Presidency, stressed in 1956, in an article on *Notícias de*

¹⁷ DL 27.301.

¹⁸ Work of the Mothers for the National Education.

¹⁹ Decree (D) 26.893.

²⁰ D 28.262.

²¹ A. O. SALAZAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-96.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.

Portugal, 'the government has the duty to promote authentic culture'.²³ While censorship was applied by specific institutions and services, in special offices within larger institutions, officially invested with unconditional authority, the process of categorization of cultural phenomena was apparently much less rigid. Although the censorship services used categorization as a working tool for their own purposes, making it a subsidiary means of control, the analysis of the results in the long run seem to show that the apparently soft imposition of categories by the central services represented a highly effective means of control of expressive behavior in Portugal.

According to Salazar and his program for national reconstruction, the ultimate goal of education within the family and the school was the 'culture of patriotism'.²⁴ However, school and family were not sufficient to assure the huge and important task. Through 'propaganda and specific activities', a proper organism worked for the 'creation and nourishment of the public conscience'.²⁵ Ramos do Ó stresses that the structures considered by the social sciences as the cultural subsystem were organized and materialized in a systematic doctrine that reached to all parts of civil society. It was established that the arts and sciences should be elements and factors of the regime, while it paradoxically imposed programs, which would only validate simple data accessible to the masses.²⁶

The first level of imposed categories divided culture into two great and distinct areas: 'High Culture' and 'Popular Culture'. 'High Culture', considered 'intellectualized culture', was run by a governmental institution, the *Instituto para a Alta Cultura*, in a section of the Ministry of National Education, the *Junta Nacional de Educação*. High culture included a variety of arts and sciences such as history, literature, scientific research, music and fine arts and was confined to a limited number of people, according to Salazar it 'did not achieve either widespread support or motivation for action'²⁷ in the work of national reconstruction. Thus, the key concept for the dictatorial cultural policy was not education for some but propaganda for all. As such, the cultural policy of *Estado Novo*,

²³ *Notícias de Portugal*, 483, p. 3.

²⁴ A. O. SALAZAR, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

²⁶ J. R. do Ó, *op. cit.*, p.23.

²⁷ A. O. SALAZAR, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

although recognizing the existence of high culture, invested most of its energy and power in the control and manipulation of popular culture. It was not by chance that the central administrations for censorship, propaganda and popular culture were united in the same governmental institution – the SPN, later SNI (*Secretariado Nacional de Informação*) – the brain of the cultural policy of *Estado Novo*.

The notion of ‘*Espectáculo*’, expressive behavior and the legislation on the sector

The Portuguese word *espectáculo*, from the Latin *spectaculum* (meaning sight, public games and theater), whose original form *spectare* means to look at, to contemplate, was defined in the 1960s, in a Portuguese general dictionary, as ‘all that attracts our sight and our attention; contemplation; theatrical performance; scene; diversion; *popular scandal*’.²⁸ Since very early in Portuguese legislation, the word *espectáculo* had been used to signify performance, that mode of human social action intended primarily for public exhibition. Because of its high degree of conspicuousness, being a particularly powerful channel for communication of ideas, the world of *espectáculo* was, in Portugal – a country with a long and distinct history of censorship – subject to strict inquisitorial process by the central power. Consequently, the legislation on *espectáculos* developed according to the demands of political ideology primarily concerned with the ‘correctness’ of the communicated message. Since November 15th, 1836, date of publication of the old legal document that created the *Inspecção Geral dos Teatros e Espectáculos Nacionais* by Almeida Garrett,²⁹ all major reforms of *espectáculos*, until 1974, were dictated by censorship needs, or control procedures.

This inquisitorial, and to some extent passive conception of performance justifies its designation as ‘*espectáculo*’, in which the interest comes from those who observe, who look at the event. From the ethnomusico-

²⁸ J. Almeida COSTA e A. Sampaio e MELO, *Dicionário de Português*, Lisboa, Porto Editora, 1959. p. 603.

²⁹ The same document created the National Conservatoire, then the *Conservatório Geral de Arte Dramática* with three schools: *Escola Dramática ou de Declamação*, *Escola de Música* and *Escola de Dança Mímica e Ginástica*, following the image of the Paris’ *Conservatoire National de Musique et de Declamation*.

logical point of view the performative event, which can be a musical event, should be considered in a much more encompassing perspective, involving not only the sonic product and the behavior – physical, social and verbal – that produces it, but also ‘the thinking, the attitudes, norms and values, that is to say: the concepts that guide the making and the perceiving of music’.³⁰ This point of view, enhanced by Merriam’s theoretical model³¹ has recently been developed in a post-modernist approach, which has generated constructive discursive practices involving active perspectives. Among others, the concept of music as ‘expressive behavior’ is a result of it.

