



Recognition to Anna Justina Ferreira Nery: woman and personality in nursing history

Reconhecimento à Anna Justina Ferreira Nery: mulher e personalidade da história da enfermagem

Reconocimiento a Anna Justina Ferreira Nery: mujer y personalidad en la historia de enfermería

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ABSTRACT

Objective: To analyze the rituals of consolidation of the character of Anna Nery as a Brazilian nurse, the heroine of the War of Paraguay, during the transfer of her remains to the city of Cachoeira (BA). **Method:** Socio-historical study in printed and photographic documentary sources, belonging to the collections of the Anna Nery Nursing School Documentation Center of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Nursing School of the Federal University of Bahia and the Brazilian Digital Library of the National Library. Analysis of printed information was based on Bardin, and iconology for imagery sources. **Results:** Two key aspects are revealed, the legitimacy of a heroin nurse by the State and the transfer process with its interfaces and historical, political, economic, and social aspects. It highlights the construction of a female, civic, and hero icon linked to the effervescence of the gender discussion that contributes to shaping professional identity in nursing education. **Conclusion and implications for practice:** The study allows to understand the determinants and implications of historical facts in Anna Nery's biography for Nursing and Nurses, revealing the rituals of the transfer of her remains and their influences in the construction of the social image of women and nurse women.

Keywords: Nursing; History of Nursing; Wars; Biography; Funeral Rites.

RESUMO

Objetivo: Analisar os rituais de consolidação da figura de Anna Nery como enfermeira brasileira, heroína da Guerra do Paraguai, durante a transladação de seus restos mortais à cidade de Cachoeira (BA). **Método:** Estudo histórico-social em fontes documentais impressas e fotográficas, pertencentes aos acervos do Centro de Documentação da Escola de Enfermagem Anna Nery da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, da Escola de Enfermagem da Universidade Federal da Bahia e da Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira da Biblioteca Nacional. Análise de informações impressas com base em Bardin, e na iconologia para as fontes imagéticas. **Resultados:** Revelam-se dois aspectos fulcrais, a legitimação de uma enfermeira heroína pelo Estado e o processo trasladatório com suas interfaces e aspectos históricos, políticos, econômicos e sociais. Destaca-se a construção de um ícone feminino, cívico e herói atrelada à efervescência da discussão de gênero que contribui para forjar a identidade profissional no ensino de enfermagem. **Conclusão e implicações para a prática:** O estudo permite compreender os determinantes e implicações dos fatos históricos na biografia de Anna Nery para a Enfermagem e Enfermeiras, revelando os rituais do traslado de seus restos mortais e suas influências na construção da imagem social da mulher e da mulher enfermeira.

Palavras-chave: Enfermagem; História da Enfermagem; Guerras; Biografia; Rituais Fúnebres.

RESUMEN

Objetivo: Analizar los rituales de consolidación de la figura de Anna Nery como enfermera brasileña, heroína de la Guerra del Paraguay, durante el traslado de sus restos a la ciudad de Cachoeira (BA). **Método:** Estudio histórico-social en fuentes documentales impresas y fotográficas, pertenecientes a las colecciones del Centro de Documentación de la Escuela de Enfermería Anna Nery de la Universidad Federal de Río de Janeiro, la Escuela de Enfermería de la Universidad Federal de Bahía y la Biblioteca Digital Brasileña de la Biblioteca Nacional. El análisis de la información impresa se basó en Bardin y en la iconología para las fuentes de imágenes. **Resultados:** Se revelan dos aspectos clave, la legitimación de una enfermera heroína por parte del Estado y el proceso de transferencia con sus interfaces y aspectos históricos, políticos, económicos y sociales. Se destaca la construcción de un ícono femenino, cívico y heroico vinculado a la efervescencia de la discusión de género que contribuye a forjar la identidad profesional en la educación de la enfermería. **Conclusión e implicaciones para la práctica:** El estudio permite comprender los determinantes e implicaciones de los hechos históricos en la biografía de Anna Nery para la Enfermería y Enfermeras, revelando los rituales del traslado de sus restos y sus influencias en la construcción de la imagen social de las mujeres y las enfermeras.

Palabras clave: Enfermería; Historia de la Enfermería; Guerras; Biografía; Ritos Fúnebres.

INTRODUCTION

History, conceived as a science of knowledge of facts, acts and events lived and experienced, when developed by society over time in different spaces, shows specific aspects of each story told. This requires registration and documentation, which are consolidated by the importance and value of their connections and circumstances as human experience. Each person, in tracing their history, faces influences that determine their achievements, which are linked to setbacks existing, specifically, in that period and social moment. In this sense, a person's life story, in a biography, eternalizes him or her, through contributions to history, whether from a profession or a nation.

