

**Christina Bezari. “Transnational Perspectives in Early Twentieth-Century Portugal: the Emergence of the Periodical *Sociedade Futura* (Lisbon, 1902-04)”. *Portuguese Studies*, Vol. 35, N°1, 2019, pp.39-54.<sup>1</sup>**

### **Abstract**

This article explores the representations of foreign cultures and literatures in the Portuguese periodical *Sociedade Futura* (Lisbon, 1902-04). Special attention is given to the concept of transnationality, which occupied a prominent place in the writings of Ana de Castro Osório and Maria Sarmiento da Silveira. By drawing on a range of unseen publications and historical sources, this study explains how the two editors incorporated foreign influences in their periodical in order to reassert the norms of their native culture and reinforce the need for social change. A transnational approach to editorship will provide a firm ground for the study of women’s contribution to public debate and their role in shaping society and culture.

**Keywords:** *Sociedade Futura*, female editors, transnational, press, early twentieth century.

### **Resumo**

Este artigo explora as representações de culturas e literaturas estrangeiras na revista portuguesa *Sociedade Futura* (Lisboa, 1902–1904). Damos especial atenção ao conceito de transnacionalidade, que ocupou um lugar central nos escritos de Ana de Castro Osório e Maria Sarmiento da Silveira. A partir de um conjunto de publicações e fontes históricas escassas, este estudo explica como as duas editoras incorporaram influências estrangeiras no seu periódico, a fim de reafirmar as normas da sua cultura nativa e reforçar a necessidade de mudança social. Uma abordagem transnacional da editoração constituirá uma base sólida para o estudo da contribuição das mulheres para o debate público e do seu papel na formação da sociedade e da cultura.

**Palavras-chave:** *Sociedade Futura*, mulheres editoras, transnacional, imprensa, início do século XX.

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## Transnational perspectives in early twentieth-century Portugal: the emergence of the periodical *Sociedade Futura* (Lisbon, 1902-04)

At the dawn of the twentieth century, editors in Portugal sought to widen the geographic and cultural scope of their publications by incorporating foreign influences and placing their periodicals within a modern European context. A series of considerable changes in their home country such as the decrease of illiteracy rates, the government's ambitious modernisation policies and the subsequent economic growth, encouraged Portuguese editors to look for new ways of expression, collaborate with their European counterparts and adopt new models of writing and publishing. In many respects, the *fin-de-siècle* period can be considered as the heyday of the Portuguese printed press. As Isabel Soares has showed, editors could benefit from the emergence of new telegraph lines, which increased the speed of communications and facilitated contact between Portuguese editors and their correspondents across Europe.<sup>2</sup> This led the national, local, daily, and weekly press to flourish and to enjoy a greater degree of freedom than it would in the mid-twentieth century during the totalitarian Estado Novo regime (1933-1974). In this socio-cultural context, Ana de Castro Osório (1872-1935) and Maria Olga de Moraes Sarmiento da Silveira (1881-1948) herein referred to by her married name, started to edit their bimonthly periodical *Sociedade Futura* (1902-1904) from their shared office located in Rua da Glória at the heart of Lisbon. To offer an insight into the editorial agenda of *Sociedade Futura* as well as to examine its contribution to the public discourse, the present article focuses on the editors' attempts to promote transnational communication and exchange through the periodical. This approach will lead to a better understanding of Castro Osório's and Silveira's editorial practices and will explain the ways in which they envisaged Portugal's place within the European cultural context.

A number of seminal studies have examined the different aspects of the printed media in Portugal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, from the development of Portuguese publishing houses and the professionalisation of men and women journalists to the role of the press in the creation of feminist associations and movements.<sup>3</sup> These discussions, however, have focused on the figure of the journalist rather than that of the editor. Paula Miranda's analysis of the journalistic experience, for instance, has provided useful insights into prominent journalistic strategies, such as advertising, selling, and informing, while Maria Silveirinha's *As mulheres e a afirmação histórica da profissão jornalística* [Women and the historical affirmation of the journalistic profession], has examined the influence of English and American media on Portuguese women journalists.<sup>4</sup> Silveirinha's analysis takes into account

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<sup>2</sup> Isabel Soares, 'Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull: Britain's 'New' Journalism and the Portuguese at the Fin-de-Siècle in John S. Bak and Bill Reynolds (eds.), *Literary Journalism Across the Globe: Journalistic Traditions and Transnational Influences* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), p.120.

<sup>3</sup> Paula Cristina Galvão Mateus Miranda, 'As Origens do Jornalismo Profissional em Portugal: uma Incursão pelas Estruturas Empresariais (1865-1925)', *Actas do 5º Congresso da Associação Portuguesa de Ciências da Comunicação* (Braga: Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade, 2008), pp. 1511-31; Ana Maria Lopes, 'Ousar Lutar, Ousar Vencer. A Imprensa Periódica Oitocentista como Motor da Promoção Intelectual Feminina', *Comunicação & Cultura*, 7 (2009), pp. 39-48.

<sup>4</sup> Maria João Silveirinha, 'As mulheres e a afirmação histórica da profissão jornalística: contributos para uma não-ossificação da História do jornalismo', *Comunicação e Sociedade*, 21, (2012), pp. 165-82.

the transnational character of the journalistic field by focusing on Portugal's relation to the Anglo-Saxon tradition but does not acknowledge the possibilities that emerge from the interaction between Portugal and the Mediterranean countries. Building on Silveirinha's analysis, this article seeks to elucidate the role of the female periodical editor by focusing on the cultural exchanges that took place between Portugal, Spain, and Italy. This approach will allow us to view editors like Castro Osório and Silveira as cultural mediators and agents of social change.

