

The tensions and paradoxes of tourism in the Portuguese Estado Novo, through some of the publications of the SPN/SNI

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Abstract

Tourism played a crucial role in the Portuguese fascist regime, when Antonio Ferro (1895-1956), the head of National Propaganda Secretariat (SPN) had started to intervene, since 1933, in all aspects of the country's cultural life through the 'Politics of the Spirit'. Depending directly on Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970), he coordinated the arts and the media through a complex administrative structure. The aim the 'Politics of the Spirit' was a moral and spiritual 'resurgence' that should integrate the Portuguese into the nation, within its Mult secular traditions. As part of its political propaganda and a cultural program, Antonio Ferro invested in a dynamic publishing system by creating SPN Editions. When the SPN was converted and renamed, in 1944, as the National Secretariat for Propaganda, Information, Popular Culture and Tourism (SNI), this political body became responsible also for tourism policy, hotels and inns, public works and improvements, as well as the approval of plans for tourist activity.

This article analyzes the problems posed by the SPN/SNI's tourism policy through three of its propaganda publications, a print media that has largely been dismissed: The Official book of the Portuguese representation at the International Exhibition of New York (1939), published during The International Exhibition of New York, in 1939; and Life and art of the Portuguese people (Life and Art of the Portuguese People) (1940), and Panorama: Portuguese Journal of Art and Tourism (Panorama: Portuguese Art and Tourism magazine) (1941-1973), published on the occasion and after the Portuguese World Exhibition (1940).

Keywords: Tourism; SPN/SNI; Portuguese New State/Estado Novo Portugues; SPN/SNI Editions; Publications

Abbreviations: SPN: Secretariado Da Propaganda Nacional; SNI: Secretariado Nacional Da Information; CT: Cultura Turismo

Introduction and Literature Background

Many studies have focused on the tourism activity of the Portuguese Estado Novo and how it played an important role in the ideological inculcation. Nevertheless, the role of tourist publications edited by the cultural propaganda body in the dissemination of ideology, including illustrated books, catalogues, magazines, posters and leaflets, is frequently disregarded. Most studies essentially focus on political propaganda through contests and prizes, exhibitions, theater, cinema, and ballet, or tourism industry and often forgetting that SPN/SNI publications, with their texts and images, were intended to publicize these activities and encourage particular ways of seeing and interpretation. Some of them, however provided theoretical support for this article. For example, the reflections by Candida Cadavez on the tourism practiced in Portugal in the early years of the Estado Novo regime, arguing that tourism was seen as another vehicle for promoting

an image of traditional, rural and 'authentic' Portugal [1] For her part, Carla Ribeiro focuses on the role of contests in tourism, initiatives that sought to recover and keep alive the 'true' national traditions [2] on the other hand, Vera Marques Alves' book, which is focused on the initiatives in ethnography and folklore, as well as on the Regional Center of the 1940 Portuguese World Exhibition [3] on the other Catia Venda address in her study the historical processes of the creation of pousadas in Portugal by SPN/SNI, since 1941, and their evolution, as well as interventions in this heritage, through case studies and historical analysis of the buildings and new functions, are [4] also Heloísa Paulo reflects the standard image of 'being Portuguese', showing how the folklorist policy was subordinated to the Salazar ideology [5].

However, other contributions have already analyzed some aspects of print media, such as José Guilherme Victorino that

traces the history of the first issue of *Revisit Panorama* between 1941 and 1949 [6] on the other hand, Israel Guarda and José Oliveira, reflected on the importance of the photographers and printed photography as a propaganda's instrument in *Panorama* an also as a long-term editorial project through its four series until 1973 [7] Ana Quintas, for her part, analyses the relationship between text, drawing and photographic image in the service of the ideological discourse [8] finally, we consider the studies carried out by Nuno Medeiros on the book's history during the SPN/SNI period, and the role of the Portuguese publishers and booksellers [8].

From a cultural and historical perspective, this study will focus on the relationship between the materiality of publications and their textual and pictorial content. I will explore how these elements function as instruments of tourist propaganda, whose texts and images trigger the reader's imagination.

Between 1934 and 1947, the *Catálogo Geral das Edições SNI*, 1933-1948 (General Catalog of SNI Editions, 1933-1948) (Lisbon, Edições SNI, 1948) shows the extraordinary number of 1,355 titles published. Ferro established an editorial line, covering an immense variety of subjects, which published large numbers of publications in Portuguese on Salazar's thought, speeches, political documents, or collections from politics to history, monuments, public works, art, ethnography and popular culture. The translations in other languages were intended to reach countries such as Spain, England, France, Italy and Germany, among others. In this case, it was tourism, a sector considered crucial for publishing. These publications were joined by pamphlets, posters, programs, itineraries and exhibition catalogs, film documentaries, which ended up being records of the activities and its projection into the future.