Thinking and writing the life history of Anna Nery, considered the heroine of Brazilian Nursing, allows us to understand the historical aspects of this field of knowledge and analyze it as a profession. In this way, biographies are important productions in the construction of the history of the profession. They have contextual determinants and a plot, imbricated and complex of interests and powers, which goes through the reflection of the historical aspects of the profession, its rituals, symbols and signs.¹

Therefore, in Nursing there emerge, from various parts of the world, illustrious names pertinent to professional organization in similar scenarios of wars, such as Crimea (1853-1856) and Paraguay (1864-1870), the latter, a country close to Brazil. Due to the nature of society, in its predominantly macho character, and in face of historical processes, these wars became involved with gender issues and vulnerabilities in force at the time, still fragile of human resources, materials, assistance methods and health work.

In addition, the biographies of nurses have been used in nursing education for various purposes, such as: to highlight the development of a specific professional area; to guide the creation of nursing schools and professional associations; to create nursing theories; to investigate the social and political advances of the profession and, especially, to address the history of nursing.¹

Thus, what links the historian to history is the relevance of the actions and events that took place, which left their reference in the social imaginary. From this perspective, the object of this study includes tributes to Anna Justina Ferreira Nery, in February 1979, a period in which the mortal remains of this woman, mother and illustrious nurse, were transferred to her native land, the municipality of Cachoeira, in the State of Bahia, in the northeast region of Brazil.

In this sense, the objective of this article is to analyze the rituals of consolidation of the character of Anna Nery as a heroine nurse of the War of Paraguay, at the time of the translation of her remains to the city of Cachoeira, Bahia. The relevance of the analysis of the transfer event, here treated, is in its meaning for the Brazilian nursing, because it registers the destination of Anna Nery's mortal remains in another homage, besides giving

name to hospitals, clinics, streets, viaducts, schools, wards and to a neighborhood, in different regions of the country, reaffirming the recognition of this woman, also as national heroine.

Brief biography of Anna Justina Ferreira Nery

Anna Justina Ferreira Nery was born in Vila Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Porto de Cachoeira do Paraguaçu in Bahia on December 13, 1814. She married in 1837 with the Frigate Captain of the Brazilian Navy, Isidoro Antônio Nery, with whom she had three children, and became a widow in 1844.^{2,3}

In 1864, with the beginning of the Paraguayan War, his two sons, who were officers of the Army, and a brother major went to the battlefield. Anna Nery then wrote a letter addressed to the President of the Province of Bahia, the counselor Manuel Pinho de Souza Dantas, in order to accompany the children and the brother, also going to the region of the combats to act in the war hospitals. Anna Nery faced the difficulties and prejudices of the time, especially those of the female sex, overcome by being close to her own and by her humanitarian passion, expressed in the letter in which she asked permission to go to war as a nurse, alleging the desire to alleviate the suffering of those who were going to fight for their homeland.^{4,5}

Anna Nery went to the battlefields in 1865 as a nurse, composing the 4th Battalion of Volunteers of the Army Health Corps, commanded by her brother, in which she carried out activities of care for the wounded in the military hospitals of Salto, Asunción, Corrientes and Humaitá, which had a significant number of soldiers interned under the care of a restricted number of charitable sisters belonging to the Vincentian congregation. Reports of their deeds include providing relief to soldiers and organizing an infirmary at their home in the Campaign for health care, with reports of assistance from soldiers on both sides of the war. In addition, she was often seen at the front, where she showed great ability to encourage and elevate the troops' mood and moral attitude.⁵

In 1870, she returned to Brazil, her home country, which received her with tributes for all the humanitarian contribution made available by her performance as a nurse in the Paraguayan conflict. She was called "Mother of Brazilians", "Great Sister of Lay Charity" and "Heroine of Charity" and received a medal of honor from the hands of the Emperor of Brazil, as well as other tributes in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia.⁵⁻⁸

She continued her life in Bahia, there being no exact information about which city Anna Nery kept living in (Salvador or Cachoeira), where she raised orphaned children, which she brought from Paraguay, a fact that in scientific literature varies in number from 3 to 6 children raised by her. She moved to the city of Rio de Janeiro in the 1870's as a result of the transfer of her son and then Army Captain, Antonio Néri. She died in this city on May 20, 1880, at the age of 65 and was buried in the São Francisco Xavier Cemetery, in the Caju neighborhood, a port area of Rio de Janeiro.^{2,3} There are no historical records,

located to this date, that Anna Nery acted as a nurse or with care practices after the War of Paraguay.

