



Women and education in the Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene and in the Brazilian Archives of Mental Hygiene (1925-1947)¹

Mulheres e educação na Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental e nos Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental (1925-1947)

Mujeres e educación en la Liga Brasileña de Higiene Mental y en los Archivos Brasileños de Higiene Mental (1925-1947)

Mariana Carraro

Universidade Federal de São Carlos (Brasil)

<https://orcid.org/0009-0000-3870-4431>

<http://lattes.cnpq.br/3137083383854860>

maricarraro98@gmail.com

Maria Cristina Piumbato Innocentini Hayashi

Universidade Federal de São Carlos (Brasil)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1250-3767>

<http://lattes.cnpq.br/7263318849588556>

dmch@ufscar.br

Abstract

The Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene (LBHM), founded in 1923 in Rio de Janeiro, was the most significant institution of the mental hygiene movement in Brazil. Its ideas and actions were widely publicized in its official publication, the magazine *Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental* (ABHM). This article analyzes the female participation in the League and in the ABHM published between 1925 and 1947, through the approaches of bibliometric and content analysis, and the role of women in the institution's hygienist project. It was found that women were a minority and received patriarchal and conservative treatment, but they were called upon to educate the new generations according to the precepts of hygiene. Since they were often denied the role of holders and spokespersons of scientific-hygiene knowledge, their role was to put into practice the instructions offered by men, since care was associated with the female identity of the mother, wife and educator.

Keywords: Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental; Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental; Women; Hygienist Education.

¹ English version by Ana Maria Dionísio. E-mail: dionisio.anamaria@hotmail.com.

Resumo

A Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental (LBHM), fundada em 1923 no Rio de Janeiro, foi a instituição mais expressiva do movimento de higiene mental no Brasil. Suas ideias e ações foram amplamente divulgadas no seu órgão oficial, a revista Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental (ABHM). Este artigo analisa a participação feminina na LBHM e nos ABHM publicados entre 1925 e 1947 e o papel educativo das mulheres no projeto higienista da Liga, por meio das abordagens da bibliometria e da análise de conteúdo. Verificou-se que as mulheres eram minoria e recebiam tratamento patriarcal e conservador, mas eram convocadas para educar as novas gerações segundo os preceitos do higienismo. Como muitas vezes era negado a elas o papel de detentoras e porta-vozes do conhecimento científico-higiênico, seu papel era colocar em prática as instruções oferecidas pelos homens, já que o cuidado foi associado à identidade feminina de mãe, esposa e educadora.

Palavras-chave: Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental; Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental; Mulheres; Educação higienista.

Resumen

La Liga Brasileña de Higiene Mental (LBHM), fundada en 1923 en Río de Janeiro, fue la institución más importante del movimiento de higiene mental en Brasil. Sus ideas y acciones fueron ampliamente difundidas en su publicación oficial, la revista Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental (ABHM). Este artículo analiza la participación femenina en la Liga y en la ABHM publicada entre 1925 y 1947, a través de los enfoques de la bibliometría y el análisis de contenido, y el papel de la mujer en el proyecto higienista de la institución. Se constató que las mujeres eran minoría y recibían un trato patriarcal y conservador, pero estaban llamadas a educar a las nuevas generaciones según los preceptos de higiene. Dado que a menudo se les negaba el papel de poseedoras y portavoces de los saberes científico-higiénicos, su papel era el de poner en práctica las indicaciones ofrecidas por los hombres, ya que el cuidado estaba asociado a la identidad femenina de madre, esposa y educadora.

Palabras clave: Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental; Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental; Mujeres; Educación higienista.

Introduction

In 1908, the American Clifford Whittingham Beers (1876-1943) published the book **A mind that found itself** reporting his experience as an inmate in psychiatric hospitals, in which he was a victim of mistreatment and abuse, and began a public campaign for improved treatment and assistance to the mentally ill people (BEERS, 1967). Soon, the American gathered support from different sectors of society and started a movement that would change the face of mental health in the first half of the 20th century (PARRY, 2010). Mental hygiene, which received support from a large number of psychiatrists, aimed to prevent and treat mental illnesses by correcting human psychic and social “maladjustment”. In Latin America, the first mental hygiene institution was the *Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental* (LBHM) founded in 1923 and based in Rio de Janeiro.

The hygienist ideas were already circulating among Brazilian intellectuals and politicians and emerged as a solution to the social problems of the new Republic. The first newspapers and medical journals² diagnosed the nation as weakened and sick, in need of the hygienic intervention idealized by *men of science* – that is, those who according to Schwarcz (1993, p.45) “self-identified with scientific institutions and with a singular stance, interventionist and active (...) and had an influential public voice, guaranteed by their position and participation in research and teaching centers”. In this context, although few women managed to enter Medicine and Psychiatry, they played a relevant role in hygienist plans.

This article analyzes female participation in the LBHM and the educational role of women in the institution's hygienist projects in texts published in the *Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental* (ABHM) between 1925 and 1947. This is an exploratory and descriptive research conducted using the approach of bibliometric analysis (SILVA; HAYASHI; HAYASHI, 2011), which allows exploring the knowledge base and studying the intellectual structure of a scientific field, combined with content analysis (BARDIN, 2011), which consists of a set of operations used to objectively and systematically analyze the messages expressed in a text, enabling the knowledge inference.

Women in the *Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental* (LBHM) and *Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental* (ABHM)

The founder and first president of LBHM was the psychiatrist Gustavo Riedel, professor at the *Faculdade Nacional de Medicina*, member of the *Academia Nacional de Medicina* and director of the *Hospital Colônia do Engenho de Dentro*, a place where he promoted several changes in the treatment given to psychiatric patients, according to with hygienist precepts. Among the founding members of the LBHM were names from the Brazilian psychiatric elite: Gustavo Riedel, Ernani Lopes, Plínio Olinto, Zopiro Goulart, Alberto Farani, Edilberto de Campos, Gustavo Rezende and Juliano Moreira, and from the Brazilian political elite, such as the President of the Republic Arthur Bernardes, ministers João Félix Alves Pacheco and João Luís Alves, the mayor of the Federal District Alaôr Prata Leme Soares, as well as deputies, judges and senators. (ABHM, 1941). It is noted that among the founding members of LBHM there are no women.

² Such as “Gazeta Medica da Bahia” and “Brazil Medico”, linked to the Faculdade de Medicina do Rio de Janeiro. Both were analyzed by Schwarcz (1993).

Recognized as being of public utility by Decree No. 4,778 of December 27, 1923 (BRASIL, 1923), the *Liga* financed its activities with public resources received from the Union and the municipality of Rio de Janeiro and with donations from individuals. According to its founding minutes, the LBHM structure was composed of the Executive Committee (presidency, vice-president and general secretariat), councils (executive and deliberative), presidents and honorary members, meritorious and corresponding members, in addition to study sections that they aimed to propagate “modern ideas about mental prophylaxis, study problems relating to the hygiene of the nervous system, periodically publish their work in their journal, and promote congresses about mental hygiene and eugenics”. (ABHM, 1925)

The journal *Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental* (ABHM) was also created by Riedel and presented itself as the official organ of the *Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental*. Together, they had “the great and noble mission of being an organ of doctrine and combat”, proposing to “open, in our midst, the path along which the ideals of mental hygiene and eugenics, which embody the program of that Institution” (CALDAS, 1929, p. 1-2). Extolling the achievements of members and the association itself, the journal sought to highlight the role of LBHM in building a new Brazil that they believed to be healthy and modern, through the dissemination of hygienist ideology. (CARRARO, 2020). Thus, in the ABHM the League found an intellectual environment conducive to the dissemination of ideas and scientific work related to the anti-alcoholic struggle, immigration, mental health, the world of work, among other topics that were treated from a eugenic perspective.

The ABHM³ began circulating in 1925 with two editions. Interrupted between 1926 and 1928, the journal was only published again in 1929 and then until 1947, probably due to the lack of resources that the *Liga* faced and which was spread over the publication of ABHM (CALDAS, 1930), as mentioned by the journal's editor Mirandolino Caldas.⁴ The periodicity of the journal was irregular, and there were changes in the names of some sections. The 29 volumes published between 1925 and 1935 were coordinated by Ernani Lopes.⁵ Together with Mirandolino Caldas, they both served as editors of the ABHM. In order to assist them in this task, they had several writers and collaborators. In 1939, the new president of the LBHM Henrique Roxo⁶ began to act as editor-in-chief of the ABHM. The editorial secretary was Eudóxio de Paiva Araújo assisted by other editors, including Ernani Lopes, Pedro Pernambuco Filho, and Plínio Olinto.

