

AN ART OF DOSES: monitorial teaching, microgovernment of classes and life in Rio de Janeiro (1816-1833)

*"Uma arte das doses": ensino mútuo, microgoverno
das aulas e da vida no Rio de Janeiro (1816-1833)*

*Un arte de las dosis: la enseñanza mutua y el microgobierno
de las aulas y de la vida en Rio de Janeiro (1816-1833)*

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Abstract: In this article, I explore aspects of the so-called Monitorial System of Education, inspired by Foucault's formulations on power, as both a condition and a resource for making the investments in the system's planetary expansion conceivable. In this case, I reflect on doctrinal aspects, examining elements that allow me to analyze the process of circulation, appropriation and functioning of Monitorial Education in the Capital of the Brazilian Empire between 1816 and 1833. To this end, I highlight the material and financial dimension of monitorial classes, drawing attention to the demands of teachers and what was necessary for the good exercise of the profession and classes in terms of objects, physical space and services. The three points focused on allow me to resize some of the guiding principles and contours for its implementation, insofar as they are articulated with certain conditions and power relations activated at the level of the micro-government of classes, based on the experience of monitorial pedagogy that occurred in Rio de Janeiro.

Keywords: education in the Brazilian empire; monitorial system of education in Rio de Janeiro; Lancaster; discipline and monitorial classes.

Resumo: Neste artigo exploro aspectos do chamado Sistema do Ensino Mútuo inspirado em postulações a respeito do poder formuladas por Foucault, condição e recurso para tornar pensáveis os investimentos na planetarização do referido Sistema. No caso, reflito sobre aspectos doutrinários, examinando elementos que permitem analisar o processo de circulação, apropriação e funcionamento do Ensino Mútuo na Capital do Império brasileiro entre 1816 e 1833. Para tanto, destaco a dimensão material e financeira das aulas mútuas, chamando atenção para as demandas de professores e o que se fazia necessário para o bom exercício do ofício e das classes no que se refere aos objetos, espaço físico e serviços. Os três pontos focalizados permitem redimensionar alguns dos princípios orientadores e contornos para sua efetivação, na medida em que se encontram articulados a determinadas condições e relações de poder ativadas no nível do microgoverno das aulas, pautadas na experiência da pedagogia mutualista ocorrida no Rio de Janeiro.

Palavras-chave: educação no Império brasileiro; sistema do ensino mútuo no Rio de Janeiro; Lancaster; disciplina e aulas mútuas.

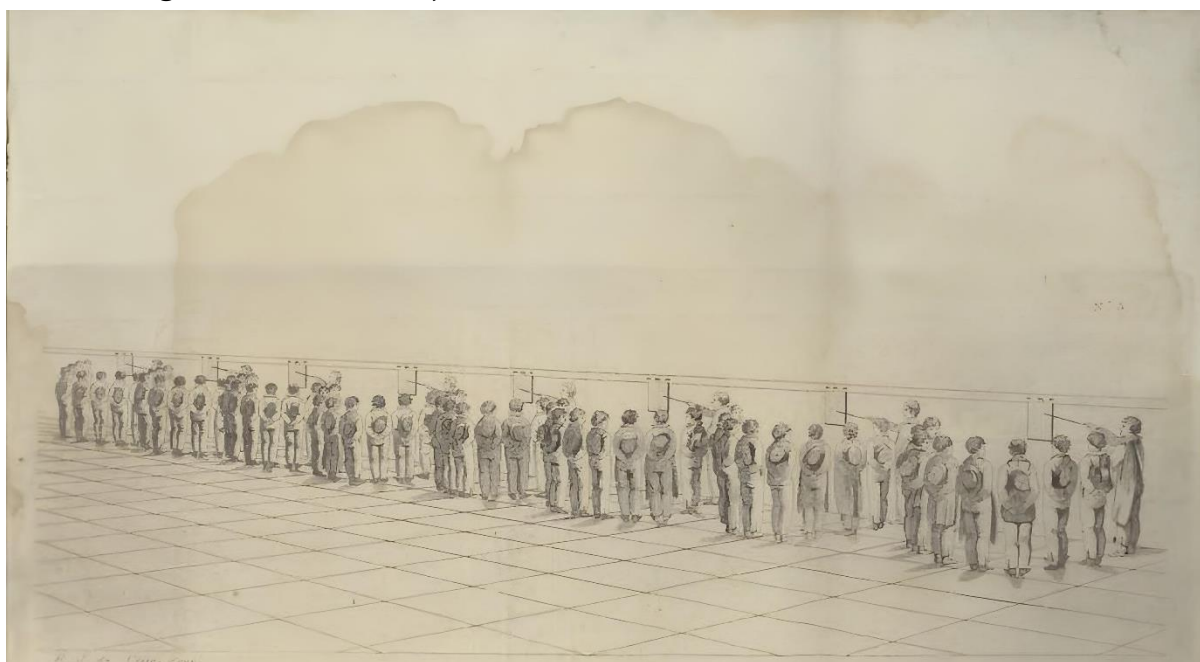
Resumen: En este artículo exploro aspectos del llamado Sistema de Enseñanza Mutua, inspirado en las postulaciones de Foucault sobre el poder, condición y recurso para hacer pensables las inversiones en la planetarización de este sistema. En este caso, reflexiono sobre aspectos doctrinales, examinando elementos que permitan analizar el proceso de circulación, apropiación y funcionamiento de la Educación Mutua en la capital del Imperio brasileño entre 1816 y 1833. Para ello, hago hincapié en la dimensión material y financiera de las clases mutuas, llamando la atención sobre las demandas de los maestros y lo que era necesario para el adecuado ejercicio de la profesión y de las clases en términos de objetos, espacio físico y servicios. Los tres puntos en los que me he centrado permiten redimensionar algunos principios rectores y esquemas para su aplicación, en la medida en que están vinculados a determinadas condiciones y relaciones de poder activadas en el nivel del microgobierno de las clases, a partir de la experiencia de pedagogía mutualista que tuvo lugar en Río de Janeiro.