Antonio Ferro, a former futurist, editor of the magazine *Orpheu* (1915), an active promoter of the modernist movement, would become a cosmopolitan reporter and an intellectual with ambitions strong enough to attract with his articles in the daily press the attention of Salazar, who invited him to be the head of the SPN, and the propagandist of his internal and external image [9]. From 1933 onwards, he began to intervene in all aspects of the country's cultural life through the 'Politics of the Spirit', a policy which involved the co-option of modern artists, architects, filmmakers and other artists, as well as a group of ethnographers and folklorists. With similarities and inspiration in other authoritarian states of the same period, namely Italian fascism, this cultural political body, was undoubtedly the organization that gave the most propaganda support to Salazar and his regime and to the 'widespread perception of a national revival [10] consolidating an official aesthetic, reaffirming traditional values and managing social contradictions.

Salazar advocated a moral and spiritual 'resurgence' that would integrate the Portuguese into the nation, into its centuries-old traditions and, at the same time, into the idea of a historical vocation of imperial greatness. It was an ultra-conservative

ruralist ideology as a fundamental element of Portuguese identity. Ferro, for his part, believed that tourism could be an instrument for promoting Portugal's image as a traditional, authentic country with strong popular roots, and that these values could be combined with modernist values in the arts. For this reason, he promoted Portugal's popular culture, art and history, as well as their promotion and preservation, through various initiatives aimed at attracting domestic and foreign tourists [11].

The contest for *A aldeia More Portuguesa de Portugal* (The most Portuguese village in Portugal) launched in 1938 is the best example of the folklorization entailed in the contradiction between the real poverty of the people and the manipulation of peasant images, transforming them in mythical beings. The aim was to celebrate a village on the Portuguese mainland, characterized by certain pre-defined attributes, with the aim of recovering the image of a particular ethnic type in its "purity and grace". A documentary film, an exhibition and a photographic album would be published for the promotion of tourism [12]. The focus was always on those aspects of national life that could serve the regime's propaganda, thought, and action [13]. Using the past as a lesson for the future was part of the 'Portugalidade' rhetoric (Portuguese Ness).

One of the conclusions of the First National Congress of Tourism, held in 1936, was that it was essential to create a single administrative and technical body with power, autonomy and a budget that would depend on the Presidency of the Council, i. e. Salazar [14]. This was the way for Portugal to become a tourist country. In 1939, the Decree- law no. 30 251, of 30 December, provided for the transfer of the Ministry of the Interior's powers in the field of tourism to the National Propaganda Secretariat.

The following year, in 1940, the second moment of his 'Politics of the Spirit' began, now called the 'Good Taste Campaign'. Taking advantage of the centenary celebrations' program with the 1940 Portuguese World Exhibition, Ferro set up a series of events in public spaces and solutions, good taste in technique, discreet luxury, which did not mean more expensive, but was an attribute of sensitivity. When the SPN was converted and renamed, in 1944, as the National Secretariat for Propaganda, Information, Popular Culture and Tourism (SNI), this political body became responsible also for tourism policy, hotels and inns, public works and improvements, as well as the approval of plans for tourist activity. The collaboration of artists was therefore crucial. They were the ones who studied and imposed the models that had to be respected in hotels and guest houses. A kind of 'rustic style' [15] aimed to offer guests 'rustic comfort.' A style that extended beyond official buildings to private homes.

It was an appropriation of transformed or even invented popular art models where the simplicity of the plastic and visual elements had to prevail. The 'good taste' was also rules of harmony and conformity with good manners, good presentation, dignity and honesty [16]. The SPN/SNI would promote a set of ethnographic initiatives and folkloristic practices along with

contests, commemorations and celebrations; festivals, exhibitions, tourist propaganda on radio programs, supervision of hotels and guest houses; construction of inns, through an aesthetic that extended later to the decoration and embellishment of these tourist public spaces.

The initiatives encompassed both national and international events, with the primary aim of enhancing and projecting the country's image. However, it is important to note that Antonio Ferro's conceptualization of this phenomenon predates the developments mentioned above, as the cult of 'good taste' had already been applied to Portugal's representations at the International Exhibitions in Paris (1937) and New York (1939) through the decorative staging of the pavilions.

Materials and Methods

International exhibitions were one of the most powerful means of communicating images to mass audiences. They staged 'spectacle, fantasy, and entertainment' and attracted the visit of depoliticized masses. They were the preferred tactic of political elites to reinforce national identities. The written press was their main means of communication. They allowed the rapid dissemination of images through illustrated catalogues and photographic books, guides, posters, leaflets, and magazines, a graphic laboratory and a job market for architects, artists, and designers. In this article we will look at some examples of publications that aimed to reach thousands of readers and spread the tourist ideology of the SPN/SNI. Sometimes they were luxurious editions, sometimes more modest publications, but with eye-catching covers.