Between 1925 and 1947, 879 texts⁷ were published in the ABHM. These were organized into permanent sections and sporadic short-term sections, designed to address a specific topic of interest to the journal. Table 1 presents the temporal distribution of texts published in ABHM according to the journal's sections.

³ Collection available online on the website of the *Grupo de Estudos sobre o Higienismo e Eugenia* (GEPHE) at the State University of Maringá (UEM).

⁴ He was also general secretary of the LBHM, the ABHM editor and director of the institution Clínica de Eufrenia. Despite the little information available about his biography, it is known that he was a psychiatrist, and a medical captain in the Brazilian Army Reserve called up to manage the Neuropsychiatry Outpost of the FEB Health Service in 1944 (PICCININI, 2023).

⁵ Ernani Lopes (1885-1969), neurologist and psychiatrist, was a doctor at the *Hospital Nacional dos Alienados*, director of *Colônia de Psicopatas do Engenho de Dentro* and member of the *Academia Nacional de Medicina*. (ACCORSI, 2018).

⁶ Henrique de Brito Belford Roxo (1877-1969) received his doctorate from the *Faculdade de Medicina do Rio de Janeiro*, and he managed the *Pavilhão de Observação do Hospital dos Alienados e do Instituto de Psiquiatria da Universidade do Brasil*. He was a member of several national and international medical organizations, including the *Academia Nacional de Medicina*. (ANM, 2023).

⁷ “Text” means the different types of documents published in ABHM, such as articles, reviews, news, reports, minutes, etc.

Table 1 – Temporal distribution of texts published in the ABHM sections (1925-1947)

Years	Sections	Scope	Texts
1925-1947	LBHM Minutes and Reports	Minutes of assemblies, sessions, meetings, work and reports of the LBHM.	115
1929-1935	Editorial	It presents information about the journal and LBHM's positions about various subjects.	30
1925-1947	Original Works	Unpublished articles written by members belonging to the LBHM technical sections or by invited authors.	167
1925-1935	Reviews and Analysis	Analytical book reviews and articles, most of them published abroad.	175
1925-1947	News Facts and Comments Notes and Comments Publications received	Reports about LBHM, publications received, wishes of congratulations and condolences, events registration, etc.	253
1929-1931	Bibliographic Information	Responses to reader requests for bibliographical references relating to mental hygiene.	15
1929-1930	Neuropsychiatric Information	Answers to doctors' queries about help in clinical cases.	10
1925; 1929-1934; 1947	Against alcoholism: in favor of mental health Anti-alcoholism work	Articles, bibliography, comments, statistics, conferences, events and campaigns about alcoholism and anti-alcoholism.	40
1925; 1932	LBHM works LBHM services	Guest conferences and LBHM propaganda work. Photos, list of materials, balance of sections, etc.	15
1933-1934	The Pro-Mental Hygiene Campaign; Pro-Mental Hygiene propaganda work	Preparatory sessions, minutes, reports, balance sheets, conferences and publicity lectures.	22
1925-1947	Miscellaneous*	It included texts, photographs, general index of volumes, etc.	37
TOTAL			879

(*) Brings together scattered texts not linked to existing sections in the ABHM.

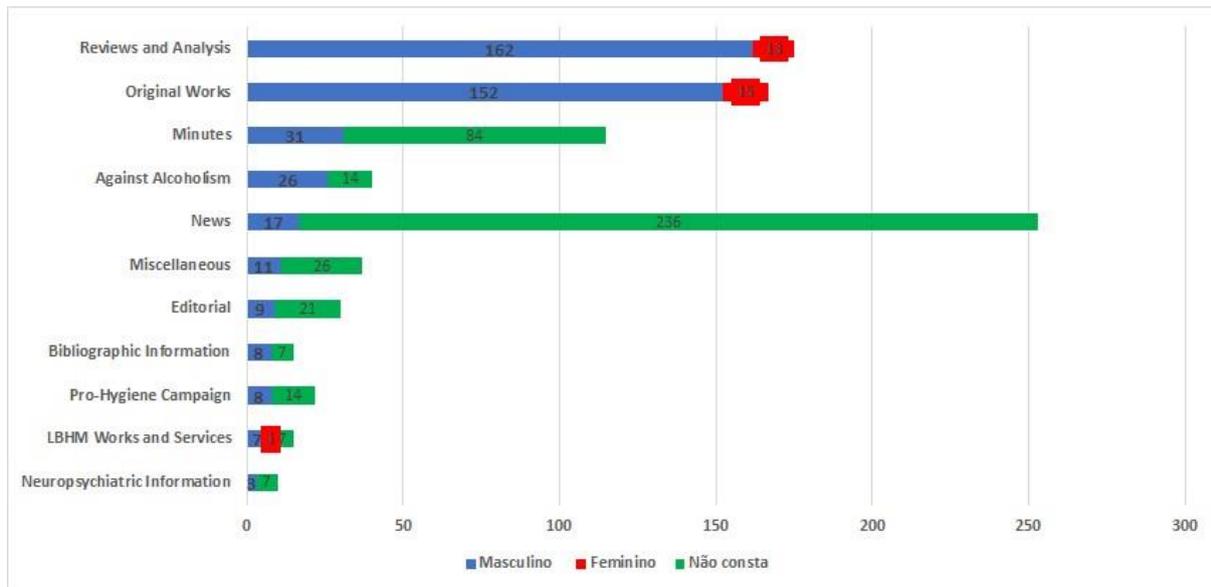
Source: Carraro (2022).

The texts published in the ABHM (n=879) were generally written by members of the LBHM, by guests who gave lectures and conferences at the *Liga*, or by Brazilian and foreign researchers with whom the Board maintained contact.

It was found that 47.3% (n=416) of the texts were not signed, and the majority (n=253) were published in the “News”, “Facts and comments” and “Publications received” sections, while the others (n=163) appeared in the other sections.

Regarding the authorship of signed texts (n=463), it was found that men predominated with 93.7% (n=434) while female authors were represented by 6.3% (n=29) of the total.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of texts (n=879) according to the section and gender of the authors. It is worth noting that there may be double counting of authors, as the same author may have contributed to more than one text.

Figure 1 – Distribution of ABHM texts by section and author gender.

Source: Carraro (2022)

Legend:

Male Female Nothing

Male superiority in the authorship of ABHM articles shows how female voices were inaudible in scientific societies at the beginning of the 20th century, a reflection of the patriarchal society of the period (HAYASHI et al, 2007). If historically, science has always been seen as an activity carried out by men, a significant change in this situation will only occur after the second half of the 20th century (LETA, 2003).

A survey of the names (n=372) of LBHM members and authors of texts registered in the ABHM collection indicated that women represented only 10.5% (n=39) of this total. It's worth recording their names here: Adail Pontes; Alice Ramos Corrêa; Angelina Rodrigues da Silva; Anita Paes Barreto; Áurea Brasil; Carmem Pereira Alonso; Cecilia Resende; Clarisse Diogo Lavrador; Consuelo Pinheiro; Dinah Pereira de Castro; Edit Freire; Else Mazza Nascimento Machado; Esmeralda Azevedo; Flora E. Strout; Floripes Anglada Lucas; Gloria Quintela; Helena Antipoff; Idalina de Abreu Fialho do Nascimento Gurgel; Inês Besouchet; Ione da Gloria Paixão; Josefa Gomes da Silva; Juana M. de Lopes; Lair Ximenes; Lilia dos Santos Batista; Lucia Fernando Magalhães; Ludovina de Carvalho; Marguerite Klier de Mendonça; Maria Antonietta de Castro; Maria Brasília Leme Lopes; Maria Lígia de Moraes; Maria Lúcia Passos; Marita Cassiano Gomes; Nicolar Cortat Frossard; Noêmia T. M. de Araújo; Ofelia Boisson Cardoso; Olga da Costa Ramos Sharp; Regina Meinick; Virginia Leone Bicudo; Zoraide de Souza.