Due to the limited research on the female-directed press and owing to its short duration, the periodical *Sociedade Futura* (1902-1904) has received no attention from modern scholars while the two existing sources on the issue make general statements with regard to its character and objectives. On the one hand, Maria José Remédios posits that it was a feminine periodical that did not serve a feminist agenda: "O seu nome vê-se associado à criação, em 1902, da *Sociedade Futura* (publicação feminina sem um índole feminista)".<sup>5</sup> Sofia Sousa Vieira, on the other hand, argues that *Sociedade Futura* forged a positive image of Portuguese women authors who sought to incorporate feminist ideas into their writings: "Surgen las primeras revistas, tales como *Sociedade Futura* que intentaba ofrecer una imagen positiva de la mujer que intentaba instaurar, a través de sus escritos, una nueva cultura feminista indisolublemente unida a la construcción de la identidad femenina".<sup>6</sup> Indeed, both Castro Osório and Silveira dedicated a considerable amount of their articles to the life and work of Portuguese and foreign female authors, poets, and editors (e.g. Beatriz Pinheiro, Zulmira de Mello, Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer). This decision seems to have been part of a broader feminist initiative to carve a place for women in the journalistic and literary field. As Celia Carmen Cordeiro has showed, Castro Osório adopted an explicitly feminist discourse at a later period when she became the editor of the periodical *A Semeadora* (Lisbon, 1915-18).<sup>7</sup> Although their later engagement in feminist organisations as well as their respective works *Às mulheres portuguesas* (1905) and *Mulheres illustres* (1907) are factors to consider when studying the trajectory of Castro Osório and Silveira, the present study takes a different turn. Namely, it aims to examine the ways in which the two editors perceived and represented other cultures in their periodical in order to bring forward the need for social innovation in their home country. Based on this assumption, the main questions that will be addressed in this study have to do with the transnational character of *Sociedade Futura* as well as with the way in which it attempted to connect Portugal with Southern European countries. More specifically: how did the editor's perception of foreign literature and culture help shape the national identity of early twentieth-century Portugal? How did the two editors aim to make a social impact and which controversial issues were addressed in the periodical? Did salon participation influence editorial strategies and how? By drawing from a range of unseen publications and historical sources as well as through a textual analysis

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<sup>5</sup> Maria José Remédios, 'Ana de Castro Osório e a construção da Grande Aliança entre os povos: dois manuais da escritora portuguesa adoptados no Brasil', *Faces de Eva. Estudos sobre a Mulher*, 12 (2004), p.8.

<sup>6</sup> Sofia Sousa Vieira, *Estudio de la actividad musical compositiva y crítica de Francine Benoît* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2012), p.128.

<sup>7</sup> Celia Carmen Cordeiro "Semear para colher: a contribuição de Ana de Castro Osório em 'A Semeadora' (1915-1918)". In *As mulheres e a imprensa periódica*. Vol. 2, Orgs. Isabel Lousada, Vania Pinheiro Chaves. Parte VI "A presença feminina na imprensa portuguesa". Lisboa, 2014, p.253: "Neste ensaio, darei a conhecer alguns dos ideais que a jornalista feminista semeou e divulgou nas páginas d' *A Semeadora*, nomeadamente o direito das mulheres à educação e ao trabalho remunerado [...]".

of articles that appeared in *Sociedade Futura*, the present study will give a comprehensive view of Castro Osório's and Silveira's activities as young female editors in Lisbon.

### **Sociedade Futura Under the Tenure of Ana de Castro Osório**

A preliminary look into the issues of *Sociedade Futura* that appeared between May 1902 and March 1904 demonstrates that both Castro Osório and Silveira adopted a historical approach to the study of social phenomena. On many occasions, the two women published biographies of illustrious figures and underscored their historical importance and social impact. As Cláudia Pazos Alonso has argued, this practice was already popular among Portuguese female editors of the mid-nineteenth century such as Francisca Wood (1802-1900).<sup>8</sup> Drawing from previous editorial practices, Castro Osório and Silveira brought historical female figures to the attention of their public and highlighted their role as agents of change and arbiters of social values. Despite its short duration, *Sociedade Futura* went through two different phases. During its first phase, Castro Osório occupied the role of the editor-in-chief (*directora*) while Silveira held the role of the main redactor (*redactora*). This administration ended in September 1902, when Silveira became the editor-in-chief and the renowned Portuguese journalist, Virgínia Sofia Guerra Quaresma (1882-1973) undertook the role of the secretary (*secretária*). On the front page of the first issue of *Sociedade Futura* that appeared in May 1902, Castro Osório published a lengthy article on the renowned poet, journalist and *salonnière* Eleonora de Fonseca Pimentel (1752-1799) who was born in Rome to Portuguese noble parents. The following words marked the beginning of Castro Osório's new editorial venture, which aimed to raise awareness on controversial issues such as the role of female editors in the Neapolitan revolution of June 1799:

Começando a nossa revista por prestar homenagem, sincera e cultural á insigne musa da liberdade napolitana, inscrevendo-a na sua galeria de figuras illustres, como honra do seu sexo, do seu tempo e das duas patrias que a disputam.