After the creation, in 1922, of the School of Nurses of the National Public Health Department by the federal government, still under the Parsons Mission, which came to spread in the Brazilian society the model of teaching Anglo-American nursing, this school was renamed, in 1926, to the Dona Anna Nery School of Nurses.⁹ In order to keep its memory, this School instituted a pilgrimage to its tomb, in 1926. The ceremony was held annually on the date of her death (May 20), when teachers and students brought flowers to pay homage to this Brazilian heroine, a fact that was reported several times in the journalistic text.^{10,11}

The memory of Anna Nery exalts in Brazilian society the pioneer nurse, recognized as a precursor of the Brazilian Red Cross in 1956, on behalf of whom monuments were erected that perpetuate memories such as “Sister of Lay Charity”, whose historical sources refer to the idea of patriotic pride for her performance.^{5,11}

In 1979, Anna Nery’s remains were treated for transfer to her hometown, in homage that revitalized her memory in 20th century Brazilian society.

METHOD

Documentary research, socio-historical, from the time frame circumscribed to the year 1979, when the request for transfer of Anna Nery’s mortal remains to the city of her birth occurred.

Documentary sources

The historical collections of the documentary search were the Documentation Center (CDOC) of the Anna Nery School of Nursing (EEAN) of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), the collection of the Nursing School of the Federal University of Bahia (EEUFBA), the Brazilian Digital Hemeroteca of the National Library and scientific literature on the subject.

The source selection criteria considered the documents related to the transfer process of Anna Nery’s remains and sources produced on the subject in the year of the defined time cut. The sources followed the evaluation classification and relevance for the historical study, referring to the direct origin, the voluntary intentionality, the quality of the material and the quantity of the printed material found. Thus, 23 documents were produced, 12 of them of hemerographic origin and 11 of them of archival origin. For the analysis, 18 were considered, since 5 were excluded for not presenting a direct relation with the act of translation itself.

Data processing and analysis

The sources were photocopied and organized in a digital file, using a matrix with the following data: description of type, author, place and date, source collection and subject. Afterwards, the material was read, separating in *excel* spreadsheet the information pertinent to the translation process of Anna Nery’s mortal remains. The organization, treatment and analysis of

the data collected took place between November 2019 and January 2020 with triangulation of sources.¹²

The content analysis advocated by Bardin was used for printed information and iconology for the analysis of imagery sources. The data was processed by analysis by similitude and relevance of content.¹³ Texts were cut into units, which led to categorization for thematic analysis and data recording, organizing the data in a standardized and equivalent way. The Regrouping by analogy was composed, which allowed us to identify the registration units in order to perform the frequency count and the appearance and similarity, resulting in the units of significance of the subject under study. The interpretative analysis of the corpus was done by the analysis of thematic content, keeping the chronology of the facts and converging in the categories: “Rituals that preceded the transfer of Anna Nery’s mortal remains to Cachoeira” and “Legitimation of Anna Nery as a heroine nurse by the State”.

The study obeyed the norms of the Resolution nº 510/2016 and received approval of the Committee of Ethics in Research of the UFRJ by the opinion of n. 2.763.279/18.

RESULTS

Rituals preceding the transfer of Anna Nery’s remains to Cachoeira

The process of transferring Anna Nery’s remains involved the Federal Universities of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, the three military forces of the country (Army, Navy and Air Force) and the state of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro.

The *Jornal do Brasil* (RJ), a week before, on January 27, 1979, announced in a small note in the “First Notebook” section that the spoils of Anna Nery would be transferred to the Cachoeira. The news, referring to how the solemnity would be organized, whose reception would take place from the city’s stadium, gave evidence of its magnitude by the involvement and presence of civil, military and religious authorities.

The Transfer Commission was formed by two working groups, one in Rio de Janeiro and the other in Bahia. The representation of the Northeast had as president the Vice-Governor of the State of Bahia, Edwaldo Brandão Correia and was constituted by: Cardinal Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Salvador, D. Avelar Brandão Vilela; Vice Admiral of the Brazilian Navy Gabriel de Araújo Bastos; Major-Brigadier of the Brazilian Army Ciro de Souza Valente; General of the Brazilian Army Otávio Pereira da Costa; Rector of the Federal University of Bahia, Augusto da Silveira Mascarenhas; Director of EEUFBA, Clara Wolfovitch; Mayor of Cachoeira, Ariston Mascarenhas; writer and feminist, Edith Mendes da Gama and Abreu. The Commission was composed by the southeastern region: the former rector of the then University of Brazil in two managements (1948-1950 and 1951-1966) professor Pedro Calmon, the former minister of the Federal Court of Appeals (TFR), José Joaquim Moreira

Rabello and the director of EEAN at the time, professor Cecília Pecego Coelho.

The program prepared by the Government of the State of Bahia, scheduled for February 4, 1979, included the transportation by plane of Anna Nery's mortal remains from Rio de Janeiro to Salvador, after a helicopter to Cachoeira, Cortejo and Civic Session in this city, ending with a religious ceremony in the place where she would stay for good - the Igreja Matriz de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, located next to her former residence, where Anna Nery lived part of her life.