The word ‘expression’, from the Latin *expressio* (meaning action of doing out, expression of thinking), whose original form *exprimere* means to extract, to draw out, to represent, to perform, to confess, to articulate, or to declare, represents in the current academic discourse the shift of emphasis from the somewhat passive perspective of the analyst of musical performance to the somewhat more active posture of the interpreter of musical expression. The consideration of *espectáculo* as expressive behavior stresses the differences between the political and the academic positions towards the same object – musical activity. The political perspective which imposed the denomination of *espectáculo*, generalizing its usage among practitioners – professionals, amateurs, employees and patrons, as well as audiences – stresses the conspicuous nature of the event, promoting the perception of, and reflection on its appearance instead of the cognition of its meaning. It tends to privilege the audience position, the spectator’s views. On the other hand, the approach to *espectáculo* as expressive behavior, and musical performance as musical expression tends to bring into prominence the intentions of the participants, the meanings of the actions done and ultimately the purposes and ideological bases for the constructed performances. It tends thus to privilege the views of the active participants involved, their ideas and wishes.

The notion of *espectáculo* as it was cultivated in Portugal during *Estado Novo* served well the propagandistic purposes of a regime whose interests, orientations and control covered a wide range of expressive behaviors

³⁰ Dieter CHRISTENSEN, «Traditional Music, Nationalism, and Musicological Research», in *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, Intercultural Music Studies 2. Wilhelmshaven, Florian Noetzel, 1991, p. 215.

³¹ Alan P. MERRIAM, *The Anthropology of Music*, Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1964, pp. 32-33.

'from the functioning of the great theatre companies in the major halls of the country, to the most familiar dramatic presentation by a dramatic group at a recreational organization³² – if not even to the simple balls, brass band concerts and popular festivities on the streets and country roads.³³ The *Diário do Governo*³⁴ of November 20th, 1959 published the 'new' legislation for the *Espectáculos Públicos*, to come into operation on January 1st, 1960. In fact, it was not new, as was stated in the Bulletin of the *União de Grêmios dos Espectáculos* (UGE), a corporative institution for the patrons and employers of *espectáculo*: The general structure for the (now) established regime for the exploration and realization of *espectáculos* and public divertissements³⁵ does not differ, fundamentally from the scheme of the preceding system'.³⁶ The new legal documents, regarding the interests of *espectáculos* and the reorganization of its control services – the DL 42.660, DL 42.661, DL 42.663 and the D 42.664 of Nov. 20, 1959 – by Pedro Teotónio Pereira, Minister of the Presidency, through the SNI, came to replace the widely dispersed legislation (very difficult to follow for that reason) published since 1927, the date on which, for governmental control purposes, the legislation of *espectáculos* had been reformulated.³⁷ Following the authoritative and increasingly repressive spirit of the regime, the purpose of the reform was, according to UGE, to create a 'legal instrument':

An *espectáculo's* code which contemplated simultaneously the values and interests of the concurrent modalities, respecting the legitimate rights of each of them, and at the same time integrating them into a 'general principle of orientation', that of the public *espectáculos* as a whole, considered in their variety, graduated in their hierarchy, depending on their artistic degree and on their importance as an element of educational formation.³⁸

³² The so-called *associações recreativas*, spread throughout the country.

³³ *Boletim da União de Grêmios dos Espectáculos*, 71 (Nov. 1959), p. 1. Quotation from the preparatory documents in the process of reformulation for the *espectáculos's* new juridic regime.

³⁴ Governmental daily journal, the official organ for the publication of legislation.

³⁵ Carrousels, slot-machines and the like.

³⁶ *Boletim da União de Grêmios dos Espectáculos*, 71 (Nov. 1959), p. 2.

³⁷ The D 13.564 of May 6th, 1927 based on the 19th century legislation on the Administration of Theater (1836, 1846, 1853 and 1860) carried a major change. For the efficiency of censorship measures it reorganized the *Inspecção Geral dos Teatros*, creating for this a new governmental institution.

³⁸ *Boletim da União de Grêmios dos Espectáculos*, 71 (Nov. 1959), p. 1.

According to UGE, which effusively applauded the process, this legal reform met their main wishes: to widen the working conditions of the companies, to protect them from foreign competitors, to protect the Portuguese theatre, to promote the construction of new halls, eventually its construction in mixed buildings, and to condition the commercial exploration of TV exhibitions.³⁹ The legislative reform, completed in its basic documents with the DL 43.181 on the working conditions of the *professionals* of *espectáculo* and the D 43.190 on the general conditions of the exercise of the *espectáculo* professional's activity, published on September 23rd, 1960, came into force with minor revisions until 1987. Obviously many of its dispositions have not been followed since 1974. Although those infractions were clearly illegal, they were 'normal'. The awkward out-law situation is described in the introductory text of the DL 38/87 published on January 26, 1987:

The legislation that regulates the general conditions of the exercise of *espectáculos* and *divertimentos públicos* professional activity, applicable to companies and employees, dates from 1960, and its revision has been a necessity for a long time. In fact, it does not satisfy either the companies or the employees...

The legal dispositions in force for the sector institute exigencies and postulate formalities (...) that do not find parallel in those applicable in other branches of activity...