The three cases we have chosen to refer are the catalogue published in English dealing with the *New York International Exhibition* (1939), and to which was aimed mainly at the Portuguese community in North America. The second case is an example of the SPN/SNI's efforts to promote an image of 'Portugal' during the 1940 Portuguese World Exhibition as a country that had preserved its traditions, living in a kind of rural paradise'. I will present and contextualize the publications, analyze the representations, the contradictions that the materials reveal, and the challenges that these publications continue to pose about the ideological rhetoric of 'Portugalidade'. They are: The official book of the Portuguese representation at the *International Exhibition of New York* (1939); *Vida e Arte do Povo Português* (Life and art of the Portuguese people) (1940); and *Panorama: Portuguese art and tourism magazine* (1941-1973), focusing on the magazine's role in 'pousadas' politics [17].

The 'Contradictions of the 'Portugalidade'

The official book of the Portuguese representation at the international exhibition of New York (1939)

Published in Oporto, in English, this official book, with 22x16 cm, 174 pages, 38 black/white photos on coated paper, with leaflets and maps, and a cover with the reproduction of Maria

Keil's drawing of the decoration of the monumental display case of the Portuguese pavilion, had 73 pages of advertising directed above all else to the 'Portuguese in North America'.

The book documents what Salazar's Estado Novo wanted the Portuguese representation to be at this international exhibition at this World Fair, also known as the *New York International Exhibition*. It opened on 30th April 1939, with the 'world of tomorrow' and technology on the agenda, coinciding with Hitler's troops beginning their invasion of Poland. Portugal in *New York World's Fair 1939* (cover title), puts in evidence the discourse about the alleged 'historical destiny' of Portugal. This was emphasized in the exhibition staging by the sculptural representations of Barata Feyo's (1899-1990) *Race and Canto da Maia's* (1890-1981) bas-reliefs, as well as the monumental photomontages by the photographer Ma'rio Novais (1899-1967). Mythically uniting past and present, the political propaganda addressed publicized the 'social peace' narrative about the Estado Novo and the ideal of 'God, the homeland and the family' Figure 1.

In addition to the messages from Republican President Antonio O' scar Carmona (1869-1951) and his prime-minister Salazar and their portraits, the book reproduces Antonio Ferro's inaugural speech, which emphasizes the 'values of the spirit' against the progressive and 'utilitarian' values of the United States. The book includes texts on the propaganda activities of the National Propaganda Secretariat (SPN) and on the Estado Novo; on the Portuguese 'discoveries and expansion, as well as the institutions participating in the Portuguese representation and their collaborators are mentioned, many of them for touristic purposes. However, the photographic montages and enlargements of the room dedicated to Columbus were not included, where a photomontage in the form of a monumental book narrated the navigator's life. Also, absent are Ma'rio Novais' photomontages showing public works and the reconstruction of monuments; or Domingos Alvao (1869-1946) and Dinis Salgado photo enlargements of Portuguese Youth and Portuguese Legion, as well as the images of the Tourism section of the Pavillion, with Toma's de Melo's miniatures. As are the images of the simple lines of the pavilion designed by architect Jorge Segurado inspired by traditional Alentejo architecture, characteristics accentuated in San Francisco's Golden Gate Exhibition. Or the decorations of the pavilions made by a core group among many other artists and collaborators, who are present in many publications and in those that we analyze below as the modernist painters Bernardo Marques (1898-1962), Paulo Ferreira (1911-1999), Carlos Botelho (1899-1982), or the Luso-Brazilian Toma's de Melo (1906-1990), between others.

The absence can only be explained by the strong commitment to advertising in the catalogue and a strong commercial purpose. There are commercials of all kinds in the last 73 pages, aimed mainly at Portuguese businessmen in North America: gastronomic and tourist itineraries; information on wine producers and exporters, and demarcated regions. Such tactics served to conceal the lack

of technical and industrial competitiveness of Portugal and its colonies. In this catalogue, political propaganda and advertising

were synonymous, coming together under the nationalist slogan 'Portugal is a great nation in a small country' Figure 2.



Figure 1: The official book of the Portuguese representation at the International Exhibition of New York (1939).

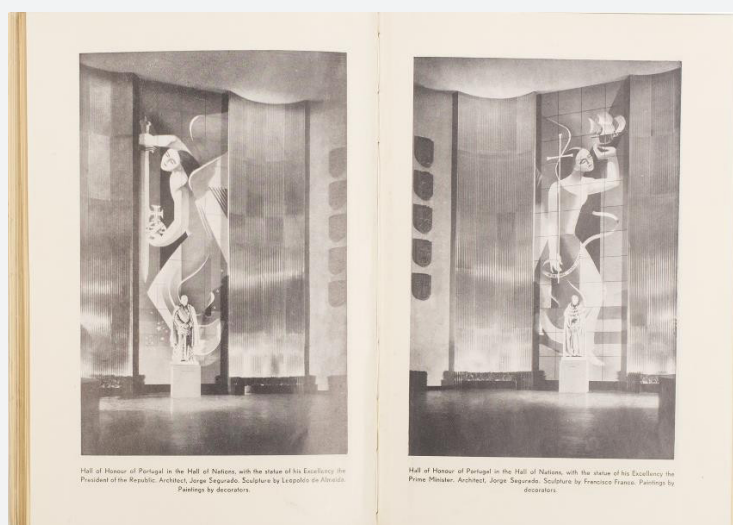


Figure 2: The official book of the Portuguese representation at the International Exhibition of New York (1939).