Palabras clave: educación en el Imperio brasileño; sistema de enseñanza mutua en Río de Janeiro; Lancaster; disciplina y clases mutuas.

LINKS

What more interesting service can be rendered to the State than that of educating its children? Of all public employments, the most interesting is that of educating the youth well. The State needs nothing more than good citizens; now, nature does not make them, it is good education that makes them.
(Lancaster, 1823, p. 84).

Figure 1 – Monitorial System of Education – Semicircle exercise on the wall



Source: Lancaster (1823, p. 93).

In the seminar entitled 'Psychiatric Power', Foucault seeks to outline a framework of intelligibility for the question of power. For him, the problem no longer consists in answering the classic question: what is power? He abandons this type of questioning, because of what it assumes to be general, total, universal and fixed. In this sense, his interest will shift from this old way of thinking and operating with the topic of power, proposing an inquiry of another order. He is interested in observing how power works, what system of differentiation allows some to act upon others, what objectives are pursued, as well as recognizing the instrumental modalities used, the forms of institutionalization implied and, finally, the type of rationality at play.

By establishing these preliminary landmarks on the horizon, in this study I undertake two movements. In the first, I will revisit crucial points of Foucault's formulation regarding the genealogy of power and, in a second movement, I will address one of the 'arts of doses' that circulated and was the object of widespread

propaganda and well-detailed support. A system discussed in various parts of the planet, it is interesting to observe how it appeared, how it was disseminated and the measures adopted for its implementation, but, above all, to observe its contours, foundations, purposes and arrangements in the Capital of the Brazilian Empire. It is, therefore, a question of thinking about the functioning of power based on the circulation and appropriation of the pedagogy of the so-called 'Monitorial Teaching' (Figure 1), throughout the process of emancipation in Brazil, considering the seminal references contained in the *Jornal Correio Braziliense*, in 1816, and a set of documents that point to forms of institutionalization, as well as to the material, financial and human dimensions of the so-called Monitorial System of Education in Rio de Janeiro, with the last material located relating to the year 1833.

MOVEMENT I

Moving away from the traditional way of describing the problem of power, which, at its limit, referred to the so-called sovereign power¹, unfolding into the problem of its ownership, that is, the recognition of who has and who does not have power, Foucault begins to work with the hypothesis of disciplinary power, which, in the course 'Psychiatric Power' (1973-74), appears as something discreet, distributed, which works in a network and whose visibility is found only in the docility and submission of those over whom, in silence, it is exercised (Foucault, 2006, p. 28). With this, he describes power based on 3 cores:

- a) Disciplinary power implies a total appropriation or tends to be an exhaustive appropriation of the body, gestures, time, and behavior of the individual.
- b) Disciplinary power is continuous, being perpetually under someone's gaze or in the situation of being gazed upon.
- c) Disciplinary power is isotopic or tends toward isotopy. In this case, each element has its well-defined place; such as ranks in the army and the clear distinction between the different age classes and, within the different age classes, the position of each individual in the school class.