These restrictive and controlled measures that only apparently protect the professionals (...) have come to determine the omission of labor contracts...

Among the most controversial matters, for practical reasons, was the one that had to do with a security deposit '*caução*' that the impresarios had to pay to the State (*Caixa de Previdência dos Profissionais de Espectáculos*) to guarantee their contractual obligations. It was this process that was in fact financially heavy, and formally complex, that ultimately promoted the alteration of the 1960 reform. However this alteration was actually partial, and not of a reformist character. It was limited to the revocation of a large number of the documents' articles. As a matter of fact the DL 38/87 does not propose new measures; it only cancels a number of previous ones –

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.

related to the contracts and the guarantees of their obligations – that in 1987 had not been in practice for a long time.

Thus, the 1960's legislative reform, that came to stay, promoted a controlled practice of *espectáculo*, essentially the same that was observed during the development of *Estado Novo* since its first years, the one in which the entities involved 'guarantee the prosecution of its obligations, and only with the elements of *espectáculo* permitted by law.'⁴⁰ This highly restrictive character was only possible due to a heavy and well organized bureaucratic system which imposed on the activity of *espectáculos* a number of exigent authoritarian measures such as mandatory project approvals, licenses, and the respective control, the so-called previous register for the employers' activities, and finally the censorship authorization, through the so-called '*visto*' process needed for each performance of every *espectáculo*. Despite its dictatorial nature this legislative reform survived the period of the Democratic Revolution, prevailing in court, though not systematically observed, for more than twenty five years unaffected by the *Coup d'Etat* and even by the Portuguese integration into the European Union (EEC) in 1986.

The Use of Musical Expression by *Estado Novo*

The men of the dictatorship early understood the political importance of musical expression as a privileged moving force for human emotions. Quoting Napoleon Bonaparte, António Ferro wrote in the significant article on November 1932: 'Of all the arts, music is the one that exercises greatest influence in the passions, the one that the legislator should most encourage'.⁴¹ With this purpose in mind, António Ferro would pay particular attention to musical expression in Portugal. Music would thus occupy an important place within the cultural policy of *Estado Novo*. Molded by its conservative character, the governmental awareness of the musical expression inevitably promoted its stagnation at many levels.

The dictatorial cultural policy of *Estado Novo* recognized and promoted, with specific propaganda models, three different and separate areas of musical expression: art music within the domain of the first

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

cultural category, 'high culture', and rural and urban popular music both considered within the domain of the second and major category, 'popular culture'. In all three areas the policy was to revive the past, obeying the dictator's orders for national reconstruction based on 'the glorious past of the nation'. The first and second categories, respectively art music and rural popular music, have scarcely been considered in the current academic literature. Few musicologists and ethnomusicologists have written about recent art music and rural popular music in Portugal,⁴² however, the area of urban popular music, has been almost absent in the Portuguese academic literature.

Concomitantly with the principles proposed by *Política do Espírito*, the aesthetics promoted by the central power and developed in the three areas of musical expression considered appealed to the emotions as the prime means of manipulation in the process of national identification. Mário Vieira de Carvalho clearly defends this thesis in his analysis of Portuguese art music during the *Estado Novo*.⁴³ The assumption was already advanced by Lopes-Graça who frequently wrote about the use of the great classic-romantic repertoire as a strategy for emotional manipulation in the service of official propaganda. Lopes-Graça was the first to openly oppose the regime within speech about music. His life work was devoted to resistance against the regime's notion of music as an 'ornamental art'. His actions had direct substantial influence on the three areas of musical expression considered. In all of them, he fought for the significance of musical expression. Mário Vieira de Carvalho studied the 'change of sociocommunicative systems from the end of the eighteenth century to the present day' in the *Teatro de São Carlos* (TSC), the old Opera Theater in Lisbon. The title of his work, 'To Think is to Die' (1993), a quotation from an article written in 1900 about the public's reactions at the TSC, represents the attitude towards *Política do Espírito* particularly observable in the domain of musical expression. Through the analysis of the life of the Theater, Vieira de Carvalho shows that the TSC, which reopened its doors on December 1st, 1940 during the great centennial national commemorations, played a central role as a model for the application of the *Política do Espírito* for musical expression. The TSC, characterized by

⁴² Among the few names there are those of Fernando Lopes-Graça, João Soeiro de Carvalho, Mário Vieira de Carvalho, Salwa Castelo-Branco.