They preceded the program, preparations and tributes that were carried out in Rio de Janeiro, starting with the process of exhumation of the remains of Anna Nery, held on February 1, 1979, at the São Francisco Xavier Cemetery, under the leadership of its administrator, Paulo Francisco Rodrigues and in the presence of ten witnesses, among whom they identified themselves: José Joaquim Moreira Rabello, Former Minister of the Federal Court of Appeals and born in Cachoeira; Vanda C. Amado, representing Santa Casa de Misericórdia da Bahia; Cecília Pecego Coelho, Director of EEAN; Ciley Chaves Rhodus, Vice Director of EEAN; Elvira De Felice Souza and Maria Dolores Lins de Andrade, both former directors of EEAN; Luciano Nilo de Andrade, husband of Maria Dolores; Dahas Zarur, Director of Santa Casa de Misericórdia do Rio de Janeiro.

When reporting the exhumation, the Última Hora Newspaper (RJ), of February 2, 1979, informed that, in addition to the personalities mentioned, there were "a great number of nursing students and nurses", and that the Director of Santa Casa de Misericórdia exalted, in a few words, the "sublime mission" of Anna Nery during her stay in the War of Paraguay.

Anna Nery's remains were placed in a jacaranda and polished silver urn made in the moulds of 18th century bridal trunks to match the baroque architecture of the Matriz de Cachoeira Church, where she would be exposed. The urn was offered by the Federal University of Bahia and contained two plates (one on the top and one in front of the urn) with the following inscriptions: "The mortal remains of Ana Nery, mother of Brazilians in the Paraguayan Campaign. Tribute from the Federal University of Bahia, 1979" (superior) and, "Here is Ana Nery overcoming the darkness of death and the distance of the centuries to receive from us others what she owes to posterity" (front).

From the cemetery, the urn with Anna Nery's remains was taken to the EEAN Classroom, where a Mass was celebrated. The urn was exposed for public visitation from February 1 to 4 in the School Alumni Association room next to a wreath offered by this institution. The attendance list shows a total of 103 visitors, including teachers, students and EEAN staff, President of the Brazilian National Nursing Association (ABEn) and the ABEn Rio de Janeiro Section, representatives of the Rio de Janeiro State University (UERJ) Nursing School, other nurses, reporters and people from society in general.

In the photograph shown in Figure 1 we see on the urn an EEAN flag in reduced size and, at the back, on the right side,

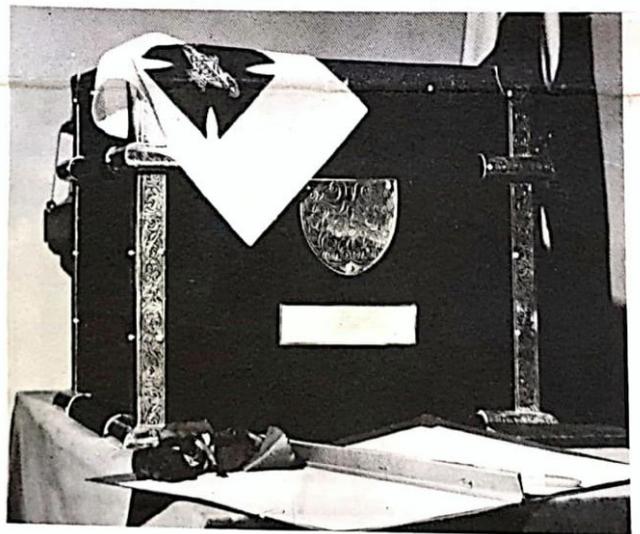
the flag in official size. In front of the urn is the book for visitors' signatures.

The carioca press made the announcement of the transfer with highlighted notes and the following messages: "Urn of Ana Nery will be in Cachoeira" (Jornal do Brasil, 01/27/1979), "Ashes of Ana Nery will go to Bahia" (Jornal do Brasil, 02/01/1979), "Spoils of Ana Néri will be taken Sunday to Bahia." (O Globo, 02/02/1979), "Ana Neri's ashes return Sunday to Bahia" (Última Hora - RJ, 02/02/1979), "Farewell to Ana Neri" (Jornal do Commercio - RJ, February 5, 1979), "Anna Nery's mortal remains welcomed in her homeland" (O Dia - RJ, February 6, 1979).

On the morning of February 4, 1979, the urn, accompanied by professors, among them the Director of EEAN and the historian and former rector of UFRJ, Pedro Calmon and guests, was taken to the Santos Dumont airport and handed over to the Aeronautics representative responsible for transport to Bahia.