This formulation acquires another volume and density in the book *Discipline and Punish*, published by Gallimard in 1975, and translated into Brazilian Portuguese

1 Sovereign power, as exemplified in pre-modern European monarchies, is characterized by a centralized authority (e.g., the king) with the absolute right to decide life and death ('the right to kill or let live'). From a juridical-legal perspective, this form of power operates through laws, prohibitions, and rituals (e.g., public executions) that seek to display the sovereign's power and dissuade potential dissent. Cf. Foucault (1991, 1999).

in 1977, with two subtitles: *History of Violence in Prisons* and *The Birth of the Prison*. Structured in four main parts (Torture, Punishment, Discipline and Prison), the main thesis that Foucault intends to sustain is that the end of torture did not represent the end of discipline. For him, the end of punishment meant the entry into the so-called disciplinary society, marked by the softening of penalties and the adoption of control mechanisms considered more effective.

It is evident that the author revisits and expands the formulation of the theme of power—particularly disciplinary power—first addressed in the 1973–74 seminar, shifting the focus away from the question of what power is toward an analysis of how it functions within an institutional complex that includes prisons, barracks, hospitals, asylums, families, schools, and other structures. With this, one of the arguments for thinking about power consists in recognizing the non-existence of a center of power, observing its ramification, its capillarization or, in his own terms, its microphysics.

In this first movement, rather than proposing an examination of the set of operational principles employed by Foucault to think about the functioning of power, I focus on the conceptual problem regarding discipline and disciplinary power, in order to try to follow the folds that he produces in relation to the course of 1973-74 and that are well developed in the third part of *Discipline and Punish*.

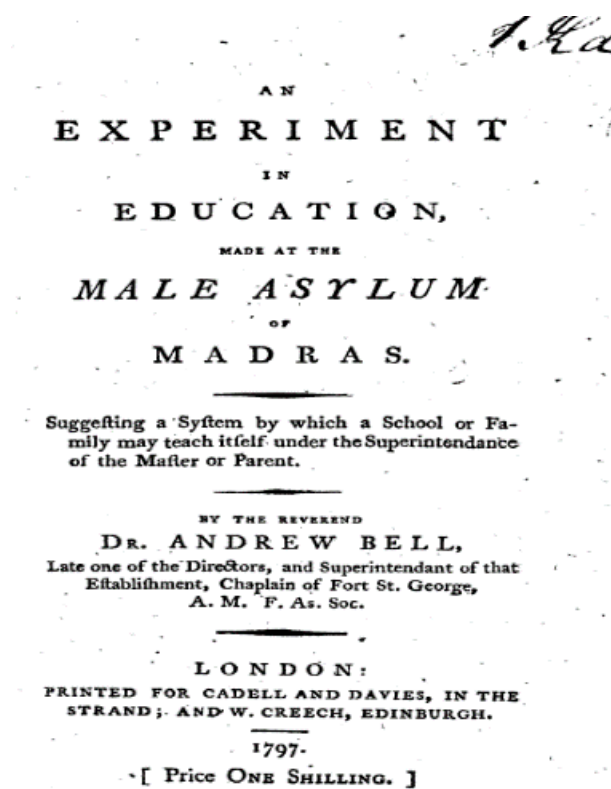
'Discipline' is covered in 3 chapters:

1. The docile bodies: The art of distributions; Activity control; The organization of the genesis; The composition of forces.
2. Resources for good training: Hierarchical surveillance; The normalizing sanction; The exam.
3. Panopticism.

Based on these topics, it seeks to make visible the first action on the body, but, above all, to observe what constitutes new in the schemes of docility organized from the mid-eighteenth century. Based on these cores, it reveals three new aspects:

- a) The scale of control – it is not about taking care of the body as if it were a unit, a global mass, but about working on the details, about exercising unrelenting coercion in terms of movements, gestures, attitudes, speed.
- b) The object of control – the functioning of the body, the effectiveness of movements and exercises.
- c) The modality of control – an uninterrupted, constant coercion, which is exercised more over the processes of bodily activities according to a codification that scrutinizes, to the maximum, time, space and movements.

Figure 2 – Cover of Andrew Bell's book (1797)



Source: Bell (1797).