The graphic design is by the graphic designer Ferreira Gomes (1892- 1953). Other essential traits of 'Portugalidade' present in the book, through the illustrations and photos are the propaganda photographs of the country, maps by the painter and illustrator Roberto Araujo (1908-1969) and a set of photographs of the exhibition by Ma'rio Novais (1899-1967) photographer; country's landscapes and their framing, double pages of photos of the vineyards and terraces of the Douro signed by Photographic Alvao Studio; and photographs with the label of the photographer Marques Abreu workshops and others from the tinning industry. On the central pages, the two photos of the Hall of Honor stand

out, where the statues of Carmona and Salazar – the cult of the leader – are framed by the enormous protective figure of an angel.

Vida e arte do povo Portuguese (life and art of the Portuguese people)¹⁷

When Salazar announced the planning of the Centenary Celebrations in 1938, he stated in an Official Note published in *Diário de Notícias*, [18] he wanted the festivities to be extended to the whole country in order 'to give the Portuguese people a tonic of joy and self-confidence through the evocation of eight centuries of history'. According to him, it would be 'a story

told in pictures' through a vast program of public ceremonies, parades, medieval-inspired tournaments, and dance shows by folkloric groups. For these achievements to be recorded for the future, the process of historicization had also to be confirmed through worthy and 'memorable publications. One of the planned 'memorable publications' would be a book about the monuments and landscapes of Portugal; another about the Portuguese house; other about the Portuguese Primitive painters; a 1940 photographic album; and a 'folklore album of Portuguese customs and popular types.

Despite the constraints imposed by the course of the Second World War, the Portuguese World Exhibition, held in Lisbon between 23rd June and 2nd December 1940, celebrated the double

centenary of the Foundation of Portugal in 1140, and the date of the Restoration of Portugal's independence from Spanish rule 1640.

With the contest to discover the 'Most Portuguese village de Portugal' (The most Portuguese village in Portugal) (1938), and in the planning and execution of the Regional Center Pavilion (1940), during the Double Centenary of the Portuguese World Exhibition (1940), Ferro sought to invest in the production of images showing rural life as fostering social harmony and stability to promote a picture of an essentially agrarian, bucolic, preindustrial Portugal. It was an image to pass also to the Portuguese and the foreigners who visited the exhibition Figure 3.



Figure 3: Regional Centre, Portuguese Villages, Ma'rio Novais photos. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation credits.

At the 1940 Regional Centre's exhibition, inhabitants of the villages in the 1938 contest were invited to take part in the 'living groups', bringing their domestic and work objects. There was the same idealization of the rural world, as if it possessed a basic personality with ontologically/psychological and symbolic qualities. A collective identity of the village and the peasantry was a model of 'Portugalidade': the true Portuguese spirit. The folklore performances of the Regional Centre have been revived and materialized in the illustrations of the visual representations in the album *Vida e Arte do Povo Portuguese* [19] Figure 4. The book provides an artistic integration of drawing, painted figures and photography. It was a Secretariat edition on national ethnography and one of the books portraying 'the golden years' of Estado Novo. The themes and drawings centered around craft objects from different parts of the country. However, one realizes that without the texts of Ferro and Augusto Pinto the book could have been aimed at children, given the vibrant colors of Paulo Ferreira's drawings of miniature objects and the human figures' costumes. One would think of a magical, fairy tale world. The characteristics of this book corresponded to what Vera Marques Alves considered to be the three aspects that defined the artefacts in all the SPN's folk art exhibitions, in particular at the 1940 Regional Centre: the

detail, the excessive decoration and the miniaturization of these artifacts [20]. But also, what we might call a lyricism, recognized by Antonio Ferro: 'no people possess a more colorful, richer, happier popular art than our tree' (no people have a folk art more colorful, richer, happier than ours).

Vida e Arte do Povo Portuguese is also an artistic book, a refined graphic illustration of ethnographic themes and folkloric essays, regarded also today as a 'masterpiece' [21]. It was one of the most important graphic works under the coordination of Antonio Ferro and organized by the ethnographers Francisco Lage with the collaboration of Luí's Chaves and the painter Paulo Ferreira, who was responsible for the artistic direction and illustrations Figure 5.