The remains of Anna Nery followed on the P-95 patrol plane of the Brazilian Air Force (FAB), accompanied by Cecilia Pecego and Pedro Calmon, as well as the writer Adonias Filho, as president of the National Council of Culture. Arriving in Salvador at 11:30am on the same day, one Sunday, they were received with the proper honors, by two official guards from the Navy and the Air Force, staying at the Air Base of São Pedro da Aldeia under the guard of two military personnel.

The Figure 2 shows two soldier taking the urn from the plane to the chapel of the air base, where the Chaplain, Father Saul Bianchi exalted the achievements of Anna Nery, highlighting the importance of showing the youth "the great personalities of the country, in the past and present [...]". Present at the occasion were the Air Base Commander, Colonel Lair da Silva Andrade; Major Brigadier Ciro-Valente; Commander of the



A urna contendo as cinzas de Anna Nery, quando em exposição no Rio, coberta pela bandeira da Escola que leva seu nome.

Figure 1. Urn with Anna Nery's remains.

Source: Jornal Brasileiro de Enfermagem, April 1979.



Figure 2. Arrival of the urn with Anna Nery's mortal remains in Salvador on 02/04/1979.

Source: Jornal da Bahia, 02/05/1979.



Figure 3. Authorities carrying Anna Nery's remains.

Source: Jornal da Bahia, 02/05/1979.



Figure 4. Square of Acclamation in Cachoeira in honor of Anna Nery.

SOURCE: Jornal Brasileiro de Enfermagem (Brazilian Journal of Nursing), April 1979.

Coastal Command, General Otávio Rocha; Commander of the VI Military Region, Captain Nurse of the Army Jandira Meireles Mendonça (active in the 2nd GM), born in Cachoeira, in the same house where Anna Nery previously resided; Director of the Museum of Sacred Art of Bahia, Valentin Calderón.

The exit of the urn with the remains of Anna Nery from Salvador to the city of Cachoeira took place in a Navy helicopter, with the guard of four other naval helicopters commanded by Admiral José Maria de Amaral Oliveira. The N7035 prefix helicopter landed at the Municipal Stadium of Cachoeira at 4:30 p.m. to the first chords of "White Swan", Brazilian Navy Anthem. The withdrawal of the urn from the helicopter was made by soldiers of the army, in sight of authorities and citizens of Cachoeira and delivered to the Governor and Vice-Governor of Bahia, who began the procession to the Church of Matriz, with relay of many other authorities.

Figure 3 was published by The Salvador-Bahia newspaper "A Tarde", in a publication dated February 5, 1979, with the record of the popular participation in the event it presented: civic parade, martial bands, schools, literary associations and "students with the names of persons from Cachoeira who dignified their land, showing that the illustrious sons of Cachoeira were present waiting for their greatest daughter". The Jornal da Bahia also describes in detail the event that touched the city of Cachoeira: "The procession, led by Governor Roberto Santos and Vice President Edvaldo Brandão, traveled the streets Dr. Virgílio Reyz and July 25, towards the Praça da Aclamação, where the urn would be presented to the population. In the square, to the sound of the "Hymn to the Waterfall", hundreds of people could see the urn in jacaranda, where the spoils of the pioneer of nursing in Brazil (and who had an outstanding participation in the rescue of the wounded Brazilians in the Paraguayan war) Ana Justina Ferreira Nery, Ana Neri, "The Mother of Brazilians".

The report, published in Jornal da Bahia on February 5, 1979, also describes in detail the organization of the site and reveals that the same phrase used in front of the urn was posted on a plaque in front of the Cachoeira City Hall building. It is also possible to notice in the journalistic record that the emotion and feelings were quite alive in those who accompanied the procession, according to the record: "The [sentence] expressed well what the city experienced yesterday: an afternoon in which everyone revered the Brazilian heroine as if she were present".

The Figure 4 is a photographic record published in the report of the Brazilian Journal of Nursing it is observed that a stage was set up in the Praça da Aclamação for the celebrations. It was possible to identify that were present, in addition to the authorities already mentioned, the Mayor and Councilmen of Cachoeira; the representative of the rector of UFBA, Mrs. Mascarenhas; the Consul of Portugal in Bahia; members of the State Council of Culture of Bahia; the nurse from Bahia, at the time, President of the Federal Council of Nursing (COFEn), Maria Ivete Ribeiro de Oliveira; the Vicar of Cachoeira, Father

Fernando Carneiro; the Director of EEUFBA, Clara Wolfovitch; the President of the Regional Nursing Council of Bahia (COREN-BA), Sonia Maria Passos da Silva Pinto; the EEAN teacher, Haydee Guanais Dourado; the EEAN nurses and alumni, Radcliff Dourado and Anita Dourado Teixeira and the Director of the School of Music of the Pontifical Catholic University of Bahia, Dulce Calmon de Brito.