With these observations in mind, I will attempt to demonstrate the fertility of the new ideas presented in order to think about the docility schemes contained in the monitorial education system that acquired unprecedented visibility after the type of report published in 1797 by the Anglican reverend Andrew Bell (Figure 2), in which he describes how he ran an asylum for boys located in the Madras region, in India, at the end of the 18th century.

The book has the following dedication:

To the honourable the chairman, the deputy chairman, and the directors, of the east india company; the president in council of fort st. George; and to the directors of the male asylum at madras; this scheme of the mode of teaching practised at their establishment, is respectfully inscribed, by their most faithful, and very obedient servant.

As can be seen, the Anglican pastor's book publicizes a new teaching scheme. This scheme offers greater clarity of doctrinal contours in the preface², in which Andrew Bell establishes that, in the education of young people, three objectives presented themselves to his mind: to avoid wasting time at school; to make the students' condition pleasant for themselves; and to direct their attention to suitable activities. In other words, the objective was to form good students, good men and good Christians. In charge of a new institution and, due to the situation, free from any prejudice or obstacle that could deform the mind or limit effort, the Anglican pastor claims to have tried all the methods that a long and sincere attention to the nature and disposition of youth suggested to achieve satisfactory results. After many attempts, with several successes, he admits to having arrived at a system that had surpassed, in its effect, any expectation he had formed and had far exceeded the most optimistic hopes of the directors of the institution and of others interested in the subject. According to him, the experiment made at Madras appeared, to those who witnessed the result, convincing and decisive in regard to charitable establishments. The plan of education adopted there was, after several years' experience, recommended to similar establishments by those whose opinions were likely to carry greater weight. Therefore, the report he had produced might serve as a general guide for education. The object of the publication was, consequently, to inspire other similar experiments, and that their successes, in every case, might be verified by experience.

The editorial initiative proved fruitful, inspiring further actions in the English metropolis by promoting a new pedagogy—faster, more efficient, and more economical—particularly aimed at educating workers, their children, and the poorest segments of the population. The enterprise that acquired the greatest visibility was, without a doubt, the one associated with the efforts of another London Protestant: Joseph Lancaster.

2 PREFACE. In the education of youth, three objects presented themselves to my mind: to prevent the loss of time in school; to render the condition of the students agreeable to themselves; and to direct their attention to suitable pursuits. In other words, my aim was to form good students, good men, and good Christians. In charge of a new institution, and, from the situation, free from any prejudice or obstacle that might warp the mind or restrain the effort, I tried every method which a long and earnest attention to the nature and disposition of youth suggested for the satisfactory attainment of these objects. After many attempts, with varied success, I arrived at a system which surpassed, in its effects, any expectation I had formed, and "far exceeded the most sanguine hopes" of the directors of the institution, and of others interested in the case. Thus the experiment, made at Madras, appeared to those who witnessed the result, convincing and decisive in regard to charitable establishments. The plan of education there adopted was, after the experience of several years, recommended for similar establishments by those whose opinions usually carry the greatest weight. How far this system will apply to education in general may be inferred from the tenor of the following report. The object of this publication is that other similar trials may be made, and that the successes in all cases be verified by experience (Bell, 1797).

MOVEMENT II

In 1803, the British Joseph Lancaster wrote what can be considered the main book about the pedagogy he had practiced at the school founded years before in Borough Road, Southwark, London. An initiative that, in turn, was inspired by the experience reported by his compatriot Andrew Bell. Alongside this book, which has been reprinted several times³, he produced reports and travelled within and outside British territory in order to spread the project, especially in America (United States, Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, Canada, etc.) (Gréard, 1911; Bastos & Faria Filho, 1999; Neves, 2003; Dussel & Caruso, 2003; Caruso & Roldán Vera, 2005; Roldán Vera, 2013; Ferreira & Schwartz; 2014; Olivato, 2020; Gondra, 2025)⁴.

But what did the British Protestant's project consist of? How was it supposed to work? Who was it supposed to target? What agencies did he consider strategic for the System to effectively work? What was he opposed to?

To explore this questionnaire, given the diversity of studies and materials related to the so-called 'Monitorial Teaching', I focused on a translation of one of Lancaster's materials carried out by a Portuguese student, as a resource to show the circulation of these postulates in the Portuguese-speaking world. I do not mean to say that it was the first, nor the main strategy for the circulation of this project in the Portuguese-speaking world, in Portuguese. To support this statement, it would be enough to observe the campaign contained in *Correio Braziliense* in 1816. When contrasted with Lancaster's originals, what was published can be considered a type of translation of some of the postulates from the English ones in question (Limeira & Gondra, 2022). In addition to the prescription of the general education law of 1827, it certainly constitutes a measure that officializes and seeks to give legitimacy and legality to the aforementioned model in the lands of Brasília, with the most diverse effects.