⁴³ In F. ROSAS and J. M. Brandão de BRITO, *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo*, 2 vols., Lisboa, Bertrand Editora, 1996, vol. 2, p. 650.

the dictator himself as ‘the guest room of Portugal’ (*a sala de visitas de Portugal*), reified the model of outward appearance cultivated by the propaganda mechanism of the regime. Illustrating the metaphor of guest room used at the time – the sunniest and healthiest room of the common households which was closed to everyday life, while the dwellers lived in the *saguão*, the inner and dark rooms – Vieira de Carvalho consecrates the model for the cultural policy of the regime in general:

... The same relation between the *saguão* and the *sala de visitas* will characterize all cultural policy of the fascism: the Portuguese cultural life will be the *saguão* for which the TSC will be the *sala de visitas*... This means that the snobbery, whose essence consists in seeming what in reality one is not, developed to the point of being considered a kind of national philosophy.⁴⁴

The snobbery principle, Vieira de Carvalho argues elsewhere, was applied to art music in particular and to ‘high culture’ in general. The regime used different strategies ‘to empty’ the contents of the cultural performances. He stresses the process of ‘de-semantization’ of musical performance, which ultimately promoted its transmission as a mere sound product of ornamental pretension. Among the main arguments used to illustrate the effects of the context of communication in the neutralization of the message, Vieira de Carvalho mentions the obligation of a number of formal and ceremonial habits such as for example the use of evening dress, or the high percentage of operas in foreign languages per season. He argues that ultimately the government did not even support the individual nationalistic projects of the regime composers:

The goal was not to gain the audience for a *cause*, nor make it feel or think whatever it be. The ambition was only to offer the adequate ornamental pretext for the representative (performative) function of these galas. The music of the *habitus culto* tends thus to end itself in the aesthetization of the politics.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Mário Vieira de CARVALHO, *Pensar é Morrer ou O Teatro de São Carlos*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1993, pp. 214-15.

⁴⁵ M. V. de CARVALHO, «Música erudita», in F. ROSAS e J. M. B. de BRITO, *op. cit.*, p. 649.

The political strategy involved in this reflection states the devaluation of 'free' (non-governmentally imposed) cultural meaning. It was, in fact, already implied in the famous series of interviews with the dictator in 1932. Curiously enough, António Ferro uses the very same image of the *saguão* to characterize the dark state of Portuguese culture for which the regime, in power since 1926, had not 'yet done anything'. He even stresses the importance of reopening TSC:

We have the budget established, we have roads, we have almost no debts, we have good credit outside, notable municipal works, a starting industry, but nothing was done yet for the development of literature and fine arts, which suffocate, without managing to widen their horizons in the *saguão* of our milieu. The *Teatro de São Carlos*, full of traditions, is closed to the music.⁴⁶

Another decontextualizing element, used and reinforced by *Política do Espírito* and particularly observable in the musical domain, was the promotion of values from the past. Ancient music was revived. The names of new musical compositions constantly referred to past events and historical figures. Even the use of folklore elements in art music was based on such premises, folklorisms used as archaisms. In a book edited in 1946 by SNI under the title *Portugal: Breviário da Pátria para Portugueses Ausentes* (Portugal: Breviary of the Fatherland for Absent Portuguese), conceived by António Ferro as 'the book for all Portuguese... constant reinforcement of their national conscience and patriotic faith' (preface), the chapter on music starts with: 'Reminiscences of the most ancient music – and of its related instruments – of the 'Occidental Lusitania beach'⁴⁷ can still possibly be found in the current folklore'.⁴⁸

This conservative philosophy of over valorization of the past, applied to the domain of musical expression in general,⁴⁹ was particularly violent

⁴⁶ A. FERRO, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁴⁷ Cf. 'Occidental praia Lusitana', referring to Portugal from Camões masterpiece 'Os Lusíadas'.

⁴⁸ Francisco Fernandes LOPES, 'A Música em Portugal', in *Portugal: Breviário da Pátria para Portugueses Ausentes*, Lisboa, SNI, 1946, p. 395.

⁴⁹ Significant are, in this domain, the thoughts of Fernando Lopes-Graça who, in 1973, complains that Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian has joined the conservative attitude of the state: 'O passado pode ser muito respeitável e armazenar valores que cumpre, na verdade, conhecer e divulgar, mas

in the world of rural popular culture. The national contest *A Aldeia Mais Portuguesa de Portugal* (The Most Portuguese Village of Portugal), promoted by SPN in 1938, represents the *potlatch* principle in what concerns *Política do Espírito* in the rural culture. It illustrates well not only the over-emphasis of the past, but also the degree of control and manipulation of the regime over the rural underdeveloped population. The contest, involving villages from all over the country, included a process of eliminatory phases, and a final visit of the national jury, directed by António Ferro himself. According to the rules of the contest, the most Portuguese of the villages should be the one that showed 'major resistance to decomposition and strange influences, and the conservation of its state in the highest degree of purity'. According to the same document, the various parameters observed ranged from 'dwelling' to 'natural landscape and topographic physiognomy, furniture and domestic implements, clothing, popular arts and industries, trading forms, means of conveyance, poetry, tales, superstitions, games, songs, music, dance, theater, festivities and other usages'.⁵⁰

This event represented the engagement of the regime in the creation of a living model of preservation of the past in which people were treated as museum objects. The vision of Portuguese people, rural and underdeveloped in the majority of cases, as actors of characteristic or 'typical' plays, or even as toys or 'puppets' easy to manipulate was present in António Ferro's strategy, according to his words, since the very beginning of his mission:

En Décembre 1933, deux mois après l'acte inaugural de ce rayon des services de l'Etat, un group de "Pauliteiros de Miranda" danseurs très caractéristiques de Trás-os-Montes, se fit applaudir à Lisbonne, par notre initiative, dans leurs danses ancestrales.

não cremos que o presente se lhe deva imolar numa política cultural destinada a promover o avanço das artes e dos artistas *hic et nunc* (...) haverá que lamentar que a atenção da Fundação Gulbenkian se volte apenas para o passado, numa quase que obsessão doentia de um "historicismo" nem sempre impositivo nos "valores" que nos propõe, e esqueça o presente e o passado mais ou menos próximo, certamente também nem sempre impositivos, mas que conviria a uma política cultural prospectiva e de promoção actual (como cremos deveria estar no espírito da Fundação, ou ser o seu próprio espírito) não menosprezar, para conhecimento mais completo do que musicalmente somos, assim que para lição e estímulo daquilo que poderemos ser, ou diligenciemos ser.' In Fernando LOPES-GRAÇA, *Obras literárias de Fernando Lopes-Graça: A Música Portuguesa e os seus Problemas III*, vol. 8, Lisboa, Edições Cosmos, 1976, pp. 307-08.

⁵⁰ *Diário da Manhã*, 02.08.1938, p. 3.

Rigoureusement habillés de leurs costumes de fête, leurs curieux bâtons à la main, ils avaient l'air d'une frise de pantins vivants.⁵¹

The particular attention given by SPN/SNI to the phenomenon of *Ranchos Folclóricos*⁵² represented a significant role in this political strategy. The parallelism between people and puppets continued in Ferro's discourses and actions of *Política do Espírito*. In 1935, the SPN organized an exhibition of Portuguese Popular Art in Geneva:

Parmi les nombreuses curiosités de cette exposition, réalisée en Septembre 1935, vient au premier rang une précieuse collection de poupées représentant les types populaires des différentes régions portugaises. Ces poupées, habillées de tous les beaux costumes régionaux de nos provinces, avaient des figures sculptées en harmonie avec les régions qu'elles représentaient car, pour la première fois entre nous, on avait pensé au mannequin autant qu'au costume, au caractère autant qu'à la parure.⁵³

In 1939, the Portuguese Pavilion in 'The New York World's Fair' exhibited a polychromatic clay retable by Paulo, portraying rural workers, dancers, animals, working tools and musical instruments, entitled *Os Brinquedos da Paisagem Portuguesa* (The Toys of Portuguese Landscape). The contest for the most Portuguese village, in 1938, which was planned to be biannual but in fact was unique (World War II and its multiple constraints changed the political plans), represented a turning point in what concerns the priorities of *Política do Espírito* for popular expressive behavior. The expressive 'puppets' have been contextualized ultimately in their own habitat, then they were to be refined.

⁵¹ SPN, *Quelques Images de L'Art Populaire Portugais*, Lisboa, Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, 1937, p. 1.

⁵² *Ranchos Folclóricos*, existing still today, are the largest performing groups within the world of traditional Portuguese music. A typical *Rancho Folclórico* (c. 30 elements) is composed of three different categories of participants: dancers, singers and musicians. The action taken by SPN/SNI in the domain of *Ranchos Folclóricos* was conceived to promote an image of a happy, clean and organized lowest class that by the 1930s was emerging in Portugal. This action, which included financial support, publicity and organization of national and international events, was part of a strategy to create a cultural basis for the development of nationalism. In João Soeiro de CARVALHO, *Ranchos Folclóricos: a Strategy for Identity Among Portuguese Migrants in New Jersey*, Tese de Mestrado (Columbia University), 1990, pp. 26, 69.

The phase of conception of great strategies had ended; *Política do Espírito* had achieved its completion. The period of grandiose exhibitions had gone with the great centennial commemorations. From then on, the mission of the central power was to keep the machine running, to dominate the country ideologically through a happy appearance. Expressive behavior played a fundamental role in the process. Portuguese ‘puppets’ had to behave ‘properly’, so they needed to be ‘educated’ in their own expressions. SPN and later SNI followed two main procedures to achieve this purpose. The first was to create a model, a ‘purified’ dance group who performed both popular culture and high culture repertoire, with the double goal of representing Portuguese culture and of ‘educating the taste and tuning up the sensibility’ (*educação do gosto e afinação da sensibilidade*). In the inaugural speech of the national ballet group *Verde Gaio*,⁵⁴ António Ferro stressed further that ‘*essa lição de bom gosto tem ainda o interesse de ser uma lição de bom gosto nacional*’ (that lesson of good taste has yet the interest of being a lesson of good national taste). The second main procedure envisaged by SNI to educate expressive behavior at the national level took the form of an annual popular festivity and was developed much later in Lisbon, from the mid 1960s on.