The urn was placed in the center of a large table mounted on the square's stage, where the authorities and guests sat for the civic ceremony. The program (Figure 1) obeyed the following items: 1. execution of the Hymn to the Waterfall; 2. word of Minister J.J. Moreira Rabelo, on behalf of Cachoeira; 3. word of academic Edith Mendes da Gama Abreu, on behalf of the Bahian woman; 4. word of General Octávio Costa, on behalf of the Armed Forces; 5. word of closure by the Governor of the State, Professor Roberto Santos; 6. execution of the Brazilian National Anthem.

After the civic ceremony, the procession went to the church of Our Lady of the Rosary Matrix, and the mortal remains were deposited with the urn in the ossuary of the sacristy of the same church, where Anna Nery was baptized.

The journalistic article published on February 5, 1979 in the newspaper *A Tarde*, entitled "Ashes of Ana Nery are delivered to her homeland," highlights the initiative of the state government of Bahia and the support received from the military for this. In presenting a synthesis of the speeches of the present authorities, the article refers to terms that incorporate an idealism, a patriotism, verified in the male lines. The governor highlighted the "civic satisfaction he felt" of accomplishing such a feat in his government. Minister Moreira Rabelo highlighted the achievements of Anna Nery and her significance in the formation of the Brazilian people. General Otávio Costa highlighted Anna Nery's example for the people. The reinforcement of the image of a heroine and her act of civism in favor of the country was the tonic of the references in the speeches of government authorities.

DISCUSSION

The years 1974 to 1979 were marked by the government of General Ernesto Geisel as President of the Republic and by his declaration, evoking an introduction to political openness after the harsh years of democratic breakdown in the Brazilian government. And this democracy would come slowly and gradually, materializing in 1985 with "Diretas já" and voting at the polls by the Brazilian people. In addition, consider that the Brazilian economy was treated, in technical comments at the time, as if Brazilians were living through what was called "the economic miracle" and that it had come to an end. The repressive violence and the absence of civil and public liberties had led the country to an unsustainable situation from the point of view of maintaining the regime of military dictatorship, causing various sectors of Brazilian society (progressives of the Catholic Church, industrial bourgeoisie, student movement,

metallurgical movement, and artists) to organize themselves as opposition to militarism.¹⁴

It is possible to infer that the transfer of Anna Nery's remains to Bahia, during a time of military dictatorship, served as a "backdrop" to reinforce civic and ufanist values to meet two objectives: improving the image of the government and strengthening the professional identity of nurses. Likewise, it is possible to infer that the Brazilian government may have had strategic interests in the iconization of Anna Nery, and may have served as an honorable exit from the war, since many Brazilian soldiers were killed and many returned invalids from military demobilization¹⁵⁻¹⁷.

A woman like Anna Nery, considered a heroine, configures what can easily be related, in the popular imagination, as a reference point and force for the collective identification of women, still so oppressed at the time. This construction of Anna Nery as a heroine is possibly due to many mobilizations of courage, affection and collective ideals, which also correspond to an ethical, moral and ideological religious model, engendered by both the political regime and the Brazilian population.

Although her initial motivation was the desire to accompany her family¹⁸, expressed in her letter requesting permission to go to war as a nurse, alleging the desire to alleviate the suffering of those who were going to fight for their homeland, Anna Nery fought with herself to overcome feelings that included the absence of her children, fear of losing them in the war, and the loneliness she faced for her widowhood. It is noteworthy that this woman's motivating feelings were no less than her ethics in embracing voluntary action in war, dedicating herself to the care of the wounded. So much so that Anna Nery did not give up when she lost her son and moved on, remaining in favor of the lives of so many anonymous, as evidenced in the records of the time.¹⁹ Nevertheless, being a widow was a favorable condition in that historical moment, since it gave Anna Nery a certain freedom to live in the public space of male dominion.

The use of the figure of heroine of the homeland evidenced in the transfer of the remains of Anna Nery, as much as it sounds like a strategy for the reconsideration of the Brazilian citizens in the moralization of the achievements of the state in political openness, breaks with the radicalism of the time, including the dominance of men and the minimization of the participative activity of women.

Let us reflect that, at that moment, another milestone was built around the care of soldiers at war. It is undeniable that Anna Nery, a Brazilian woman, was given a special place in the feminine life and distinction as an intrepid woman with a different political and social sense for her time.

Anna Nery has in her trajectory lived the permanence of the acts, not in favor of a professional identity, since there were not located registers of a performance as a nurse when returning from the war, but under the influence of a care identity. For this reason, eternalization is registered in her life history in the face of the results of her attitudes. In her life, she chose to care for the wounded in the face of circumstances that today

make her perennial in her memories and mirror examples and good practices of caring with the presence of the human. Anna Nery was revered for her practice as a war nurse, meeting with the Brazilian nursing profession, implanted in the 20th century.