Among these women, Chart 1 presents those who belonged (n=6) or not (n=5) to the LBHM and published texts in the ABHM.

Chart 1 – Women’s profile who published texts in ABHM

Names	Profile
Anita Paes Barreto (1907-2003)	She was a pedagogue and assistant at the Pernambuco Institute of Psychology. She didn’t belong to LBHM.
Consuelo Pinheiro	She was a teacher and president of the Primary Education Section of the <i>Associação Brasileira de Educação</i> . She didn’t belong to LBHM.
Flora Effie Strout (1867-1962)	American, she was in Brazil in 1926. Honorary president of the <i>União Brasileira Pró-Temperança</i> (World’s Women’s Christian Temperance Union branch) and the Alcoholism Prophylaxis Section of the 1st. Inter-American Conference on Mental Hygiene. She didn’t belong to LBHM.
Helena Antipoff (1892-1974)	She studied with Édouard Claparède at the Jean Jacques Rousseau Institute in Geneva where she was part of the research team. She founded and directed the <i>Sociedade Pestalozzi de Minas Gerais</i> and the <i>Sociedade Pestalozzi do Brasil</i> . She was a member of the LBHM.
Idalina de Abreu Fialho	She was a professor at the Benjamin Constant Institute and secretary of the <i>XI Seção de Psicologia Aplicada e Psicanálise</i>
Juana M. Lopes	She was a member of the Executive Board and secretary of the <i>XI Seção de Cirurgia Geral e Especializada da LBHM</i> and a gynecologist at the <i>Colônia de Mulheres Psicopatas de Engenho de Dentro</i> . She was married to Ernani Lopes, who held several positions on the LBHM board and was editor of the ABHM.
Lair Ximenes	She was a member of the <i>Sessão de Medicina Legal e Prevenção à Delinquência da LBHM</i> . She was from the Technical School of Social Service.
Maria Antonietta de Castro (1892-1984)	Chief Educator of the São Paulo School Service Board. She did not belong to LBHM.
Maria Brasília Leme Lopes (1909-1996)	A doctor and municipal teacher, she was secretary of the Applied Psychology and Psychoanalysis Section and director of the LBHM Psychology Laboratory.
Nicolar Cortat Frossard	She was secretary of the Section of Applied Psychology and Psychoanalysis at LBHM.
Virgínia Leone Bicudo (1910-2003)	Sociologist and psychoanalyst, she was a psychiatric visitor at the <i>Seção de Higiene Mental da Diretora do Serviço de Saúde Escola</i> of São Paulo. She didn’t belong to LBHM.

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Virgínia Leone Bicudo, Helena Antipoff and Maria Brasília Leme Lopes were profiled in the *Pioneiras da Ciência no Brasil* Program (CNPq, 2023) with more complete biographies aiming to recognize the women participation who played an outstanding role in their areas of knowledge and contributed to scientific development from the country.

Virgínia Leone Bicudo, psychoanalyst and sociologist, was the first black researcher to occupy a prominent place in the dissemination and construction of psychoanalysis in Brazil. (BRAGA, 2023). She worked in public teaching in the state of São Paulo as a health educator and also as a psychiatric visitor. At USP, she taught mental hygiene and was invited to take part in a UNESCO project on racial issues. His master's thesis, entitled “*Estudo de atitudes raciais de pretos e mulatos em São Paulo*”, was the first to address the racial issue in Brazil (SBMFC, 2023).

Russian educator Helena Antipoff worked in Paris at the laboratory of psychologist Alfred Binet, where she began her specialization in children's mental development, a topic to which she dedicated her life. In 1928, she came to Brazil at the invitation of the government to provide services at the *Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Belo Horizonte*, where she also founded the *Sociedade Pestalozzi de Minas Gerais* and the farm school to support exceptional children, so-called those with disabilities.

In 1951 she received Brazilian citizenship. For the recognition of her work, she received numerous national and international awards and honors (MELO, 2023).

Maria Brasília graduated as a teacher from the *Escola Normal da Prefeitura do Distrito Federal* in 1925, and a doctor in 1936 from the *Faculdade de Medicina da Universidade do Brasil*. She is part of a group of women who, before studying medicine, showed their “vocation for caring” through teaching and, later, “through dedication to medicine, having an apostolate in this profession” (GALVÍNCIO; COSTA, 2021, p. 8). As a student, Maria Brasília was Manoel Bonfim’s and Plínio Olinto’s student, both members of the LBHM, and headed the *Laboratório de Psicologia Aplicada da Liga*. This experience led her to publish articles in ABHM that are part of the first female psychology writings in Brazil. They are a small exception in an environment that, at the time, was still dominated by male figures and, therefore, represent a movement of rupture and opening. Maria Brasília's work in Applied Psychology was interrupted in 1944, when, after completing her Medicine course, she entered the field of Hemotherapy. (PORTAVALES; JACÓ-VILELA, 2023)

These authors also highlight the importance of Maria Brasília Leme Lopes both for Psychology and Medicine and her outstanding participation in scientific dissemination and the fight for female insertion in science, as she was president of the National Hemotherapy Commission, and the second woman elected to participate in the National Academy of Medicine. She also fought to open the scientific field to women: she participated in the founding of the *Associação Brasileira de Mulheres Médicas* and presided over it for five years. For these authors, Maria Brasília's initial trajectory could be confused with that of so many other Brazilian women from the beginning of the 20th century, whose insertion into the job market occurred through teacher’s courses, teaching primary education classes, performing typically associated with maternal care. However, she distances herself from the norm due to her commitment and dedication to conquering a space occupied almost exclusively by men. Her profile is that of both an active researcher and an activist researcher for the visibility of women in the science field. (PORTAVALES; JACÓ-VILELA, 2023).

Other researchers listed in Table 1 also stood out in the Brazilian scientific scene, such as Consuelo Pinheiro, who played a relevant role as president of the *Seção de Ensino Primário da Associação Brasileira de Educação* (ABE) and as a researcher and educator in the history of human care with disabilities. Consuelo Pinheiro was also honored by a non-profit organization in Rio de Janeiro, created in 1969, active in preventing, helping and welcoming people in situations of vulnerability and social risk, *the Instituto Consuelo Pinheiro*. (INSTITUTO, 2023).

With regard to Maria Antonietta de Castro, she was one of the first Health Educators in the country, graduated in 1927 from the *Primeiro Curso de Educadoras Sanitárias do Instituto de Higiene de São Paulo* created in 1925. From 1927 onwards, she was appointed to the position Chief Sanitary Educator of the Inspectorate of Sanitary Education and Health Centers and in this role his pedagogical practice expanded her dialogue not only with the teaching of the first letters, but also with the hygienist and eugenic ideas of the period, taking responsibility for the installation, organization and direction of the first activities in the three health centers in São Paulo and in the primary schools in the city. Her trajectory was marked by the perspective of school health and health education. (NIEPHE, 2023). The ABHM also highlight the work of Maria

Antonietta de Castro in a footnote inserted in the author's text (CASTRO, 1941, p.57) considering her “one of the most prominent figures in the country's educational circles”.

The ABHM texts written by women (n=29) were published in three sections: “Original Works” (n=15), “Reviews and Analysis” (n=13) and “LBHM Works and Services” (n=1). The “Original works” section published articles (n=167) about mental hygiene written by LBHM members and guests. From this perspective, she was a kind of “official voice” of the *Liga*. However, not all articles published uninterruptedly from 1925 to 1947 were unpublished, as some had already been presented as communications in the LBHM Study Sections, and also in lectures, conferences or works at scientific events held in Brazil and other countries. Some texts were translated articles that had been published in periodicals abroad, and others were transcriptions of chapters from books that had already been published or they were still being published.

Regarding the gender of the authors who published in the “Original Works” section of the ABHM, it was found that men prevailed (n=66) compared to women (n=9), with Henrique Roxo (n=15) at the top, Ernani Lopes (n=9), Oswaldo Camargo (n=8), Renato Kehl (n=6), Julio Porto-Carrero, Juliano Moreira and Plinio Olinto, each with (n=5).