The ballet group, named *Verde Gaio – Grupo de Bailados Portugueses*, was founded within SPN in 1940, for the centennial celebrations. It was scheduled in a series of performances of *Teatro do Povo* (People’s Theater) throughout the country. That theater troupe, described in local newspapers as ‘the artistic embassy of SPN’⁵⁵ played in small villages in direct contact with rural people. They had been in the village of Monsanto in the summer of 1938, during the preparation for the final visit of the national jury for the contest. They were then very well received there and in consequence of that, SPN described the village, in the national newspaper *Diário da Manhã*, the official press organ of the regime, as ‘the paradise on earth’.⁵⁶ This kind of experience must have had its influence in the life of both, the urban groups and the rural communities. According to the creator of *Verde Gaio*, who, in the inaugural speech, considered dance as ‘an eminent art, dogmatically national’, this group, directly influenced, as he stressed, by the *Ballets*

⁵³ SPN, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁵⁴ *Verde Gaio* is the popular name of a bird (Green-Jay) and also the name of a type of rural popular dance.

⁵⁵ *Notícias da Covilhã*, 07.17.1938, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Diário da Manhã*, 08.08.1938, p. 7.

Russes of Diaghilev & Massine (who performed in Portugal, with great success, in 1917), had a special purpose: 'to construct the base for a purely national art'.

That was the enterprise to which the National Secretariat of Propaganda devoted itself almost since its inception. Popular art exhibitions, national and international exhibitions of our folklore, specialized publications, the Contest for the most Portuguese Village, these were but simple mining work to bring to the surface certain colorful and rhythmic expressions of the national soul, the eternal features of the race, its inner design turned visible.⁵⁷

The SNI propaganda book *Portugal: Breviário da Pátria para Portugueses Ausentes* refers to some works, including photos of some performances of *Verde Gaio* such as *D. Sebastião* and *Inês de Castro*⁵⁸ with music by Ruy Coelho; and *Dança da Menina Tonta* and *Imagens da Terra e do Mar* with music by Frederico de Freitas.⁵⁹ From these, *D. Sebastião* and *Imagens da Terra e do Mar*, composed in 1943, were based on texts by António Ferro himself. The last one was performed as a number of separate scenes portraying Portuguese 'traditional' habits or images by dancers characterized as puppets, dancing on different layers of racks, as animated puppets on a shelf, labeled after different regions such as *Minho*, *Beiras*, *Douro*, *Nazaré* or as characters such as *Salaios* or *Campinos*. More than others, this ballet was conceived and used as a propaganda image of Portugal.

On the inaugural speech of the group, António Ferro stressed the political intentions of the initiative *Verde Gaio*, which were to create 'the Portuguese ballet':

For the first time in Portugal someone created a group of dancing-artists, musicians, painters, decorators and poets, willing to create, with a far-sighted attitude and a national conscience, the Portuguese dance.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ A. FERRO, *Verde Gaio: Bailados Portugueses*, Lisboa, Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, 1941, s.p.

⁵⁸ Legendary names of Portuguese royal history from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

⁵⁹ The composer and maestro Frederico de Freitas, and his old friend Francis (Francisco Florêncio Graça) worked together in some of the greater successes of the group.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, s.p.

Artistic proficiency on the part of the performers was not required. In fact, besides Francis and Ruth – the lead dancers – the young group of dancers had no experience, whatsoever, in dance:

...the young men and women who make up the unpretentious dance group *Verde-Gaio* lacking in experience and instruction but substituting such lack of technique, to a certain extent, with its touching good will and its intuition. But the art of dancing, as we have already elucidated, is an orchestral group-art, in which the dancer is a living instrument and in which there are music notes in the colors of the scenery and in the performance of the dancers.⁶¹

These words, pronounced by António Ferro – who, in fact, dictated culture and art in Portugal – reflect his attitude towards the domain. It openly advocates the decorative principle intended for art in which the performers are treated as puppets or ‘living instruments’ considered as archetypes, the dancers who present the national costumes within well orchestrated scenarios. This mentality, neglecting the importance of serious and systematic training in the field of expressive behavior, was among the main causes for the low level of music and dance education in Portugal.

Other references to dances of the group portraying scenes, included or not in major works, are made, in the propaganda book mentioned, to ‘*Douro*’, ‘*Trás-os-Montes*’, ‘*Pastores da Beira*’, ‘*Ribatejo*’, ‘*Nazaré*’, ‘*Os Noivos*’, ‘*A Chula*’ and ‘*O Fado*’. It is significant that *Chula* and *Fado*, respectively rural and urban popular categories of musical expression, have been pointed out in the book *Portugal: Breviário da Pátria para Portugueses Ausentes*, as works performed by *Verde Gaio*, side by side with chosen ‘typical’ regions and social characters of Portugal. These two categories of musical expression were, in fact, used and promoted by the dictatorial cultural policy as ‘Portuguese national songs’ for rural and urban environments respectively. They were even involved in a quarrel for the title of ‘the national song’. Ethnographers and other scholars had already studied both of them since the end of the nineteenth century. César das

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, s.p.