The book has 32x24cm, 259 pages, hardback in light green with a design, and was composed and printed at Lithographic Nacional of Oporto, with an edition of three thousand copies on ordinary paper. A print run of fifty copies was also made on 'gateway offset' vellum paper.

The publication included the contributions of various authors and dealt with themes highlighting the plastic visuality of the

objects approached which we recognize are those already covered in Regional Centre Pavilions: 'The People's Costume' (Luí's Chaves); 'Looms and Weavers' (D. Sebastião Pessanha), 'Lover's Art' (Luí's Chaves), 'Boats of Portugal' (Rocha Madalí), 'Popular Art' (Luí's de Pina), 'Embroiderers and Lacemakers' (Maria Madalena de Martel Patrício), 'The Rural Car' (Virgílio Correia),

'Work in the Countryside' (Guilherme Felgueiras), 'Shepherding and Pastoral Art' (Tude de Sousa), 'Popular Lamps' (Cardoso Marta), 'Calendar Festivities' (Priest Moreira das Neves), 'Dance and Songs' (Armando Leça), 'Fireworks' (Armando de Matos), 'Potters and Pottery' and 'Clay Dolls' (Santos Junior), and 'Popular Gold Jewellery' (Luí's Chaves) Figure 6.



Figure 4: Regional Center, Portuguese Villages, Mário Novais photos (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Credits).



Figure 5: Life and Art of the Portuguese People (Vida e Arte do Povo Português), SPN, 1940.



Figure 6: Life and Art of the Portuguese People (*Vida e Arte do Povo Portugues*), SPN, 1940.

All the texts are separated by illustrations and photographs. Ferro's text is itself an image in which the words form a drawing in the space of the page in a very modernist style. Naive and lyrical colored drawings with expressionist and naturalistic features by Paulo Ferreira relate to each theme, as well as sixteen photographs by Ma'rio Novais.

Photographs assign 'realism' (a presumed 'realism' in style) and reinforce the imaginative power of the observer along with the texts and the decorative drawings. The images appeal to the reader's aesthetic sense, inviting them to see and appreciate the objects drawn and photographed. This relationship, based on a 'combination of mediums' and 'intermedial references' in the perceptual dynamics of those who observe, constructs a permanent symbolic act. We find this 'artistic ethnography' in some of the best SPN publications with an abundance of iconographic and ethnographic material. This says a lot about the cooperation between ethnographers, photographers and painters, as well as the connection between ethnography and the history of art and archaeology. From a formal point of view, these visual formulations, demanded by the new means of communication of those years, gave advantages to the languages of montage and photomontage.

We know the dual role of photography as an instrument of

power. Ma'rio Novais' visual and graphic modernity is undeniable. Perhaps for that very reason, he was chosen to accompany Antonio Ferro at the Paris International Exhibition in 1937, where his photomurals of enormous photomontages were outstanding. Novais also organized, at that exhibition, a collection of twelve postcards, on regional types of Portuguese costumes, in which he applied the stereotypes of rural nationalism. In *Vida e Arte do Povo Portugues*, Mario Novais has a series of photographs that illustrate the aims of Estado Novo's artistic ethnography, interpreting the aims of the head of SPN and his photogenic conception, aestheticizing and highlighting the formal characteristics of the objects and people photographed Figure 7.

Novais used all his skills as an artwork and portrait photographer to give man portraits an image of virility and to women a dimension of submissive passivity. Simultaneously, these images have also a modernist sense of choreographic movement. A kind of spectacularisation of objects and people with the use of a sort of vorticism, when he photographed from above and below. The low angle photos of the photomontage of a 'campino' (peasant horsemen from the Ribatejo region) dancing the 'fandango' and the music score are also good examples of the figures monomialization. Women have been replaced by the domesticity of their objects of labor. This explains the foreground pictures of a loom fragment and cork objects.