In organization for the last tribute, state, religious and military authorities, as well as an intellectual movement of authorities from federal universities (Bahia, Rio de Janeiro) gathered before the remains of Anna Nery. The support of EEAN and other government and university authorities, representatives of nursing (ABEn, COFEn and COREns), who attended this tribute, participated in this ritual, accompanied the exhibition of the urn with the remains and listened to the political-social discourses, which called on the population at the solemnity.

The Brazilian State sought to legitimize, with all honor, the figure of the nurse of the War of Paraguay, facilitating the propagation, in social media, of notes on the exhumation of the remains of Anna Nery in newspapers of great circulation, with relevant documentary photos. The use of expressions such as "Mother of Brazilians", "Volunteer Heroine of the Paraguayan War", "Bahian Heroine" and "Founder of Brazilian Nursing" show Anna Nery's abnegation and qualification. The rites of translation, described here, rescue ideals of the Brazilian nurse, highlighted under the legacy of Anna Nery until approximately the 1950's, as a selfless, feminine/maternal figure, which were used in the speech of many Brazilian Nursing Schools to recruit candidates for nurses who, like Florence Nightingale, sought, through the feminine/maternal speech, to idealize the image of the woman nurse.

However, in the 1970's, the Brazilian Nursing discourse had advanced guidelines such as the organization of post-graduation *stricto sensu*, curricular changes, creation of the Regional and Federal Councils and the nursing deontology code. If, on the one hand, the visibility that the rite promoted for the Brazilian nursing is highlighted, on the other hand, these stereotypes were no longer aligned with the advances of the profession, evidencing a gap between the reality of the nursing profession in 1979 and the ideal, which the State passed in the rites of transfer.

The presence of the feminist, educator and literary, first woman to occupy a chair in the Academy of Letters of Bahia, Edith Mendes da Gama Abreu, to represent the Bahian woman and speak at the event, which involved the civic act of reception of the remains of Anna Nery, is also noteworthy. Edith Abreu's speech was published in its entirety in the February 18, 1979 edition of the *Jornal da Bahia*. It highlights Anna Nery's performance during the war and, also, her historical deeds, directed to her hometown:

"Patriotism has no sex. Civility, true nativism, does not have sex. You don't have to be a man to be able to be brave, the proof is that women like Ana Nery, Maria Quitéria, Joana Angélica among others, equaled themselves, if not surpassed - men in the defense for the fatherland [...]"

Every perfect and true woman has in her heart a feeling of bravery that can be activated whenever her children are in danger - even if these children are symbolic - and this is what Anna Nery did: she defended the children of others, who were fighting and even wounded in war" (Doc.16, Chart 1)

The resumption of the war heroine, Anna Nery, occurs through the celebration of her achievements, her active participation and the transforming character of reality. This is how Anna Nery shows herself to be a celebrity, as a woman and nurse in 19th century Brazil. It is observed in media publications, through speeches and accounts recorded in the memory of those who experience or even applaud someone's deeds, that affective bonds, for description or historical narratives, come from images and speeches, which record and make happen the permanence of deeds. And the paradox of death makes the symbolism of all deeds, in this study, of Anna Justina Ferreira Nery emerge, or rather, makes them remain, transcend.

Although Anna Nery was a volunteer nurse, her performance in her time, in the middle of the 19th century, gave visibility to the female work of caring for the human being. All this was represented in the transfer by the notoriety of the authorities that were present and that, in the nursing field, were from nursing academics to representative entities of the profession.

The character Anna Nery goes from the present of her time to this present and still has a lot to build in the future of this profession, because she brings together emblematically attributes venerable to society, in order to continue constituting better nurses and excellent professional practices. Also, studying the transfer of the mortal remains of great "Men and Women" of our history, we bring Brazilian society closer to these heroes and among them, the physical memory of these distinguished people, who go beyond the time in which we praise them and seek the longing for their corresponding homeland.

Anna Nery's call is ratified when she emerges once again as a national figure in the journalistic record at the time of at least eight different newspapers, demonstrating that the news not only describes and narrates, but also attributes exteriorization and fixation to events, constituting them as historical documents.²⁰

For being awarded with the title of nurse, this event had the pronouncement of speeches praising its merits and meanings given to nursing care. Without hesitation it can be said that, in the transfer of Anna Nery's mortal remains, the speeches of the present authorities legitimized her recognition as a woman of distinct exemplarity, resuming the discourse on the ideal of the nurse, predominant in previous decades, but that reverberated in the social ideology until today. The effect of the visibility of the Brazilian nursing in the journalistic text is also noteworthy.

Within this context, the nursing profession in Brazil has committed itself, through its representatives and the school that bears its name, in posthumous tribute to a woman beyond her time. Thus, Anna Nery, survives through just tributes and ceremonies.

Chart 1. Sources analyzed in the study.