The leader among women is Maria Brasília Lemes Lopes (n=4), followed by Juana Maria Lopes (n=3) and Helena Antipoff (n=2). The other women (n=7) published only one work each: Anita Paes Barreto (co-authored with Ulisses Pernambucano), Flora E. Strout, Idalina de Abreu Fialho (co-authored with Maria Brasília Lemes Lopes), Lair Ximenes, Nicolai Cortat Frossard, Maria Antonietta de Castro and Virgínia Leone Bicudo.

These findings are in line with the scientific literature on gender and science (HAYASHI et al, 2007; CAMARGO; HAYASHI, 2017) which points out how women were historically removed from discussions that took place in scientific societies, as these were activities considered masculine. However, women in healthcare areas remodeled the feminine ideal of the time, associated with care (GALVÍNCIO; COSTA, 2021), to be able to contribute to this task beyond the private space of their homes.

In the Medicine field, more specifically in Psychiatry – the area of training of most LBHM members – one can notice the sparse female presence. Piccinini (2002), who organized a *Índice Bibliográfico Brasileiro de Psiquiatria*, found that in the bibliography covering the period between 1831 and 1979, among 4,655 works, only 4.2% (n=197) are by women. For the author,

We have no reference to an alienist woman. The first works were mostly by nurses and psychologists and the focus was psychoanalytic. We can mention: *Juana M. Lopes*, *Anita Barreto Paes in Pernambuco*, *Helena Antipoff* in Minas Gerais, *Virgínia Bicudo* in São Paulo. The latter was a Social Worker and psychoanalyst. (PICCININI, 2002. My emphasis).

These four women, whose names are highlighted in the citation, were authors of articles published in the “Original Works” section of ABHM. A survey of the names of LBHM members (n=372) registered in the ABHM collection indicated that women represented only 10.5% (n=39) of the total. Among them, 1.3% (n=5) did not belong to the LBHM, although they had published texts in the ABHM.

The data in Chart 2 lists the texts written by women published in the “Original Works” section of the ABHM. These texts addressed psychological and school tests, health education, the fight against alcoholism, and the education of special needs children, among other topics.

Chart 2 – Texts written by women in the “Original Works of the ABHM” section

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme; Fialho, Idalina de Abreu. Sugestões sobre o emprego de testes. ABHM, v. 2, p. 6-77, 1929.

Frossard, Nicolau Cortat. Os testes de Binet em nossas escolas. ABHM, v. 4, p. 127-131, 1930.

Antipoff, Helena. A psicologia na Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Belo Horizonte. ABHM, v. 7, p. 226-234, 1930.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. Pesquisas sobre a memória da fixação. ABHM, v.7, p. 235-240, 1930.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. Pesquisas sobre a memória da fixação (concl.) ABHM, v.8, p. 277-200, 1930.

Pernambucano, Ulisses; Barreto, Anita Paes. Ensaio de aplicação do test das 100 questões de Ballard. ABHM, v.9, p.313-345, 1930.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. A atenção concentrada explorada pelo teste de cancelamento. ABHM, v. 2, p. 41-62, 1932.

Lopes, Juana Maria de. Em torno do exame pré-nupcial. ABHM, v. 2, p. 103-122, 1933.

Lopes, Juana Maria de. A enfermagem ginecológica das alienadas. ABHM, v. 2, p. 124-129, 1934.

Strout, Flora E. Programa educativo de temperança científica nas escolas. ABHM, v. 1, p. 22-26, 1935

Castro, Maria Antonietta de. A educação sanitária nas escolas. ABHM, v.1, p. 57-67, 1941.

Ximenes, Lair. Profilaxia da delinquência infantil. ABHM, v.1, p. 36-51, 1943.

Lopes, Juana Maria. Combate ao alcoolismo. ABHM, v.1, p. 65-68, 1943.

Bicudo, Virginia Leone. Higiene mental das crianças em tempo de guerra. ABHM, v.1, p. 62-68, 1944.

Antipoff, Helena. Espírito e atividade da Sociedade Pestalozzi do Brasil. ABHM, v. 1, p. 59-69, 1945-1946.

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Maria Brasília Lemes Lopes' texts draw attention due to the fact that the author is a woman and an unknown name in the Psychology history in Brazil, as pointed out by Jacó-Vilela (2014, p.240), when commenting that Maria Brasília's text in co-authored with Idalina Abreu Fialho, it is “the first known female work published in Psychology in Brazil”. However, in the view of Jacó-Vilela (2014, p.241), Maria Brasília Leme Lopes reveals “a typical case of a young woman who held a position in a male environment, with older men recognized in their areas of expertise, but still failed to achieve perceive the power associations underlying gender relations”. At first glance, this seems to contradict the profile of Maria Brasília as an activist for female visibility in the scientific field, as outlined by Portavales and Jacó-Vilela (2023). However, Maria Brasília Leme Lopes and Idalina de Abreu Fialho (ABHM, 1929) list in a footnote to their article the “great men” who work with Brazilian tests, among them Ernani Lopes, president of LBHM, who had translated and adapted the Terman-Stanford scale, which they had submitted to a small group of children. In the view of

Jacó-Vilela (2014, p.242), this report reveals that “intellectual work was reserved for him, and for her, routine and strenuous activity”.

This is the phenomenon of the “Matilda Effect” in science, that is, the denial of recognition of women's contributions to research, and the repeated attribution of their merits to their male colleagues. In other words, women scientists are generally not mentioned, or are reduced to the role of mere assistants who perform routine and tedious tasks that do not require much intellectual effort. In this way, subordinated to assistant positions in scientific laboratories, women are excluded from decision-making circles. (ROSSITER, 1982, 1993).

In turn, in the “Reviews and Analysis” section, men predominate in the authorship of reviews, with Ernani Lopes at the top (n=110). In second place, with the highest number of reviews comes Maria Brasília Leme Lopes (n=13). who, together with Consuelo Pinheiro (n=1), are the only women who write reviews in ABHM, as shown in the data in Chart 3.

Chart 3 – Texts written by women in the “Reviews and Analysis” section

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme ABHM, v.3, p.98-100, 1930. PONZO, Mario. Subsídios para a verificação das aptidões nos jovens. Torino: G.B. Paravia & Cia, 1929.

Pinheiro, Consuelo ABHM, v.1, p. 70-71, 1931. ANTIPOFF, H. Ideais e interesses das crianças de Bello Horizonte e algumas sugestões pedagógicas. Belo Horizonte, 1930. (46p.)

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v.1, p. 96-98, 1932. COURTHIAL, A.; VAN DER STADT, I.; CLAPARÈDE, E. Rapidez e qualidade. *Archives de Psychologie*, v.23, n.91, jan. 1932.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v. 2, p. 167-169, 1932. KASEFF, L. Educação dos supernormais: como formar as elites nas democracias. Rio de Janeiro, 1931.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v. 2, p. 177-178, 1932. WALTHER, L. Alguns capítulos da tecnopsicologia do trabalho industrial. *L'Année Psychologique*, 1930.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v. 1, p. 65-68, 1931. PIÉRON, Henri. O desenvolvimento mental e a inteligência. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1929.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v. 1, p. 49-50, 1933. HORINSON, S. Ensaio de aplicação de dois testes de sensibilidade táctil *Bulletin de l'Institut National d'Orientation Professionnelle*, n. 2, 1932.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v. 2, p. 132-133, 1933. BIGELOW, M. A. Como o adolescente encara seus próprios problemas. Boston, 1933.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v. 2, p. 133-134, 1933. MAGALHÃES. L. de A. Psicologia pedagógica da adolescência. Rio de Janeiro: Renascença Editora, 1933.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v. 2, p. 134, 1933. BRIQUET, R. Psicologia Educativa da Adolescência. *Revista de Educação*, v.1, n.1. 1933.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v. 3, p. 248-250, 1934. ROSS, N.; SCHILDER, P. Experiencias taquitostópicas sobre a percepção da forma humana. *The Journal of General Psychology*, v. 10, n.1, 1934.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v.4, p. 337-339. CHWEITZER, A. Alguns dados sobre o reaprendizado e o “transfert” de exercício. *L'Année Psychologique*, v.33, 1932-1933.