[We will begin our periodical by paying homage to the distinguished muse of the Neapolitan freedom. She is an illustrious figure, an honour to her sex and to the two countries that claim her origin.]<sup>9</sup>

By bringing Pimentel's double nationality to the attention of her readers, Castro Osório uses her as a personification for the cultural links that she wants to draw between Italy and Portugal. This approach provides an interesting lens through which to examine Pimentel's trajectory and, more specifically, her involvement in historical events that shaped the political landscape of late eighteenth-century Italy. According to Castro Osório's article, during the 1790s, Pimentel became a member of the Jacobin movement in Naples that aimed to overthrow the Bourbon monarchy and establish a local version of the French Republic. Pimentel's support for the Republican cause as well as her connections to the Freemasonry seem to have been the main

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<sup>8</sup> Cláudia Pazos Alonso, 'Modernity in the Making: the Women at the Heart of *A Voz Feminina* and *O Progresso*'. In Ana Luísa Vilela, Fávio Mário Silva, Maria Lúcia dal Farra eds. *O feminino e o moderno* (Lisboa: CEPUL, 2017), p.42.

<sup>9</sup> Ana de Castro Osório, 'Leonor da Fonseca Pimentel', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Maio 1902, p.2.

reasons why Castro Osório took an interest in her activities and in her role as a leading figure of the revolution that succeeded in installing a new Republic in January 1799, also known with the name Parthenopean Republic. In that year, Pimentel became the editor and the main contributor to the biweekly newspaper *Monitore Napoletano* (Naples, 1799), a possible reference to the French *Le Moniteur Universel* (Paris, 1789-1868). When the Republic was overthrown and the Bourbon monarchy was restored in June 1799, Pimentel was one of the first revolutionaries to be executed by the royal tribunals. Castro Osório laments her tragic death and praises her obstinate demand for social progress as well as her criticism of religious and political intolerance. This attitude reinforces the subversive tone of the article and places a particular emphasis on the need for a progressive and secular society. In the fight for greater tolerance and freedom of speech, the role of the periodical editor acquires special importance. Castro Osório argues that despite the short duration of the Parthenopean Republic, Pimentel's voice was able to reach a wider public due to the popularity of the press. This raises the question of the low literacy rates, particularly in relation to women, which saw a gradual increase due to the growing influence of the press. It also triggers a reflection on the impact of the Parthenopean Republic on eighteenth-century Naples. Although the outcomes of the revolution were only temporary, Pimentel's influence on public discourse was long-lasting:

A formosa mulher que foi a alma d'essa ephemera republica, que teve o fugaz destino de tudo quanto é nobre e generoso; a mulher de energias varonis que redigia o *Monitor napolitano*, o jornal official da republica.

[The beautiful woman who was the soul of this short-lived Republic. She had the fleeting fate of all that is noble and generous. She was a woman with masculine energy who directed the official newspaper of the Republic *Monitore Napoletano*.]<sup>10</sup>

In describing her admiration for Pimentel, Castro Osório highlights her belief in the growing power of the press. More than a century after the circulation of the Neapolitan newspaper *Monitore Napoletano*, she challenges the values of modern society by pointing to the subversive character of Pimentel's publication and rendering it exemplary for contemporary and future generations of readers. Castro Osório's interest in Pimentel's newspaper demonstrates the editor's ability to draw from past sources in order to trigger a reflection on the usefulness of cross-cultural encounters. As Matthew Philpotts has argued, the charismatic mode of periodical editorship depends largely on the editor's understanding of historical events and his/her ability to draw from them in order to address contemporary questions.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, by bringing Pimentel to the attention of her public, Castro Osório presents the editor as a visionary figure and an advocate of a fairer society; *uma sociedade futura*. This position suggests that editors can bring real change not only because of their reputation and influence on public discourse but also because of an innate predisposition to do good. This romanticised view of editorship is central in the case of Pimentel, who is represented in the article as the first female editor to have intervened effectively against the monarchy and in favour of the Republic. From this

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<sup>10</sup> Ana de Castro Osório, 'Leonor da Fonseca Pimentel', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Maio 1902, p.2.

<sup>11</sup> Matthew Philpotts. "The Role of the Periodical Editor: Literary Journals and Editorial Habitus". *The Modern Language Review*, No.107.1, 2012, p.48.

perspective, Castro Osório's homage to Pimentel serves to highlight the objective of her own periodical which was to engage in cultural transfer and shape the future society; as implied by the title *Sociedade Futura*.

Another question that invites particular consideration has to do with the way in which Castro Osório uses the image of Pimentel to create a link between Portugal and Italy. By mentioning that the two countries are claiming the honour of her origin, she describes a moment of tension but she also creates an open dialogue between cultures and suggests a fruitful crossover between them. In an attempt to bring Pimentel's image closer to her Portuguese readers, she argues that it is their duty to explore 'das relações da heroic musa da republica napolitana, com Portugal, o seu paiz d'origem' [the relations of the heroic muse of the Neapolitan Republic, with Portugal, her country of origin].<sup>12</sup> Through the use of emotional language, Castro Osório stresses the importance of exploring Pimentel's personal trajectory in relation to her cultural background. This exploration leads to the conclusion that despite its seemingly peripheral position, Portugal entered in dialogue with Italy and enriched its intellectual capital. Castro Osório's intention to remedy Portugal's position is also obvious from the fact that she considers Pimentel's intellectual heritage to be inherently Portuguese, thus creating a tension between the motherland and the society in which she developed her ideas and organised her actions.<sup>13</sup> By creating this tension, Castro Osório raises awareness on Portugal's cultural significance. This does not mean that she dismisses Pimentel's bond with her second country (Italy), it does, however, suggest that the country of origin (Portugal) maintains a position of power and influence on processes of cultural production.