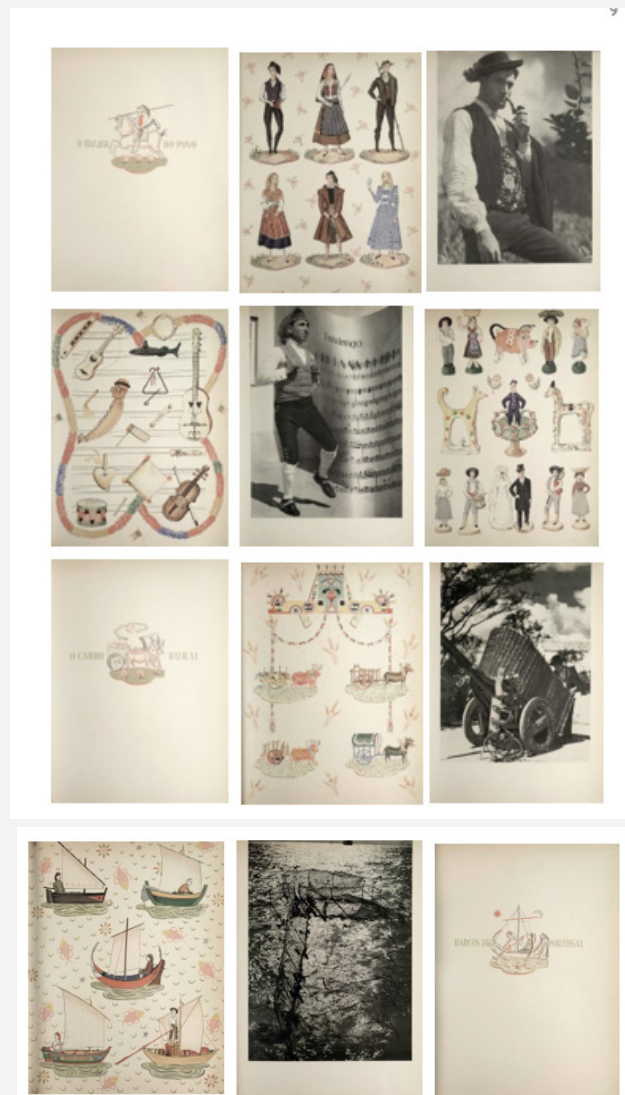


Figure 7: Life and Art of the Portuguese People (*Vida e Arte do Povo Português*), SPN, 1940.

The great graphic quality of this richly illustrated book was a strategy used to seduce the literate classes, educated elites and diplomatic entities, and above all to publicize the country's tourism internationally, as one could read in *Panorama* magazine in 1942 about the logic established by the strong impact generated by the *Explosion do Mundo Português*.

The editorial project had also some effect as it was featured in several international exhibitions, as already mentioned. Its graphic work was emphasized by the German literary and ethnographic studies magazine *Welt und Kultur der Romanian*, which published an extensive article on the book by the philologist Fritz Krüger, as a reference work in the field of folklore [22].

Panorama: Portuguese art and tourism magazine

As Ferro pointed out in *Turismo: Source of wealth and poetry* (Tourism: Source of Wealth and Poetry), [23] tourism 'owes its

character as a small and frivolous industry to the very high role of staging and decorating the nation itself'. It was 'in itself a profound work of hygiene and good taste', capable of transforming many national problems because its principles were 'indispensable for the artistic and spiritual elevation of any people'. Besides tourism should be a 'nationalist industry', capable of responding to the new challenges of the postwar tourist market [24].

At the beginning of the 20th century, the tourism industry, in Portugal, was little explored and its offer was limited to 'palace hotels', most of which were associated with spas. From the 1930s onwards, a new leisure philosophy emerged, orientated towards sports, camping and the beach. In those years, Spain had started to invest in tourism. The innovative tourism strategy of the Junta de Paradores and Hosterias del Reino, implemented by Spain's Patronato Nacional de Turismo (PNT) in 1928, or the Red de Albergues de Carretera, was well known in Portugal. With the

Spanish Civil War in 1936, all these organizations were put on hold. However, in Portugal, the 1st National Tourism Congress brought new impetus and a new approach to national tourism. One of the theses presented their proposed a new type of tourist

facility, the 'pousadas', that means in Portuguese 'hostel' or 'inn'. Another aspect anticipated by the Congress was that, for the first time, the use of old and historic buildings for the installation of these facilities [25] Figure 8.



Figure 8: Panorama: revista portuguesa de arte e turismo, 1(1), 1941 and 1(8), 1942 .

When Ferro created the Literary Prizes in 1933, followed by the Salons of Modern Art, the 'Cinema Ambulant' (Traveling Cinema) in 1935 and, from 1936, the 'Teatro do Povo' (Theatre of People) and, later, the 'Billados do Verde Gaio' (Verde Gaio Dances), he felt the need to create, in addition to collections and editions of these activities, an instrument that would give a continuous voice to all these initiatives and others that he would create in the future, including public works and tourism. That instrument, at the same time, would set up an internal public opinion and give work to photographers, graphic artists, designers and illustrators.

Panorama Magazine fulfilled that project. The advent of the double centenary celebrations in 1940 coincided with the start of a public works campaign in the capital, supervised by the engineer Duarte Pacheco. Published in 1941, was conceived as a monthly magazine, dedicated to the promotion of tourism and events. Regular themes were dedicated to public works, tourist programs, beaches, landscapes, fine and decorative arts, art exhibitions and artists and dance (Verde-Gaio ballets); as well as articles on the dissemination of Portugal's artistic and ethnographic heritage supposedly making the alliance between popular art and a more erudite plastic expression' [26]. These combined with sections of a more current nature with a monthly/bimonthly Tourism Bulletin. Thus, *Panorama* magazine defined a national taste (Good Taste Campaign) and would be the organ of a very particular kind of propaganda.