Lopes, Maria Brasília Leme. ABHM, v. 1, p. 113-115, 1935. SULLIVAN, M. A. Escala para medida da “Idade do desenvolvimento” nas meninas. *Studies in Psychology and Psychiatry from the Catholica University of America*, v.3, n.4, 1934.

Source: Prepared by the authors

The “Review and Analysis” section was published uninterruptedly from the first volume, in 1925, until 1935. The texts published in this section (n=175) had a unique characteristic, as they could contain more than one reviewed work.

Among the works reviewed, the majority were by men (n=155) and female authors represented 15.7% (n=29) of the total (n=184) reviewed. It is worth noting that works by LBHM authors were a minority (n=26) in the “Reviews and Analysis” section. It is interesting to note among the reviews the presence of two articles by Marie Bonaparte (1882-1962), a French psychoanalyst linked to Sigmund Freud and great-grandniece of Napoleon Bonaparte. The texts reviewed by this author were “*L’homme et son dentiste*” and “*De la mort e des fleurs*”, both published in 1933 in the *Revue Française de Psychologie*, in which she analyzes the phenomenon of psychoanalytic “transference” of the patient towards others dentists – “not only among ladies, but also among representatives of the stronger sex”, and the habit of taking flowers to the dead, considered phallic symbols of denial of death. The review was written by Ernani Lopes, editor of ABHM. (LOPES, 1933, p. 244-247).

The majority of reviews were articles (n=140) published in periodicals (n=72), with those from abroad (60) and the rest from Brazil (n=12) prevailing. These results show how LBHM members were in tune with the literature of the time about mental hygiene and eugenics published in scientific journals, at the same time as they disseminated news in the area among ABHM readers. These purposes were expressed on several occasions on the ABHM pages, as recorded in the following note:

Repository of the LBHM and disseminator of useful teachings to the general population, about matters concerning the health of the spirit, this magazine is proud to be able to present to its countless readers, since the beginnings of the organization of the League, an updated summary of everything that goes through field of mental illness prophylaxis in our country and in various regions of the world. (ABHM, 1947, p. 3).

Books (n=38) and chapters (n=2), works at events (n=2), dictionary (n=1) and doctoral thesis (n=1) were also reviewed. Although the book is usually the main target of a review, ABHM did not follow this pattern, given that article reviews outnumbered other documentary types by a large margin. This leaves room for some assumptions. Firstly, the LBHM Library received various publications as donations, including numerous reprints of articles published in scientific journals, according to lists published in the ABHM. Another hypothesis is that members of the *Liga* also received or exchanged this material with colleagues and then donated it to the Library, motivated by their interest in disseminating work published in scientific journals.

Furthermore, exchanges with scientific journals from other countries facilitated reviewers' access to such publications. The exchange of published material with the request expressed in several languages was a frequent practice on the ABHM home pages: “*Solicita-se permuta. Exchanges are solicited. Rogamos cange. On demande l’échange. Wir bitten um Ausstausch von Publikationen. Si solicita contra-cambio. Ni petas interasagon*”.

The texts published in the “Reviews and Analysis” (n=175) and “Original Works” (n=167) sections had the highest scores when compared with the total of texts from other ABHM sections. These results show that these two sections were valued by the magazine's editors as they represented a channel for disseminating the ideas they defended about mental hygiene and eugenics, and also as a way of persuasive readers about this cause. In fulfilling these purposes, ABHM reviews functioned as

a rhetorical platform on which researchers can express their views, signal their allegiance to a specific group, and participate in the ongoing conversation of their disciplines by arguing how, why, and to what extent frequently published books in their respective fields contribute for the construction of knowledge. (HAYASHI, 2020, p. 5).

The remaining texts (n=2) written by women in the ABHM were published in the “LBHM Services” sections. The first is authored by Maria Brasília Leme Lopes (ABMH, 1932, p.99-107) who discusses the organization and activities of the LBHM Psychology Laboratory. The second is the transcription of a conference given by Anita Paes Barreto at the LBHM headquarters about the institution's activities entitled “Assistance to psychopaths”, providing services to other institutions and establishing a mental profile for the analytical examination of intelligence, especially in schools.

The educational role of women in ABHM

In addition to analyzing the female presence in the *Liga* and its magazine, we observed the LBHM's vision of women, which was reflected in some texts published in the ABHM. Caring was linked to female identity and this was reflected in the intellectuals' speeches, men and women, at the time (GALVÍNCIO; COSTA, 2021).

In the editorial “*Apelo à mulher brasileira*”, women were presented as “that half of the human race that philosophers, thinkers, and general common sense have always considered to be the holder of the feeling and affectivity of the species” (ABHM 1930 , p. 193).

This social representation of women persisted, for example, in the minutes of the LBHM solemn session, held on June 21, 1933, because when honoring the patrons and patronesses of the *Clínica de Eufrenia* and the *Patronato dos Egressos dos Manicômios*, it was reserved for women the role of guiding “his protégé in the social environment, bringing them courage, giving them hope beyond the comfort of affection”. (ABHM, 1933, p. 183). Furthermore, the justification for female action was based on the fact that Patronage was

a truly technical competition (...) in a work that, after all, we men alone have not yet known how to carry out, no matter how good our good will has been. There is only one explanation for this fact. It's just that undertakings of the nature of the Patronage in question are not carried out only with science and the desire to get things right. To carry out such social assistance works with real efficiency, it is necessary to intervene a factor that exists more in one half of the human race than in the other, the affective factor, the feeling factor. So that with the Woman, sponsoring the *Clínica de Eufrenia* and the *Patronato dos Egressos dos Manicômios*, we will finally solve the problem, because we will entrust the generous and maternal Heart with the sublime task of supporting and assisting the sick Brain. (ABHM, 1933b, p. 181).

Another example of the treatment given to women by the *Liga* appears in the captions of the photographs of the patronesses of the *Clínica de Eufrenia* and the *Patronato dos Egressos dos Manicômios*. In Figure 2, it can be seen that the women's names were hidden and they were identified by the names of their husbands.

Figure 2 - Patronesses of Clínica de Eufrenia da LBHM



Countess Pereira Carneiro



Mrs. Miguel Couto



Mrs. Raul Leitão da Cunha



Mrs. Olinto de Oliveira

Fonte: ABHM, 1932

This form of address that omitted the female name was also repeated in ABHM at other times. For example, in the summary of the article (Figure 3) signed by gynecologist Juana M. Lopes – who was also a member of LBHM – her name was complemented by “Mrs. Ernani Lopes” indicating that she was married to the LBHM partner and editor of the journal (LOPES, 1934, p.122).

Figure 3 – Summary of the article by Juana M. de Lopes

RESUMEN — En este artículo sobre “Cuidados ginecológicos á las alienadas”, dedicado especialmente á las enfermeras, la Dra. Juana M. de Lopes (Mme. Ernani Lopes), quien es, hace más de quince años, ginecologista del Hospital Colonia de Psicopatas (mujeres) de Engenho de Dentro, pone de relieve todos los aspectos interesantes de dicho tema, con la seguridad que le permite su longa experiencia.

Source: ABHM, 1934

Also in the minutes of LBHM sessions, the presence of women was made invisible by being registered as “Mrs. Dr. Júlio Porto-Carrero”; “Mrs. Dr. Victor Viana”, “Mrs. Floriano B. de Mendonça”, “Mrs. Dr. Januário Bittencourt” “Ms. Brito e Cunha”, “Mrs. Miguel Sales”, and

even when their spouses had already passed away, they continued to be named as “Widow Faustino Esposel”, “Mrs. Widow Juliano Moreira” (ABHM, 1933a, p. 340-341, 352), once again taking away their right to be addressed by their names. Thus, ABHM texts maintained a form of patriarchal treatment when referring to women, and reinforced the idea of female submission and dependence, taking away their autonomy before family and society. Here the norm of subordination of women to their father, if they were single, and to their husbands, when married, was repeated.

However, the LBHM used the texts published in the ABHM to call on women to take part in the task of cleaning the population. The aforementioned editorial “*Apelo à Mulher Brasileira*” appeals to “various communities, asking them for their precious collaboration in the fight against the scourge of alcohol in our country”, although the target of this request was Brazilian women and associations of female intellectuals⁸, at which the *Liga* calls for the example of a “nucleus of selfless ladies who work in this sector of social prophylaxis to be followed by many others, so that the entire community will feel the beneficial influence of such healthy proselytism”. (ABHM, 1930, p. 193).