Castro Osório's aim to offer a comparative view of the Italo-Portuguese relations becomes more concrete in another article on Pimentel published in the second issue of *Sociedade Futura* by the Portuguese poet and journalist Joaquim de Araújo (1858-1917). In this article, Araújo advises his audience to read António Cândido de Faria's book *Portugal e Italia*, which described the trajectory of Portuguese scholars who lived in Italy during the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> It is noteworthy, as Araújo emphasises, that Pimentel's parents had been part of the Portuguese intelligentsia that migrated to Italy in the 1750's. This offers a useful insight into the relations that were forged between the two countries due to the social, cultural and economic impact of immigration in a variety of contexts: interconnection of people and trade flows, cultural representation in literature and in the press, causes and consequences of capital transfer and, changes in the labour market due to people's transnational mobility. Apart from these insights found in Faria's analysis of the relations that developed between Portugal and Italy, Araújo also introduces to his audience Pimentel's play *Il Trionfo della virtù* (1777) aiming to provide a deeper understanding of her stance towards Portugal: 'Leonor Pimentel, o seu vivo e curioso drama lirico – *Il Trionfo della virtù*, tive ocasião de concorrer no capitulo attinente ás relações que ella criou e manteve com o seu paiz de origem' [In her lively lyrical drama, *Il Trionfo della virtù*, Pimentel devoted a chapter to the relations that she created and maintained

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<sup>12</sup> Ana de Casto Osório, 'Leonor da Fonseca Pimentel', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Maio 1902, p.1.

<sup>13</sup> Ana de Casto Osório, 'Leonor da Fonseca Pimentel', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Maio 1902, p.1: "[...] Imaginar que os grandes espiritos surgem por milagre, sem raizes na terra, sem filiação na sociedade; isso seria a negação de toda a sciencia e o mais ignaro desprezo por todas as regras fataes da hereditariedade e do meio".

<sup>14</sup> Joaquim de Araújo, 'Acerca de Leonor Pimentel', *Sociedade Futura*, 15 de Maio 1902, p.5: "Vem no livro do Antonio de Faria – *Portugal e Italia*, na transcrição do jornal *La Sera*".

with her country of origin].<sup>15</sup> In this play, which she dedicated to the Portuguese Prime Minister Marquis of Pombal (1699-1782), Pimentel celebrated the abolition of slavery in Portugal and praised the egalitarian policies that limited the prerogatives of the nobility and the clergy. By drawing attention to these historical facts, she constructed a positive image of Portugal and envisioned similar socio-political changes in Italy:

Ora il Portogallo presta un luminoso esempio di questa verità nel glorioso governo del fedelissimo Giuseppe primo, e nel diligente ministero di V.E.

[Portugal is a brilliant example. Its glorious government is led by the most faithful Joseph the First, and his hard-working minister the First Marquis of Pombal.]<sup>16</sup>

Il nome Portoghese passerà alle generazioni future vestito della doppia gloria di avere il primo tratto fra i dubbiosi varchi dell'oceano verso nuove nazioni a nuove scoperte, e di aver dato loro l'esempio di regger colla virtù i regni conquistati col valore.

[The Portuguese name will pass on to the future generations dressed in double glory. Portugal will be remembered for having been the first country to cross the ocean in pursuit of new nations and discoveries. It will also be remembered as an example for having reigned over the conquered kingdoms with virtue.]<sup>17</sup>

These excerpts offer useful insights into Pimentel's views on the Portuguese government of the late eighteenth century and its foreign policies. By presenting Portugal as an example to be followed by her Neapolitan compatriots, who sought to overthrow the Bourbon dynasty and declare their own Republic, Pimentel just like Castro Osório and Araújo attempted to create a channel of communication between Italy and Portugal. This cross-cultural dialogue transcended national and historical boundaries and was presented as an essential intellectual need. The editor's perception of other countries is, of course, a key element in understanding the importance of this cross-cultural exchange. In the case of Pimentel, for instance, Castro Osório chooses to demonstrate the entanglement of different cultures by creating tension between the motherland (Portugal) and the country of residence (Italy). This tension does not, however, result in an ideological conflict between the two. On the contrary, it leads to the realisation that despite the socio-political differences and the geographical distance between Portugal and Italy, the periodical served as a platform for cultural encounter and exchange. The creation of this platform was Castro Osório's central objective, which she described at the end of her article on Pimentel as a noble endeavour: 'Cumprimos uma parte do nosso programma, cumprindo ao mesmo tempo um gratissimo dever espirital' [A part of our program is completed. This helps us to fulfill a significant spiritual duty].<sup>18</sup> This observation serves as a basis for our analysis of

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<sup>15</sup> Joaquim de Araújo, 'Acerca de Leonor Pimentel', *Sociedade Futura*, 15 de Maio 1902, p.4.

<sup>16</sup> Eleonora di Fonseca Pimentel, *Il Trionfo della Virtù. Componimento Drammatico* (Naples: Senza nome di Stampatore, 1777), p.32.

<sup>17</sup> Eleonora di Fonseca Pimentel, *Il Trionfo della Virtù. Componimento Drammatico* (Naples: Senza nome di Stampatore, 1777), p.33.

<sup>18</sup> Ana de Casto Osório, 'Leonor da Fonseca Pimentel', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Maio 1902, p.2.

the editorial objectives, the ideas, and the strategies that helped shape the identity of Castro Osório's periodical. As seen thus far, *Sociedade Futura* functioned as an innovative platform advocating for a mutual cultural enrichment between Italy and Portugal and providing a transnational lens through which to consider Portuguese history and culture.