Doc.	Source / Type/Location/ Date
1	Urn of Ana Nery will be in Cachoeira. Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - section: First Notebook - Saturday, 01/27/1979. Digital hemeroteca library location: http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/030015_09/193394
2	Ana Nery's ashes go to Bahia. Jornal do Brasil - section: First Notebook - Thursday, 01/02/1979. Digital hemero library location: http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/030015_09/193705
3	Homage to Anna Nery, Mother of Brazilians. Text prepared by Maria Magdalena Werneck, professor at EEAN. Document, paper support. CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ, Box: Anna Nery. 01/02/1979
4	List of signatures of those present at Anna Nery's Urn Visitation. Document, paper support. CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ, Box: Anna Nery. 1/02/1979 a 4/02/1979
5	Spoils of Ana Néri will be taken Sunday to Bahia. O Globo. Newspaper clipping, CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ, Box: Anna Nery. 02/02/1979, date and identification of the handwritten newspaper.
6	Ana Neri's ashes return Sunday to Bahia. Last Hour. Newspaper clipping, CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ, Box: Anna Nery. 02/02/1979, date and identification of the handwritten newspaper.
7	São Francisco Xavier Cemetery Transfer Term. Document. CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ. 02/04/1979
8	Invitation from the Government of Bahia with the Program of Transfer of the remains of Anna Nery. Document, CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ. 02/04/1979
9	Ana Neri's house. Text prepared by the Vicar of Cachoeira, Monsignor Fernando Almeida Carneiro. Document, paper support. CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ. 02/04/1979
10	Transfer of Ana Nery's remains. Document describes the process of exhumation in the cemetery of Rio de Janeiro and people involved. Paper document, typed. 02/04/1979. No signature. CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ
11	Ana Nery's ashes are delivered to her native land. In the afternoon. Newspaper clipping, CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ, Box: Anna Nery. 05/02/1979
12	Ana Nery rests in Cachoeira. Jornal da Bahia, Salvador - section: First Notebook. Newspaper clipping, CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ, Box: Anna Nery. 05/02/1979.
13	Helicopters take Ana Nery to Bahia. Jornal do Brasil - section: First Notebook - Monday, 02/05/1979. Location: Digital Hemeroteca National Library: http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/030015_09/193922
14	Farewell to Ana Neri. Author: Dahas Zarur. Jornal do Commercio - section 1 Booklet - Sunday, 4 and Monday, February 5, 1979. Location: Digital Hemeroteca National Library: http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/364568_16/62252
15	Ana Nery's mortal remains welcomed in her homeland. The Day, Rio de Janeiro. Newspaper clipping. CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ, Box: Anna Nery. 02/06/1979. date and identification of the handwritten newspaper.
16	The return of Ana Nery according to Edith Gama de Abreu: Cachoeira. Bahia Newspaper. Newspaper clipping. CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ, Box: Anna Nery. 18/02/1979
17	Anna Nery "Mother of Brazilians" returns to Bahia. Enfermagem - O Jornal Brasileiro de Enfermagem, Year II, no 25, p.1 e 4. Jornal, CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ, Box: Anna Nery. April, 1979.
18	From Rio to Bahia, by FAB. Newspaper clipping. CDOC/EEAN/UFRJ, Box: Anna Nery. Cut without date or identification.

CONCLUSION

To imagine that in the 19th century, when it was rare for Brazilian women to act as protagonists in a society of culture traditionally anti-feminist, with regard to intellectual liberation, one must consider how it was possible for Anna Nery, at a stage of her life, a widow with children in the Paraguay War, to find the strength to address a letter to the government, deliberating

to go as a volunteer to that War, representing and rendering services to Brazil, her country. And even more admirable, to obtain assent with governmental authority for this. At this moment, the conviction of the presence of a seed of feminism in Brazilian lands erupted.

The transfer of Anna Nery's mortal remains was an event that counted on the reception of the Brazilian society, effective, with honors of national celebrity, consolidating her as a heroine.

The transfer of Anna Nery's mortal remains, 165 years after her birth and 88 years after her burial, brought to light acts dignified by a very religious woman, nurse, northeastern and catholic, with altruistic attributes in her profile, characteristic of a certain identity of Brazilian Nursing, at the beginning of her development.

The greatness of her acts justifies being recognized as a personality in the History of Nursing and congratulated war heroine, showing that her performance made the difference in the screen scenario, despite the reason that led her to the war. This issue strengthens and consolidates not only the identity of the profession, but also the gender identity.

The notoriety of his actions makes any act related to his life/death be registered and referenced, not passing in blank, so analyzing the transfer shows the dignified, deserved and impacting tribute invested by the Brazilian government. However, it is worth highlighting the limitations of historical studies, whose criticism must be based on documents, sources and studies that are often unavailable and on other occasions they do not exist.

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