For this endeavor, it was essential to impose medical knowledge on the daily lives of families and to encourage parents, and especially mothers, to learn hygienist preventive methods, as they could be held responsible for the “immoralities and pathologies of their children” (SILVA JÚNIOR; ANDRADE, 2007, p. 434-435). For these authors,

Based on the idea of the family as the nuclear and primary cell of society, the members of the LBHM considered the home as a fundamental establishment for surveillance and execution of hygienic requirements, postulating a new importance for women who should work hard and take responsibility so that their home does not was contaminated by the vices of the street. (SILVA JÚNIOR; ANDRADE, 2007, p. 430).

Not all fathers and mothers, for Ximenes (1943, p. 43-45), “have a true sense of their responsibilities and their duties”, which would be extremely important, given that the “failure of parents in their educational task explains, to a large extent, the cause of certain character defects and disturbances in the affectivity of children and young people”. The author also points out that ideal education should not be excessively severe or too sentimental. Exacerbated severity would harm the child's psyche, which would be permeated by fear, anguish, hatred and inhibition. In addition to satisfactory material conditions, the child would need affection and understanding. However, the spoiled child, with exaggerated sentimentality, considers himself a privileged being and becomes incapable, with a weak personality, demanding and selfish (XIMENES, 1943, p. 46-47). Similar advices were made by Fontenelle (1925, p. 5):

Combating children's excessive sensitivity is the primary obligation of every mother who knows her duties, so that later on, individuals do not wait (in vain) for other people to allow themselves to be dominated by simple whining. Excessive care and exaggerated tolerance create an artificial atmosphere for the child, very different from that which the adult will encounter in real life, causing disappointment and unhappiness. Educating with severity and mildness, combined in a convenient dose, is the way to prepare a fair

⁸ Such as the *Federação Brasileira para o Progresso Feminino* (FBPF), founded by Bertha Lutz, which worked to defend women's access to political, civil and social rights, such as education and voting. The text also mentions the *União Universitária Feminina*, founded by the FBPF in 1929.

balance that allows the child to have no surprises in the future life, for which he was perfectly prepared.

For the educational task to be done correctly, therefore, mothers would need to be taught how to correctly form their children's first habits, “adapting them in the best way to the initial problems of life” (FONTENELLE, 1925, p.8). On the occasion of the inauguration of the *Clínica de Eufrenia da Liga*, Caldas wrote a leaflet in which he appealed to mothers to take care not only of their children's physical organism, but also “the psyche, the spirit, the soul” (ABHM, 1932, p.80). Despite stating that “it is often the fathers who are responsible for these serious anomalies”, it was the mothers he was addressing, hoping that they would “rationally” and “scientifically” monitor the psychic and cognitive development of their children (ABHM, 1932, p. 83).

Fontenelle (ABHM, 1925, p. 194-195) pointed out the need to “correct the deficiency in the teaching of things relating to the human mentality”, and for this it would be necessary to study Psychology in medical courses, teacher's school, professional schools and superiors and instruct the educational work of mothers, nurses and teachers to create good mental habits from birth, “avoiding emotional violence, excesses of authoritarianism or tolerance and exaggerations of the imagination”.

In São Paulo, school health educators prepared future mothers during their school years. The “*Escola das Mãezinhas*” course was offered from 1926 to 1940 to 22,476 students in São Paulo, preparing them for motherhood. The course schedule included activities such as

inquiries into the causes of deaths of young children in the student's relations, for the study of infant mortality; weighing, bathing, preparing diet food, etc., as practically as possible; the production of model layettes, with the number of pieces and in accordance with the essential hygiene requirements, the baby's room, displays, etc., etc. (CASTRO, 1941, p. 64).

These experts knew, however, that many parents worked during the day and could not provide the necessary care for their children, which would characterize an incompetent home (XIMENES, 1943, p. 45). For Camargo (1947, p. 26), in the United States, more and more women began to work outside the home, which generated an avalanche of “cases of problem children” that would soon reach Brazil. According to Fontenelle, (1925, p. 8), many mothers “abandon initial educational care for nurses and maids, making it necessary to develop nursery schools and kindergartens, in number and quality”. It was up to schools, therefore, to carry out the hygienist task, and in these, teachers played a central role.

To facilitate and prepare individual adaptation, it is necessary to institute educational work for mothers, nannies and teachers, in order to create good habits of mental life, from birth, avoiding emotional violence, excesses of authoritarianism or tolerance and the exaggerations of the imagination already seeking to form in individuals a confident personality, capable of resistance and devotion to real-life activity, which recognizes, from an early age, the social restrictions and rights of other people. In primary schools and also, mainly, in nursery schools and kindergartens, which need to be multiplied, it is essential to carry out this educational work (ABHM, 1925, p. 195).

For his part, Porto-Carrero (1929) considers that teachers received “monstrosities” in schools, referring to children who were wrongly educated about sexual life. These should be “corrected” by teachers with care and “maternal affection”. When addressing the educators, the author stated:

And may your love replace the love of your parents – which, although at first it may seem like a monstrosity, is in any case better than the wrong path that will one-day lead to perversions, crime, prostitution. A man's future is worth more than a child's attachment to a wicked home. But even here, you can act prophylactically. The child will certainly oppose your truth to the error he brought from home. It's up to you to soften his impression: 'Your mother didn't want to tell you the right thing, so that you could learn at school; because she herself didn't know it well. School is the place to learn; Just as you learned here to read, so here you will learn everything else. Don't ask about these things at home. Mom and Dad have other occupations; my occupation is to teach you'. And teach. Teach the truth; the whole truth; the truth is as simple as it is truer. (PORTO-CARRERO, 1929, p. 125).

For correction at school to be possible, teachers must have good training, and in this sense there were several initiatives, such as the *Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Belo Horizonte* which, in a two-year course, trained students recruited “from among the most of teachers in Minas Gerais” through intelligence tests and medical examinations, making them “expert pedagogues”. (ANTIPOFF, 1930, p 226)

In São Paulo, the *Instituto de Higiene* trained “professors public hygiene services”, which would operate in schools with the aim of inculcating hygiene habits and forming “sanitary awareness” in students. School health educators were responsible for carrying out courses, campaigns and advertisements about hygiene; collect individual records of students and study their social and sanitary conditions at home; assist the school doctor and refer students for specialized examinations when necessary; administer vaccines and injections at school; ensure the health of the school environment; carry out practical activities such as brushing teeth, cutting nails and bathing students and carrying out inspections of the practice of healthy habits in classes (CASTRO, 1941).

The LBHM also called on women to act in the fight against alcoholism, one of the Liga's main banners, given the numerous anti-alcoholism campaigns and events carried out. In the text “*O alcoolismo e a mulher*” Britto (1930) attributes to women a “salient and indispensable role in the prophylaxis of alcoholism”. For her to become a true apostle of this crusade it would be necessary to play the following roles:

It will be the *woman-mother* showing her child the dangers and inconveniences of alcoholic beverages, educating them in abstinence, and between maternal affection and kisses, it will be easy to teach and even easier to learn; it will be the *woman teacher* who at school completes maternal education and provides the necessary instruction for a good understanding of the disasters of alcohol poisoning; It will be the *woman-bride*, who with her charms and the ardor of her passion will achieve, often with a simple look, the abandonment, by her chosen one, of an addiction acquired in bad company, and which would certainly disturb the happiness of her rosy dreams of a virgin in love; It will be the *woman-wife* who, with her love and affection, will

achieve everything from her husband, and, in times of adversity or moments of sadness, with her comfort, will prevent him from trying to drown his pains in the fictitious and fantastic joy of alcohol. (BRITTO, 1930, p.205. Our emphasis).