### **Transnational Perspectives Under the Tenure of Maria Olga Sarmiento da Silveira**

Silveira replaced Castro Osório in September 1902 when she became the editor-in-chief of *Sociedade Futura*. At that time, she was not yet engaged in feminist activism and was known to frequent the artistic salons and bohemian circles of Lisbon. Later on, she became a member of the *French Astronomical Society* during the years that she spent in self-exile in Paris (1914-1939).<sup>19</sup> In her *Memoires*, Silveira described her life-long relationship with the French Baroness Hélène van Zuylen (1863-1947) and mentioned her 'eterno conflito com as convenções, com os preconceitos portugueses' [never-ending conflict with Portuguese conventions and prejudices] as the main reason why she left from Portugal at the outset of the First World War.<sup>20</sup> As a female editor in her early twenties, Silveira attempted to overcome these prejudices by building bridges with other cultures and familiarising the Portuguese audience with foreign periodicals and literary works. In this way, she not only continued Castro Osório's cultural mission but she also left her mark in the editorial field of early twentieth-century Lisbon.

Throughout her years as an editor, Silveira addressed a wide range of literary and cultural topics from the emergence of new writers and poets to upcoming events such as music and dance performances, theatres and salons. A significant part of her contribution to *Sociedade Futura* was to inform the public of the latest literary and journalistic advances outside Portugal, although she dedicated some of her articles to prominent Portuguese authors and feminists such as Cláudia de Campos (1859-1916) and Alice Moderno (1867-1946).<sup>21</sup> Under her tenure, the editorial objectives of *Sociedade Futura* did not diverge significantly from the ones that Castro Osório had set, the tone of the articles did, however, become less polemical and the use of illustrations increased. In many respects, Silveira's perception of foreign cultures influenced her journalistic writings and allowed her to offer a comparative insight into Portugal and Spain. To enrich the literary panorama of her home country, she introduced her audience to Spanish authors such as Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer (1850-1919), Joaquina García Balmaseda (1837-1911), Carmen de Burgos (1867-1932) and she also shed light on non-canonical literary figures from France such as Maurice Rollinat (1846-1903), Catulle Mendès (1841-1909) and Clémence-Auguste Royer (1830-1902). These are only but a few names demonstrating the diversity of foreign literary references that Silveira incorporated into her articles.

Taking into account the possibility of future collaborations with neighbouring Spain, Silveira placed a particular emphasis on women who built a reputation, not only as writers, but also as journalists and editors of periodicals. In an issue of *Sociedade Futura* that appeared in September 1902, she introduced the Spanish author, editor and salon hostess Gimeno de Flaquer

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<sup>19</sup> Concepción Núñez Rey, 'Un puente entre España y Portugal: Carmen de Burgos y su amistad con Ana de Castro Osório', *Arbor*, 190 766: a115, (2014), p.4.

<sup>20</sup> Sarmiento da Silveira, *As Minhas Memórias* (Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1948), p.235.

<sup>21</sup> Sarmiento da Silveira, 'D. Cláudia de Campos', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Novembro 1902, pp.1-2 & Maria Olga da Silveira, 'D. Alice Moderno', *Sociedade Futura*, 15 de Agosto 1902, pp.1-2.

as a transnational influence of particular importance. Although there is no hint to suggest that the two women met in person, Silveira argued in her article that Gimeno de Flaquer's journals *La Ilustración de la Mujer*, *La Cultura Feminina* as well as her renowned periodical *El Álbum Ibero Americano* had been sources of inspiration for her own journalistic and editorial work.<sup>22</sup> This was an indication that the periodical was not merely a means of mass production and distribution of news but rather a living object of aesthetic and intellectual value that could inspire both readers and periodical editors across borders. In her description of Gimeno de Flaquer's career as a periodical editor, Silveira praised her writing style as well as the precision with which she addressed contemporary issues such as the right to education and the intellectual emancipation of women. Although these issues are not treated in detail in Silveira's article, they are represented as ways to increase women's visibility in the literary field. A brief reference to the illustrious figures who attended Gimeno de Flaquer's salon in Madrid is another way of promoting women's literary and journalistic work. According to a study by Margarita Naharro, Gimeno de Flaquer's salon was already becoming popular among Portuguese women who sought to disseminate their work abroad. Some examples are the famous poet and journalist Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho (1847-1921), the editor Guiomar Torrezão (1844-1898), and the novelist Ana Plácido (1831-1895). Naharro argues that these women travelled from Portugal to neighbouring Spain in order to join the salon circles gathered around the famous *salonnière* and benefit from the prestige of potential collaborations with experienced editors.<sup>23</sup> Gimeno de Flaquer's collaboration in Torrezão's periodical *Almanaque das Senhoras* (Lisbon, 1871-1898) is an example that illustrates the benefits of salon participation and their echo in the pages of the press.<sup>24</sup> Other examples of transnational co-operations that started from salons can be found in Gimeno de Flaquer's book entitled *En el salón y en el tocador* [At the Salon and at the Dressing Table] published in 1899. In her article, Silveira makes reference to this book, in which female readers could find useful information on the social functions of the Spanish salons, the norms of elite sociability, the art of being elegant, and the importance of eloquence in literary gatherings:

As obras que escreveu intituladas *La mujer intelectual*, *En el salón y en el tocador* e muitas producidas por uma infatigável e assombrosa perseverancia [...] A alta sociedade madrilena tem por ella grande sympathia e professa-lhe uma devotada admiração, franqueando-lhe respeitosa-mente os seus salões.

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<sup>22</sup> Sarmiento da Silveira, 'Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Setembro 1902, p.1: "Como jornalista o seu valor è incontestavel. *La Ilustración de la Mujer*, *La Cultura Feminina*, revistas que ella superiormente dirigia, mereceram os mais calorosos applausos do mais selecto meio litterario e scientifico. Actualmente é directora da magnifica revista *El Álbum Ibero Americano* que, com toda a justiça, se pode considerar a par das melhores que se publicam no mundo jornalístico". [Her value as a journalist is incontestable. She has edited the literary journals *La Ilustración de la Mujer* and *La Cultura Feminina*, which deserve the applause of the most prominent literary and scientific circles. She is currently the editor of the magnificent *El Álbum Ibero Americano*, which can rightfully be considered as one of the best periodicals in the journalistic world].