It can be considered the 'first concrete test of a supposed alliance between popular art and a more erudite plastic expression' [27]. Not only carried out political and cultural propaganda

but also acted as a promoter of commercial advertising. The advertising agencies had no conditions at the time, because they were private extensions of Antonio Ferro's strategy. In this way, SPN/SNI can be considered also an advertising agency [28]. We highlight, also, its informational strategy in comparison to other SPN/SNI publications, which were more propagandistic.

The magazine featured also the greatest names in Portuguese literature, such as the writers Teixeira de Pascoaes, Aquilino Ribeiro, Vitorino Nemesio and Almada Negreiros, who was also a painter, as well as the modernist painters Carlos Botelho, Bernardo Marques and Ofelia Marques, Milly Possoz, Manuel Lapa, Paulo Ferreira and Thomaz de Mello, among others, invited to write about the country's natural beauty, traditions and landscapes or to present the models respected in hotels and guest houses. Its graphic designer was the painter, Bernardo Marques. The editorial line was assured by its director, the poet Carlos Queiroz, who gave it an informative and literary discourse, rather than a pamphleteering one. But the magazine it was also ideologically close to nationalist figures who supported the Estado Novo, such as Afonso Lopes Vieira, Augusto de Castro, Leitao de Barros and Raul Lino [29].

Amateur photography was also instrumentalized, as around half of the photographic images in the magazine (47%) were taken by amateur photographers. In the field of professional photographers, Ma'rio Novais and Horacio Novais (1910-1988) stand out, and the reports focus on major achievements: exhibitions, public works and 'pousadas'.

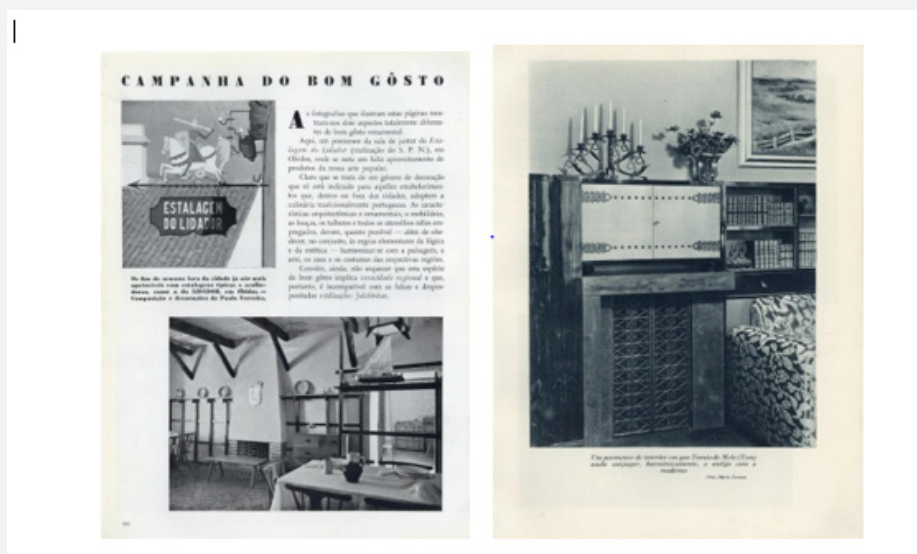


Figure 9: Panorama: magazine of art and tourism, 1(2) July, 1941.



Figure 10: Panorama: revista de arte e turismo, 1(5-6) 1941.

Artur Pastor should be mentioned, with his images of the rural landscape and traditional architecture. International collaborators include Cecil Beaton (1904-1980), 'with his famous portraits of the regime's intelligentsia' (Panorama, 1st series (12), 1942) [30] Figure 9.

Figure 10 & 11 the Pousada de Elvas, by the architect of the modernist generation Jacobetty Rosa (1901-1970), [31] emerge as the inaugural establishment to open its doors in 1942 in the Alentejo region [32]. These first hotel units influenced by theories of Raul Lino's 'Casa Portuguesa', would have a significant impact

on the language of the pousadas, creating an 'SPN aesthetic'. This aesthetic uses traditional elements of Portuguese architecture, both vernacular and erudite, creating its own language. 'It was based on the understanding of the site, the appreciation of the landscape, the reinvention of materials and the value of the domestic experience [33].' Others Regional Pousadas were inaugurated. Always with a small number of rooms and a special attention to the hospitality, the local culture, as gastronomy. In the 1950s, the concept of the 'historic pousada' was developed, making use of historic buildings such as palaces, convents or castles (some in ruins), which were converted into accommodation units,

preserving their original cultural value. The Pousada do Castelo (Castle Pousada), in O' bidos, which opened in 1950, can be considered the first work to adapt a national monument, into a

hotel structure, reflecting the broadening of the notion of heritage away from historicism, due to architectural debates arising from international conventions Figure 12.