Numerous texts about the subject of alcoholism in families and the need to fight against this evil that the *Liga* considered to affect not only homes, but which was an instrument of degeneration of individuals, were covered in specific sections such as “*Trabalhos de Antialcoolismo*” and “*Contra o alcoolismo: em favor da higidez mental*”. An interesting sample is the text that informs about the closing of the 3rd. Anti-alcoholic Week, occasion in which an award was given to São Paulo professor Maria Antonietta de Castro, who won the competition for literary compositions promoting anti-alcoholic propaganda organized by LBHM. Furthermore, teachers from the municipal school signed the League's “*livro dos abstêmios*”, pledging to “never use alcoholic beverages again and become apostles of anti-alcohol education in schools”. (ABHM, 1929, p. 139).

Alcoholism was also treated by Juana M. Lopes (1943, p. 66) from the perspective of the consequences of the world war that “affect the entire society, with children being the biggest victims”. After dealing with several other aspects of alcoholism, the author appeals to women asking them to join the legion of those fighting against this terrible scourge, calling: “we need ladies of good will to continue our path and reach the ideal of a teetotal humanity.” (LOPES, 1943, p.67).

But not only the fight against alcoholism was the main target of the LBHM. Other concerns, such as those related to women's sexual and reproductive health, were also addressed in the context of eugenic ideals and the medical-hygienist vision that reverberated in the *Liga* and were expressed on the pages of the ABHM in several texts.

For example, prostitution was seen as the main cause of the transmission of venereal diseases, and seen as “distorting the race, sterilizing, creating idiots and degenerates” (PORTO-CARRERO, 1935, p. 143). Among the venereal diseases, syphilis was addressed (MOREIRA, 1929) and heavily fought for causing in the family “the disunity of couples, the collapse of homes, disappointed motherhood, offspring stigmatized by hereditary defects and the weakening of the birth rate, depopulation, and the bastardization of the race.” (ARAÚJO, 1935, p. 149).

As a way to contain the spread of syphilis and other diseases, such as leprosy, cancer, tuberculosis, alcoholism, mental illness and epilepsy, the *Liga* also campaigned for prenuptial exams. Porto-Carrero (1933, p. 94) considered this exam as a factor in eugenic preservation and called for the creation of health centers for free annual exams at a very low cost not only for legitimate marriages, but also for children of illegal unions, who in his view “have the right to be eugenically trained, as long as they are not guilty of the parental union, in addition to broad propaganda for the maintenance of health under the control of this annual examination”.

Juana Maria Lopes, member of the LBHM and gynecologist at the *Hospital Colônia de Psicopatas* (female wing) in *Engenho de Dentro*, also defended the carrying out of the prenuptial exam, pointing out that this function should be entrusted to responsible institutions, such as the LBHM, in instead of state doctors. For the author,

in addition to its dual importance, as a factor of pure eugenics and as a defensive measure for the health of the innocent spouse, that is, the healthy spouse, exposed to acquiring, through contagion, their partner's diseases, they must also be instantly advised, by a third party reason, also powerful, which is to serve as an element of prophylaxis against marital unhappiness. (LOPES, 1933, p. 103).

The gynecological nursing of the alienated also concerned the author (LOPES, 1934) who made recommendations about this subject, in addition to presenting a set of precautions to be taken when carrying out gynecological examinations on patients admitted to hospitals for psychopaths, such as: taking the patients newly admitted to the gynecologist for examinations, in addition to keeping a notebook of each patient's menstrual days, which will be recorded in a general book under the direct supervision of the gynecologist. For Galvêncio and Costa (2021, p. 11), “dedication to the health of women and children was a point of communion among the first generations of Brazilian doctors, in an attempt to rehabilitate the traditional figure of the female caregiver”.

Final considerations

The articles published in ABHM make it possible to reflect about the space that women occupied in the magazine and in LBHM and the educational role assigned to them as mothers, wives and educators. At the same time that female presence in the membership of the LBHM and in the authorship of articles published in the ABHM was low, for the task of sanitizing the Brazilian population, women were seen as essential, and received several recommendations and instructions from the hygienists, as expressed on the ABHM pages. Women and their diverse educational roles, in domestic life and in society, were the cornerstone of the hygienist proposal to educate to correct and regenerate in order to overcome what they understood to be the nation's ills.

Since its first volume, in 1925, it can be observed that the *Liga* considered the need to instruct “mothers, nurses and teachers” due to the primordial role they played in the education of children and young people, a task seen as essentially feminine and associated with the Careful. However, if on the one hand, female identity was plastered on the caregiver figure, women in the health sector remodeled this ideal to be able to provide care in public spaces (GALVÊNCIO; COSTA, 2021): in doctors' offices, in schools, in scientific journals, such as ABHM, acting as producers of scientific knowledge.

In historiography, there is a current that states the absence of women in science, which is not true: we saw in this work, the existence of women who stood out, but in addition to being a minority, they were made invisible in historiography and little is known about them. However, there is a consensus across all historiographical currents that science is a field of power and that women have been at a disadvantage in the scientific field (LINO, MAYORGA, 2016).

Furthermore, women who had contact with the LBHM received patriarchal and conservative treatment, although they were called upon to educate new generations according to the precepts of hygiene. As Messias and Jacó-Vilela (2018, p.5) state:

In order to educate her children and fulfill her natural destiny as a wife, mother and housewife, it was necessary for women to first be educated, but their education should prioritize hygiene, character and be based on the principles of morality, social and civic values, as was common in republican discourse.

In summary, the analysis of the scientific production of the ABHM revealed that women – whether they were mothers, wives and/or teachers – had educational and scientific roles to strengthen the hygienic-eugenicist ideas of the LBHM. As they were often denied the role of holders and spokespeople of scientific-hygienic knowledge, their role was to put into practice the instructions offered by *men of science*.

References

ACADEMIA NACIONAL DE MEDICINA (ANM). *Henrique de Brito Belford Roxo*. 2023. Disponível em: <https://www.anm.org.br/henrique-de-brito-belford-roxo/>. Acesso 2 out. 2021.

ACCORSI, G. E. Ernani Lopes: médicos que atuaram no Hospital Nacional dos Alienados. In: *Biblioteca Virtual em História do Patrimônio Cultural da Saúde*. 2018. Disponível em: <http://hpcs.bvsalud.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Lopes-Ernani.pdf>. Acesso 2 out. 2022.

ANTIPOFF, H. A psicologia na Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Bello Horizonte. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 3, n. 7, p. 226-234, 1930.

ARAÚJO, O. S. Aspectos sociais e econômicos das doenças venéreas. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 8, n.1-3, p. 143-149, 1935.

ARQUIVOS BRASILEIROS DE HIGIENE MENTAL (ABHM). A contribuição de Hygiene Mental no 2º Congresso Brasileiro de Hygiene. *ABHM*, v. 1, n. 1, p. 193-201, 1925.

ARQUIVOS BRASILEIROS DE HIGIENE MENTAL (ABHM). Uma carta de Clifford Beers ao dr. Gustavo Riedel. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v.1., n.1, p.202, 1925.

ARQUIVOS BRASILEIROS DE HIGIENE MENTAL (ABHM). Trabalhos antialcoolismo. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 2, n.3, p. 139-141, 1929.

ARQUIVOS BRASILEIROS DE HIGIENE MENTAL (ABHM). Editorial: um apelo à mulher brasileira. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v.3, n. 6, p. 193-194, jun. 1930.

ARQUIVOS BRASILEIROS DE HIGIENE MENTAL (ABHM). A clínica de eufrenia. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 5, n. 2, p. 65-98, 1932.

ARQUIVOS BRASILEIROS DE HIGIENE MENTAL (ABHM). Sessão solene em homenagem aos patronos da Clínica de Eufrenia e do Patronato dos Egressos dos Manicômios. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 6, n. 2, p. 178-185, 1933.

ARQUIVOS BRASILEIROS DE HIGIENE MENTAL (ABHM). A campanha pró-higiene mental. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 6, n.4, p. 336-358, 1933.

ARQUIVOS BRASILEIROS DE HIGIENE MENTAL (ABHM). Ata de fundação da Liga em 1923. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 13, n. 1, p. 91-95, jul. 1941.

ARQUIVOS BRASILEIROS DE HIGIENE MENTAL (ABHM). Nota aos leitores. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 18, n. 1, p. 3, jul. 1947.

BEERS, C. W. *Um espírito que se achou a si mesmo*. 5. ed. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1967.

BARDIN, L. *Análise de conteúdo*. São Paulo: Edições 70, 2011.