<sup>23</sup> Margarita Pintos de Cea-Naharro, *Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer: Del sí de las niñas al yo de las mujeres* (Madrid: Plaza y Valdés, 2016), p.56.

<sup>24</sup> Ana Maria Costa Lopes, *Imagens da Mulher na Imprensa Feminina de Oitocentos. Percursos de modernidade* (Lisbon: Quimera, 2005), p.519: "Em Portugal, a partir dos meados do século XIX observa-se uma acentuada emergência das mulheres na sociedade, sobretudo pelo papel que desempenharam na criação e divulgação de uma imprensa feminina com que intervieram social e culturalmente".

[Her books, *La mujer intelectual* [The Intellectual Woman] and *En el salón y en el tocador* [In the Salon and at the Dressing Table], have been written with remarkable perseverance and tireless spirit [...] The high society of Madrid shows great appreciation for her work and attends her salon with devotion.]<sup>25</sup>

Silveira's allusion to Gimeno de Flaquer's salon in Madrid is noteworthy for two main reasons. Firstly, it brings Portuguese readers closer to a circle of learned women, who aimed to enhance the circulation of magazines and texts. As Shirley Mangini has observed, salons in Madrid facilitated the dissemination of literary works and allowed erudite women to become the "authentic chroniclers" of their time.<sup>26</sup> Secondly, Silveira's article illustrates the strong connections that were developed between the culture produced by salon life and the one promoted on a larger scale by the printed industry. In order to examine the complementary roles of female editors and *salonnières*, it is necessary to look into the ways in which Gimeno de Flaquer's salon is represented in Silveira's article. The admiration of the attendees for the hostess is a central element. Silveira deliberately establishes a hierarchical relation between them in order to highlight the hostess' privileged position as an arbiter of intellectual debate. This helps the reader perceive the salon not merely as a space for exchange and dialogue but also as a prestigious forum offering the opportunity to become part of a transnational cultural network of writers, journalists and editors who gathered around the charismatic figure of the *salonnière*. Whether motivated by the idea of meeting Gimeno de Flaquer in her salon, or by the possibility of making new contacts within the literary circles of Madrid, Silveira draws a parallel between salon activities and periodical editorship. The dynamic combination of these fields is crucial because it advances our understanding of women's editorial practices and paves the way for a more comprehensive study of their private and public initiatives.

Whether under the editorship of Castro Osório or under Silveira, *Sociedade Futura* promoted the example of foreign women such as Pimentel and Gimeno de Flaquer, both of whom were leading figures in the editorial field and in the salon circles of their time. By bringing these examples to the attention of their public, the two editors of *Sociedade Futura* engaged in the task of deciphering other cultures, hence situating themselves on cultural, political and linguistic boundaries. Their articles bear witness to the connections that existed between Portugal, Spain and Italy and reflect the growing complexity of these relations at a time in which the wider public viewed women's influence as limited in scope or restricted to the domestic sphere. This conservative view of women's role in society was also enhanced by the Catholic Church, which as Deborah Madden has showed, opposed to women's right to vote during the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>27</sup> To counterbalance the power of the Church, female editors saw literary translation as a way to ease the circulation of women's works across national boundaries and to strengthen the periodical's position between cultural and linguistic traditions. To facilitate the reception of foreign female writers in Portugal, Silveira included in the pages of *Sociedade Futura* a permanent column dedicated to translations of literary texts.

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<sup>25</sup> Sarmiento da Silveira, 'Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Setembro 1902, p.1.

<sup>26</sup> Shirley Mangini, *Las modernas de Madrid: las grandes intelectuales españolas de la vanguardia* (Madrid: Península, 2001), p.151: "[...] mujeres como auténticas cronistas de la situación de la intelectual moderna".

<sup>27</sup> Deborah Madden. 'Historical Context in Portugal', in *A New History of Iberian Feminisms*, ed. by Silvia Bermúdez and Roberta Johnson (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2018), p.201.

Two remarkable examples are the translation of Vittoria Colonna's poem *Canzoniere* translated from Italian into French by the Baroness de Tallenay. This choice suggests that most Lusophone readers would presumably be conversant with French. Another translation that appeared in this periodical issue was Carmen de Burgos' poem *Cantares*, which was translated from Spanish into Portuguese by Silveira herself.<sup>28</sup> These examples point to the plurality of cultural references that Silveira promoted through the pages of her periodical. They also attest to the transnational character of *Sociedade Futura* and to Silveira's role as a mediator between cultures.

Along with their position as periodical editors, both Castro Osório and Silveira welcomed foreign attendees in the literary salons that they held in Lisbon.<sup>29</sup> Their double role as editors and salon hostesses is a practice that requires closer scrutiny because it helped them to enhance the circulation of foreign literature in the Portuguese market. In fact, representational strategies that editors used to promote the work of their foreign friends to the public functioned at the basis of a social network that developed in private salons. This observation is key to understanding representation as a major editorial technique aiming to increase consumption. From this perspective, the work of foreign salon attendees such as the Spanish Carmen de Burgos, the Brazilian Lucinda Simões, and the French Marie-Louise Néron was represented in the pages of *Sociedade Futura* in order to increase their visibility in the public sphere. This editorial practice leads to the conclusion that the modern salon complemented the periodical in its effort to boost interactions between cultures. Salon participation also allowed women to meet with editors who could potentially help them to publish their work and make a name for themselves. In light of this analysis, Silveira's mediation, either through her periodical or through her salon, had a cultural purpose but also aimed to serve her social status and financial interests.