Neves (1898),⁶² Pinto de Carvalho (1903),⁶³ Alberto Pimentel (1904 and 1905)⁶⁴ and others had traced their references in the literature, speculated over their origins, and authorized their existence in what concerns honorable and 'classical' identities. In 1962, FNAT edited the book – *A Chula. Verdadeira Canção Nacional* (The *Chula*: True National Song) – which starts with a quotation from César das Neves: 'The *Chula* is the classical type of our popular music'.⁶⁵ This book, with a preface by Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, one of the most influential musicologists of the regime,⁶⁶ came to raise, once more, the question of national song. Sampayo Ribeiro defends his position stating that:

The '*chula*' – this '*chula*' – is one hundred per cent Portuguese, and for that it is a true national song, though not the unique. Thank God we have others, although none of them is the one... that everyone talks about...⁶⁷

Obviously he was referring to Fado, the old song that, having troubled so much the principles of *Estado Novo*, ended serving it so well. Indeed Fado represents a paradigm of the use and manipulation of expressive behavior by a political regime. Fado was molded within the scenario constructed for the 'intentional calm' of the nation or the sweetness of a tranquil living (*a doçura de um viver tranquilo*) through the words of Christine Garnier.⁶⁸ In this propaganda book, Fado appears 'naturally' associated with feelings of deep sadness and nostalgia, contextualized in apparently non-politicized environments:

⁶² César das NEVES e Gualdino CAMPOS, *Cancioneiro de Músicas Populares*, 3 vols., Porto, Imprensa Editora, 1893, 95, 98.

⁶³ José Pinto Ribeiro de CARVALHO, *História do Fado*, Lisboa, Empresa da História de Portugal, Sociedade Editora, 1903.

⁶⁴ Alberto PIMENTEL, *A Triste Canção do Sul. Subsídios para a História do Fado*, Lisboa, Livraria Central de Gomes de Carvalho, 1904.

A. PIMENTEL, *As Alegres Canções do Norte*, Lisboa, Livraria Viúva Tavares Cardoso, 1905.

⁶⁵ Fernando de Castro Pires de LIMA, *A Chula: Verdadeira Canção Nacional*, Lisboa, Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no trabalho, 1962, p. 31.

⁶⁶ Among other actions directly connected with *Política do Espírito* for the fields of culture and education in special, he choose and wrote most of the songs that the *Mocidade Portuguesa* (Portuguese Youth) was supposed to sing.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶⁸ C. GARNIER, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

I am taken by a deep sadness. I don't know what strange disquiet is now weighing on my shoulders.

Three young maids run through the garden without noticing our presence. Hand in hand, they bounce along chuckling under the light of the stars and stop by a fountain beneath the long silvery hairs of pendent vegetation. They wash themselves in the water and dip their naked arms in it. There is such freshness emanating from this scene, such grace, that for a moment I forget the burden that is crushing me...⁶⁹

With the artifice of a medieval *tropo*, Garnier introduces this ethereal episode, preparing the way for a scene of Fado, in the middle of a reflection on Salazar's natural capacity to command in a chapter entitled 'Born to Obey'.

The night is taken by clear voices, chuckles, spatters and murmur of water, and suddenly one of the maids starts singing. It must be *Clarisse*. Under the quiet of the leaves, she cries the husky moans of a *fado*, one of these popular songs from *Bairro Alto* made famous around the world by the passionate voice of *Amália Rodrigues*.

Salazar translates, speaking softly:

*Someone's not thinking of me
In the lands behind the sea
Death, I would give you my life
If you just took it to him.*

Salazar doesn't like these songs which he regards as depressing. He often says that the *fados* idle away the Portuguese character, they empty the soul of its energies and induce inactivity.⁷⁰ He prefers the vigorous songs from the North, the *viras* from *Minho* or the *chulas* from *Beira*.⁷¹

This short reference, naming the preferred *viras* and *chulas*, from *Minho* and *Beira*, contains an enormous amount of information on the use

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁷⁰ This vision had been largely expressed by Luiz MOITA, *O Fado, Canção de Vencidos*, Lisboa, (Empresa do Anuário Comercial), 1936.

⁷¹ C. GARNIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-05.

of Fado by the dictatorship, and stresses the dual and ambiguous position that the political power developed towards it. In an utterly calm ambiance, Fado is presented through the harsh voices of the lower class female servants. The intended and promoted local provenance of Fado – *Bairro Alto*, an old quarter of Lisbon, is mentioned as well as the name of the celebrated singer *Amália Rodrigues*. On the one hand, the dictator whispers the text sung and on the other hand, the author stresses that he does not like these songs, because they are ‘depressing’, they mollify the Portuguese spirit, emptying the soul of its energies and inciting to inaction.

Meanwhile, another girl joined her voice with *Clarisse’s*. Together they sing with greater ardor the fallen loves, the nostalgia of lost horizons, or the anguish of exile. And I, who always deny looking back, feel dragged back to the past, old Sunday surrounded with rain, unexpressed gestures, silenced words.