BRAGA, M.L.S. Virginia Leone Bicudo (1910-2003). Disponível em: <https://www.gov.br/cnpq/pt-br/aceso-a-informacao/acoes-e-programas/programas/mulher-e-ciencia/pioneiras-da-ciencia-1/pioneiras-2a-edicao>. Acesso 30 maio 2023.

BRASIL. Decreto nº 4778, de 27 de dezembro de 1923. *Diário Oficial da União*. Brasília, sessão 1, p. 32952, 1923. Disponível em <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1920-1929/decreto-4778-27-dezembro-1923-568642-publicacaooriginal-91995-pl.html>. Acesso em 1 de out. 2022.

BRITTO, A. O alcoolismo e a mulher. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v.3, n.6, p. 204-205, 1930.

CALDAS, M. Os Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 2, n. 1, p. 1-2, 1929.

CALDAS, M. A higiene mental no Brasil. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 3, n.3, p. 69-77, 1930.

CAMARGO, J. R. F.; HAYASHI, M. C. P. I. Coautoria e participação feminina em periódicos brasileiros da área de cirurgia: estudo bibliométrico. *Revista Digital de Biblioteconomia e Ciência da Informação*, v.15, n.1, p.148-170, jan./abr. 2017. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20396/rdbci.v15i1.8646289>.

CAMARGO, O. Clinicas de Orientação Infantil. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v.18, n.1, p.14-30, 1947.

CARRARO, M. Propostas de educação higienista presentes na produção científica dos Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental (ABHM). In: ENCONTRO NACIONAL DE HISTÓRIA DA ANPUH-SP, 25., 2020. *Anais [...]*. 2020, p. 1-20.

CARRARO, M. *Corrigir e ajustar*: as propostas para a educação nos Arquivos Brasileiros de Higiene Mental (1925-1947). Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação). Universidade Federal de São Carlos, São Carlos, 2022.

CASTRO, M. A. de. A educação sanitária nas escolas. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 13, n. 1, p. 57-67, 1941.

CNPq. *Pioneiras da ciência*. Disponível em: <https://www.gov.br/cnpq/pt-br/aceso-a-informacao/acoes-e-programas/programas/mulher-e-ciencia/pioneiras-da-ciencia-1>. Acesso 13 maio 2023.

FONTENELLE, J. P. Higiene mental e educação. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 1, n. 1, p. 1-10, 1925.

GALVÍNCIO, A. S.; COSTA, J. C. C. O cuidar como profissão das mulheres: ensino superior e representação de gênero na trajetória intelectual de Eudésia Vieira. *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, Maringá, v.21, 2021. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4025/10.4025/rbhe.v21.2021.e149>.

HAYASHI, M. C. P. I.; CABRERO, R.; COSTA, M. P.; HAYASHI, C. R. M. Indicadores de participação feminina em ciência e tecnologia. *Transinformação*, v. 19, n. 2, p. 169-187, 2007. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-37862007000200007>.

HAYASHI, M. C. P. I. Evidências bibliométricas do reconhecimento científico em resenhas e entrevistas: notas teóricas e modelo de análise. *Revista Digital de Biblioteconomia e Ciência da Informação*, v.18, e20037, p.1-31, 2020. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20396/rdbci.v18i00.8660743>.

INSTITUTO Consuelo Pinheiro. *Sobre*. Disponível em: <https://consuelopinheiro.org.br/sobre/>. Acesso 13 maio 2023.

JACÓ-VILELA, A. M. Psychological measurement in Brazil in the 1920s and 1930. *History of Psychology*, v.17, n.3, p.237-248, 2014.

LETA, J. As mulheres na ciência brasileira: crescimento, contrastes e um perfil de sucesso. *Estudos Avançados*, São Paulo, v.17, n.49, p.271-284, 2003. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-40142003000300016>.

LINO, T. R.; MAYORGA, C. As mulheres como sujeitos da Ciência: uma análise da participação das mulheres da Ciências Modernas. *Saúde & Transformação Social*, Florianópolis, v. 7, n. 3, p. 96-107, 2016.

LOPES, E. Resenha e análises. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 6, n.3, p. 244-247, 1933.

LOPES, J. M. Em torno do exame pré-nupcial. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 6, n.2, p. 103-122, 1933.

LOPES, J. M. A enfermagem ginecológica das alienadas. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 7, n. 2, p. 124-129, 1934.

LOPES, J. M. Combate ao alcoolismo. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 14, n.1, p. 65-68, 1943.

MELO, H. P. *Helena Wladimirovna Antipoff (1892-1974)*. Disponível em: <https://www.gov.br/cnpq/pt-br/aceso-a-informacao/acoes-e-programas/programas/mulher-e-ciencia/pioneiras-da-ciencia-1/pioneiras-2a-edicao>. Acesso 13 maio 2023.

MESSIAS, M. C. N.; JACÓ-VILELA, A. M. Relações de gênero e Belle Époque: entre discursos e práticas. *Psicologia em Pesquisa*, v.12, n.3, p. 1-10, 2018.

NIEPHE. Núcleo Interdisciplinar de Estudos e Pesquisas em História Educação. *Maria Antonieta de Castro*. Disponível em: <https://sites.usp.br/niephe/mulher-inovadoras/maria-antonieta-de-castro/>. Acesso 13 maio 2023.

PARRY, M. From a patient's perspective: Clifford Whittingham Beers' work to reform mental health services. *The American Journal of Public Health*, v. 100, n. 12, p. 2356- 2357, 2010. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2010.191411>.

PICCININI, W. J. A psiquiatria brasileira na Segunda Guerra Mundial. *Psychiatry online Brasil*, v.28, n. 6, jun. 2023. Disponível em: <https://www.polbr.med.br/2019/01/01/a-psiquiatria-brasileira-na-segunda-guerra-mundial/>. Acesso 13 maio 2023.

PICCININI, W. J. História da Psiquiatria: mulheres na medicina e na psiquiatria brasileira (primeira parte). *Psychiatry online Brasil*, v.7, n. 11, nov. 2002. Disponível em: <https://www.polbr.med.br/ano02/edit1102.php>. Acesso em: 13 maio 2023.

PORTAVALES, V.; JACÓ-VILELA, A. M. Maria Brasília Leme Lopes (1909-1996). Disponível em: <http://grupo-portal.cnpq.br/web/guest/pioneiras-da-ciencia-do-brasil6>. Acesso em 30 maio 2023.

PORTO-CARRERO, J. Educação sexual. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 2, n. 3, p. 120-133, 1929.

PORTO-CARRERO, J. O exame pré-nupcial como fator eugênico. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v.6, n.2, p. 87-94, 1933.

PORTO-CARRERO, J. Palestra realizada no Theatro Colón, no dia anti-venereo, pelo Prof. J. P. Porto-Carrero. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 8, n.1-3, 1935.

ROSSITER, M. W. The Matthew Matilda effect in science. *Social Studies of Science*, v.23, n.2, p.325-341, 1993.

ROSSITER, M. W. *Women scientists in America: struggles and strategies to 1940*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1982.

SBMFC. Sociedade Brasileira de Medicina da Família e Comunidade. *Virgínia Leone Bicudo*. 2023. Disponível em: <https://www.sbmfc.org.br/virginia-leone-bicudo/>. Acesso 2 maio 2023.

SCHWARCZ, L.M. *O espetáculo das raças: cientistas, instituições e questão racial no Brasil 1870-1930*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993.

SILVA, M. R.; HAYASHI, C. R. M.; HAYASHI, M. C. P. I. Análise bibliométrica e cientométrica: desafios para especialistas que atuam no campo. *INCID: Revista de Ciência da Informação e Documentação*, Ribeirão Preto, v.2, n.1, p.110-129, 2011. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2178-2075.v2i1p110-129>.

SILVA JÚNIOR, N. G. de S.; ANDRADE, A. N. de. “É melhor pra você!”: normatização social da infância e da família no Brasil. *Revista do Departamento de Psicologia*, Niterói, v. 19, n. 2, p. 423-438, jul.-dez. 2007. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-80232007000200012>.

XIMENES, L. Profilaxia da delinquência infantil. *ABHM*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 14, n. 1, p. 36-51, 1943.