João Esteves and Zília Osório de Castro highlight the importance of salon gatherings in defining the content and the main objectives of a periodical issue.<sup>30</sup> Their study shows that prominent female journalists such as Maria Veleda (1871-1955) and the secretary of *Sociedade Futura* Virgínia Quaresma, gathered in Silveira's salon to discuss the topics that they would address in their forthcoming articles. The discussions could sometimes lead to disagreements about the ideological stance of the periodical or about the material that was to be published. It is worth noting that Veleda criticised Quaresma's contribution to *Sociedade Futura* as well as to the *Jornal da Mulher*, a women's supplement to the newspaper *O Mundo*, which she viewed as conservative. In her opinion, editors who addressed a predominantly female audience needed to advocate for women's rights instead of merely advertising cooking recipes, fashion, embroidery, poetry, and short stories. Veleda's critical view of the material that appeared in *Sociedade Futura* brought her into conflict with Silveira and Quaresma who adopted a less militant approach. The setting of this conflict was the literary salon, which served as a forum for discussion and decision-making. Despite Veleda's objections, Silveira's and Quaresma's articles focused on literature and culture rather than political and feminist movements. The

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<sup>28</sup> Vittoria Colonna, 'Cancioneiro Estrangeiro', Translated by the Baroness de Tallenay, *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Novembro 1902, p.2 & Carmen de Burgos, 'Cantares', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Maio 1903, p.2.

<sup>29</sup> João Esteves, 'Dos salões literários ao associativismo pacifista, feminista, maçónico, republicano e socialista'. Online source: <http://lagosdarepublica.wikidot.com/associativismopacifista> Last access: 6/7/2018.

<sup>30</sup> Zília Osório de Castro and João Esteves, *Feminae. Dicionário Contemporâneo* (Lisbon: Comissão para a Cidadania e a Igualdade de Género, 2013), pp.522-523.

transnational approach that they adopted in the study of literature helped them to define the content of *Sociedade Futura* and to offer new material and reading experiences to their audience.

As the discussion thus far has demonstrated, many examples of the articles that appeared in *Sociedade Futura* attempted to import foreign literature in Portugal. This was a way to facilitate dialogue across borders and to attract the reader's attention to the journalistic and literary production of that period. Nevertheless, a number of the articles that Silveira edited also functioned as departure points for self-reflection and social critique. To accomplish this goal, Silveira gave voice to foreign visitors and scholars who drew attention to processes of social progress in Portugal. One remarkable example is the renowned British historian Edgar Prestage (1869-1951) who published an article entitled *Portugal visto por um estrangeiro* [*Portugal as Viewed by a Foreigner*], in which he emphasised the natural beauty of the country but pointed to an urgent need for social innovation. This critical approach to the socio-political landscape of Portugal highlighted the inefficiency of austerity measures, the royal family's expenses, and the importance of transparency in public affairs: 'Falta-lhe sómente uma boa administração, a qual conseguiria mais do que todas as medidas repressivas' [Portugal lacks a good administration, which could achieve more than all the repressive measures that have been imposed so far].<sup>31</sup> This passage alludes to the instability of the two political parties (*Progressivo* and *Regenerador*) as well as to a number of socio-political events that destabilised Portugal and created a sense of pessimism during the last decade of the nineteenth century. In particular, the British pressure on the Portuguese government, also known as the 1890 British Ultimatum, which forced the retreat of Portuguese military forces from its African colonies.

On a more positive note, Prestage stressed the role of literature in overcoming tensions and bringing change to society: 'para fazer recuar a onda de pessimismo que se tem alastrado pelo paiz, e que tem sido a nota predominante da litteratura, nos ultimos quarenta annos' [In the past forty years, literature has been trying to counter the pessimism that has spread throughout the country].<sup>32</sup> Although, there are no specific examples of authors mentioned in this article, Prestage underscored the value of literature as a means to confront the moral crisis and to provoke a shift in the socio-cultural panorama of early twentieth-century Portugal. This stance reveals some of the goals that Silveira set for her periodical. Her publications aimed to induce social change by nuancing Portugal's need for political stability and by juxtaposing literature and art as means to overcome national pessimism. They also aimed to intervene at the cultural level by encouraging Portuguese writers and readers to accept and incorporate foreign influences. Finally, Silveira's publications adopted a transnational perspective by introducing Portugal as a legitimate cultural centre capable of participating in the ongoing exchanges between European nations.

Following Prestage's example, Silveira published an article in May 1903, in which she discussed an alarming feeling of pessimism felt among the educated elite concerning Portugal's future: 'Como a Allemanha no tempo de Schubert, tambem Portugal atravessa agora uma crise depressiva, e para levantar o genio nacional é preciso communicar-lhe a consciencia da sua individualidade ethnica e historica' [Like Germany in the time of Schubert, Portugal is now

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<sup>31</sup> Edgar Prestage, 'Portugal visto por um estrangeiro', *Sociedade Futura*, 15 de Dezembro 1902, p.1.

<sup>32</sup> Edgar Prestage, 'Portugal visto por um estrangeiro', *Sociedade Futura*, 15 de Dezembro 1902, p.1.

undergoing a crisis of depression. In order to build a national consciousness it is necessary to raise people's awareness on Portugal's ethnical and historical individuality].<sup>33</sup> By way of comparison, Silveira addressed the moral crisis that disillusioned the most prominent literary figures of the *Geração* 1870, namely Eça de Queiroz and Oliveira Martins. According to her analysis, this moment of crisis was manifested due to a growing desire among the Europeanised elite to restore the power and glory that Portugal enjoyed during the Era of the Discoveries (1415-1550). As Douglas Wheeler and Walter Opello have argued, the *Geração* 1870 sought to criticise the pervasive feeling of decadence and called for reform and renewal.<sup>34</sup> Drawing from these ideas, Silveira just like Castro Osório aspired to play a role in raising the public's awareness of Portugal's historical position and identity. To achieve this objective, they both felt the need to bring Portugal into dialogue with other cultures instead of choosing isolation or a vain glorification of the past. This is the key to understanding some of their editorial choices as well as the position of *Sociedade Futura* in the socio-cultural landscape of early twentieth-century Portugal.