Figure 11: Panorama: revista de arte e turismo, 1(2) July, 1941 (back cover); and Panorama: revista de arte e turismo, 1(22), December, 1942.



Figure 12: Panorama: revista de arte e turismo, 1(15-16), July, 1943, and 1(17), October, 1943.

Let us see The Monthly Tourism Bulletin, accompanied by advertising content, published as part of the issues of Panorama at the magazine's conclusion The inaugural issue was published in June 1941, coinciding with the debut of the magazine. With a concise introduction, we can read a compendium of festivals and pilgrimages scheduled to take place during the month across the nation; a selection of national palaces and castles in Lisbon and

the surrounding area that were open to the public, accompanied by a calendar and details regarding admission costs. It also featured the names of the curators overseeing these monuments, insights on transportation arrangements, and additional pertinent information. Furthermore, a list of municipal tourism bodies was included, along with recommendations for beaches suitable for visiting during the spring months. The following suggestions for

day trips and tours are provided, with the option of various means of transport being available. In addition, a section is dedicated to initiatives and events, including radio broadcasts by the SPN/SNI's Tourism Services. The objective of these broadcasts was to 'awaken and stimulate in the Portuguese a taste for knowledge of the country's natural beauty and living documents of Art, Ethnography and Folklore'. The following should be considered in the context of the subject under discussion: the shop window competitions in Lisbon, the national floriculture exhibition; the visits by the SPN/SNI director to tourist areas; the flowering station competitions, which were designed to decorate railway stations; and finally, the publication of hors-text maps of the country's tourist attractions [34].

The tourist network of pousadas can be considered an important legacy of the SPN/SNI. This program line lost its importance with the departure of Antonio Ferro from the SNI in 1949, coinciding with the end of the first series of *Panorama* [35]. Today, this network has been modernized and is mainly owned by the Portuguese State and managed by a private company.

Results and Discussion

The SPN/SNI editions and their publications were an instrument of political propaganda and the dissemination of a certain image of the nation. They were also an instrument of national consensus and the formation and education of taste. The motifs covered a wide variety of subjects that were intended to show the country and project a certain image of it. There were landscapes, portraits of peasants, fishermen and their wives in typical costumes, historical monuments, public works, inns and hotels, as well as images of colonial territories.

Finally, the SPN/SNI shaped the tourist economy by turning it towards an ethnographic path, the peasantry as a model of 'photoalidade'. This cultural strategy was in line with Salazar's thinking and his political propaganda of re-educating Portuguese society as a regenerated nation. Based on the analysis of the publications, it is possible to identify some results that provide relevant information on the tensions and paradoxes of tourism during the Estado Novo period:

i. The SPN/SNI set up a program for 'pousadas' or luxury inns, across the country, inspired by the *paradors* of the former Spanish dictator, Primo de Rivera. It was an innovative project in that it outlined a strategy for national tourism. Hotels have been modernized, and many initiatives embellish the streets of cities, towns and villages. The concept of the 'historic pousada' was developed, making use of historic buildings such as palaces, convents or castles (some in ruins), which were converted into accommodation units, preserving their original cultural value. Those achievements drew attention to the various heritages and the need to preserve them. Those programs were linked to large investments in public works.

ii. However, political propaganda aims to indoctrinate audiences, to persuade them to act in certain ways, to adopt behaviors that would then spread generally through proselytizing and imitation. By acquiring the standing of a matter of state, it created a hyper-valorization of popular culture as a language for affirming national identity.

iii. The SPN/SNI reinterpreted history. Traditions were revived, invented and fixed, as were the folklore models that ended up lasting. Popular culture was objectified, and its crafts and costumes became symbols of national identity. The formal characteristics of the objects and people photographed were aestheticized. Ethnographers' interpretations infantilized the discourse of popular art, as well as its images, and a set of archetypes was built around ideal models of life and domesticity.

iv. Artists and decorators didn't resolve the antithesis and the ambiguity between modernity and the preservation of traditions. In their representations (texts, illustrations, photographic images) a picturesque aesthetic that praises rural life was in permanent tension and contradiction with a staged and paradoxical modernism.

v. Modernist architects, painters, designers and decorators, and other artists, were forced to adhere to an official regionalism, which became known as the 'SPN style', in order to conform to the demanded nationalist and official taste. Many of those initiatives entered of course in contradiction with the poverty of rural communities, with the illiteracy rate of the Portuguese population standing at around 62 percent in 1930.

The creation of many of the SPN/SNI's innovative and transformative tourism activities reflected a social 'zeitgeist' characterized by the acceleration of time and the transformation of public space, whose political propaganda objectives could not fail to generate tensions and paradoxes. After Ferro's departure in 1949 and until the 1970s, international political changes and new phenomena related to mass tourism required new practices of adaptation and coordination.

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