However, like a guitar string that suddenly breaks, the *fado* is abruptly interrupted breaking the spell. The girls, certainly seeing us, escape in haste to the kitchen. The enigmatic moment faded away like a fireworks flower, but for an instant I still seem to hear the echo of the sad songs:

*When dying the eyes say:
Stop Death. Wait where you are.
Life! Don't go so soon
I still haven't lived you through.*

As if there had never been any girls laughing by the fountain or any distressed *fados*, I go on:

– You were just telling me, mister President, that the detachment from power is perfectly compatible with the possession of the qualities necessary for command...⁷²

After this illusive and unpredictable episode, with references to the nostalgia of the past, the distance, and to the *guitarra*, the reader is left with a question: What is the reason for the introduction of this bizarre

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 205.

episode? The only one referring to music performance in the whole book. There is one other reference to Fado in this same book. It is presented precisely within the explanation of the 'intentional calm' and 'tranquillity of life' that is found on the nation.

- The sweetness of a peaceful existence...

I repeated these words with melancholy. I think of the flowers, the fountains and the people that ramble quietly in Lisbon. I recall the nights in which silent men come and sit at a terrace to contemplate the lights of the city, while *fados* travel from street to street. In Portugal the people still have the time and leisure to be emotional and to enjoy the pleasure of dreaming. (...)

The experience tells us – *Salazar* proceeds – that more intense economic activity, higher technological progress, the most profound social reforms may leave the qualities of our people untouched if, through careful attention, we are able to keep pure hearts and sane minds. Therefore, we place the spirit above everything.⁷³

These references stress the importance of Fado within the cultural policy of *Estado Novo*. The domination of the spirit was fundamental for the official ambiance of tranquillity, and Fado appears undoubtedly connected with it. In fact, Fado went through a long process of purification during the dictatorship. Worried with its capacity to induce inaction, the cultural policy of the 1930s tried to minimize the importance of Fado in the society. The contribution of Luiz Moita through a series of talks in the *Emissora Nacional*, the national broadcasting company, later published in a book entitled *Fado: Canção de Vencidos*, was among the most interesting initiatives. In the preface of the book, dedicated to the recently created *Mocidade Portuguesa*, the author recalls the dangers of the communist influence of some Fados, that circulate 'in rondel quatrains and heroic poems, interwoven in the scythe and the hammer', stressing that:

We are unquestionably facing an important lapse in our constructive and unifying policy. On the one hand we raise the

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

upright building of the Nation; but on the other hand we allow the 'stupefying' effect of *fado* to soften and wane, through the radio, the so necessary energies of our people's soul.⁷⁴

The efforts to fight against Fado were unfruitful. The strategy followed by *Estado Novo* in the next decades was to develop policies to shape Fado, using it for its own purposes, adjusting it to its ideals and interests.

Portuguese musical expression was promoted, studied and specially created by SNI, within its mission of *formação da alma nacional* (formation of the national soul). In the speech to prepare the *1º Congresso Luso-Brasileiro de Folclore* in 1947, António Ferro stressed the creative function of SNI for political purposes:

...folklore is the raw material of sovereignty itself, because it is through its essential differences that the peoples come to appreciate their own personality and independence, a source of poetry that enables men to escape from their own materialism.

The *S.N.I.* obviously could not alienate itself from such an important contribution to the formation of the national soul, and in such spirit it has directed its cultural policy, promoting national and international folk art exhibitions and folk dance contests, establishing the contest for the most Portuguese village, creating the dance group «*Verde Gaio*», as an example of elevating our purest folklore heritage to a higher status, creating the People's Museum which will soon be inaugurated, etc., etc.

The other nations are organizing great meetings to study and discuss these subjects so important for the life of the people, useful as the living source of national art.

Besides the high patriotic, artistic and cultural sense resulting from these meetings, it is necessary to create the international of poetry to oppose the international of odium.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ L. MOTA, *op. cit.*, Preface.

⁷⁵ *Notícias de Portugal*, 27, p. 2.

The will to create the 'international of poetry' seem to have been sustained by the cultural policy of *Estado Novo* for the next quarter of the century, even surviving the presence of António Ferro at SNI. In fact, although rural expressive behavior has occupied the most significant place in the early priorities of SNI, its urban counterpart surpassed it in later times. Although SNI has developed, since very early, policies that protected and promoted a few subcultures of Fado, such as *Casas de Fado* and *Fado* in the *Revista à Portuguesa*, the main official cultural action on Fado was yet to come. Fado would, in fact, be specially implemented from the mid 1960s on, in Lisbon, through a number of initiatives directly organized by SNI, including a national contest, developed in an annual festivity called *Mercado de Abril*. This festivity, known by different names such as *Mercado da Primavera* and then *Mercado do Povo*, represented the last great event organized by SNI, later SEIT (*Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo*) and lasted until 1974.