### **Conclusion**

In retrospect, Silveira's and Castro Osório's editorial venture was part of a broader strategy to encourage the consolidation of a national identity through a solid knowledge of other cultural realities and worldviews. The parallels that they established between Portuguese and foreign women poets, writers, and salon attendees are an essential part of their contribution to *Sociedade Futura*. The reason for this is that such parallels enhanced the readers' knowledge of other European realities and reinforced Portugal's position in the intellectual debate of the time. Nevertheless, as Kyra Giorgi observed, a concern that arose at the end of the nineteenth century had to do with Portugal's seemingly peripheral position within the broader cultural landscape.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, the anxiety of being on the fringes caused a deep-rooted pessimism, which was highlighted in our analysis of Prestage's article. Silveira's response to this feeling of pessimism was to reconstruct a national identity on the basis of transnational dialogue and exchange. For this reason, both her publications and her salon in Lisbon functioned as cultural forums favouring transnational communication and creating collaborative opportunities. In the same way as the parallel feminist movements of the time, the numerous collaborations in magazines and periodicals brought together female intellectuals from different parts of Europe. Nonetheless, in an article that appeared in March 1904, Silveira expressed a particular preference for the so-called *mulheres de raza latina* [women of Latin origins] such as Gimeno de Flaquer: 'Comquanto nao seja uma obra portugueza, nao deixa por isso de grangear a nossa sympathia e de motivar, para nos, sincero prazer intellectual mais esta manifestação do fecundo talento de Gimeno de Flaquer' [Although it is not a Portuguese work, Gimeno de Flaquer's

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<sup>33</sup> Sarmiento da Silveira, 'Fragmento d'um Programma Musical', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Maio 1903, p.1.

<sup>34</sup> Douglas Wheeler and Walter Opello, *Historical Dictionary of Portugal* (Lanham; Toronto; Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2010), p.144: "Like so many other movements in modern Portugal, the Generation of 1870's initiatives began essentially as a protest by university students of Coimbra, who confronted the status quo and sought to change their world by means of innovation in action and ideas".

<sup>35</sup> See Kyra Giorgi, *Emotions, Language and Identity on the Margins of Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.48: "Although peripherality is sometimes subjective, it rarely arises solely from the imagination; a sense of outsidership is usually grounded in very real experiences of loss, exclusion and deprivation".

book *Historia do Feminismo* gains our sympathy and triggers a sincere intellectual pleasure. This is the result of her fertile talent].<sup>36</sup> Either as a strategic move aiming to unify women from Southern Europe or merely as a way to highlight their importance, this article shows Silveira's attempt to create a sense of belonging by including Portugal in the broader context of the Latin-rooted countries of Europe.<sup>37</sup> This move sheds light on a significant aspect of her editorial policy, which ultimately aimed to bring Portugal closer to its Latin heritage.

Despite its transnational scope and rich content, *Sociedade Futura* was not able to obtain a strong market position and ceased to exist in March 1904. In the final issue, Silveira published an article on the Romanian poet Lucile Kitzô.<sup>38</sup> The article was followed by two sonnets that Kitzô dedicated to the second elected President of Portugal, Teófilo Braga (1843-1924), and his spouse. In her article, Silveira viewed the Romanian tradition and culture as essentially Latin and created a parallel between Romania and Portugal.<sup>39</sup> According to her analysis, both countries had been inclined to incorporate Western influences in order to escape their peripheral position, they did, however, maintain their Latin roots, which were above all obvious in their languages.<sup>40</sup> From this perspective, Silveira placed Portugal alongside Romania and highlighted that their geographical position, either in the outskirts of Europe or among Slavic nations, did not obscure their Latin identity. This argument reflects an acute perception of Portugal's cultural heritage and explains the editor's ambition to act as a mediator between countries and an arbiter of social values. In light of this analysis, Castro Osório's and Silveira's periodical *Sociedade Futura* can be seen as a vital first step towards defining Portugal's cultural position within the broader European landscape. Their numerous collaborations with foreign journals such as the Spanish *Revista Crítica* and the French *Mercure de France*, as well as their assiduous participation in the salons of influential women journalists in Lisbon, Paris, and Madrid, including Alice Moderno, Lucie Delarue-Mardrus, and Carmen de Burgos, are factors that increased their impact in Portugal and beyond.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Sarmiento da Silveira, 'Mulheres de raza latina', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Marzo 1904, p.64.

<sup>37</sup> Her sense of belonging seems to be more oriented towards Spain, Italy, and France.

<sup>38</sup> Kitzô's birth and death dates are unknown.

<sup>39</sup> Sarmiento da Silveira, 'Lucile Kitzô', *Sociedade Futura*, 1 de Marzo 1904, p.54.

<sup>40</sup> Both Portuguese and Romanian are Romance languages. They are also known as Latin or Neo-Latin languages.

<sup>41</sup> For more information on Silveira's activities in Paris see Fernando Curopos, 'Les Mémoires de Maria Olga Morais de Sarmiento: discours public, amours secrètes', *Inverses*, 11 (2011), pp.23-32.