It is not the case to delve deeper into the reflection on the student's translation. However, two elements draw attention. The first of these consists of the suppression of the epigraph comprised in the original, which contains a preface by the Bishop of Landaff, with a kind of diagnosis and vaccine.

All nations indeed, of which we have any account, in becoming rich, have become profligate; a torrent of depraved morality has, in every opulent state, borne down with irresistible violence those mounds and fences, by which the wisdom of legislators attempted to protect chastity, sobriety, and virtue. If any check can be given to the corruption of a state, increasing in riches, and declining in morals

3 In this study, I worked with the Lancaster editions of 1805 and 1810, as well as the Portuguese translation of 1823.

4 For the case of Latin America, see the studies by Jáuregui (2003), Roldán Vera and Schupp (2005), Baeza (2016), Torres (2017) and Acevedo Tarazona & Villamizar Palacios (2024), among others.

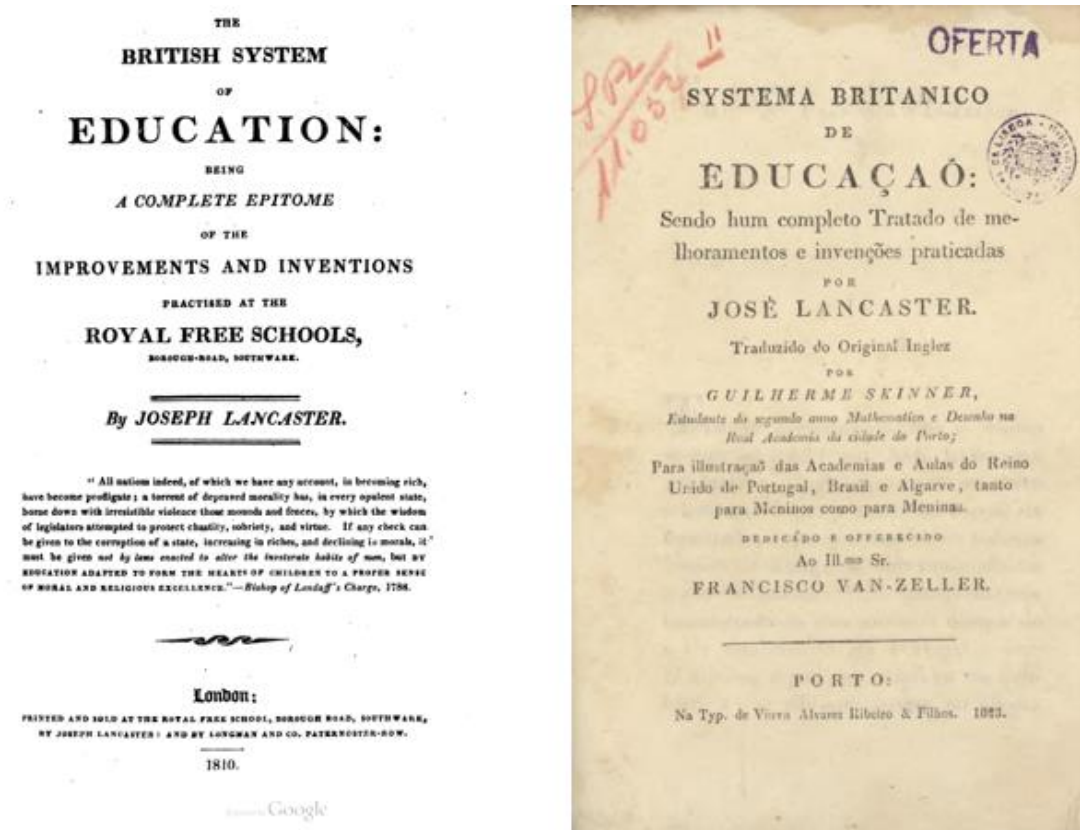
It must be given “not by laws enacted to alter the inveterate habits of men”, but BY EDUCATION ADAPTED TO FORM THE HEARTS OF CHILDREN TO A PROPER SENSE OF MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EXCELLENCE. Bishop of Landaff's Charge, 1788 (Lancaster, 1810, cover, emphasis added).

In his epigraph, when he diagnoses the present, he resorts to the rhetoric of good versus evil. In this case, against the decline of morals, the remedy consisted of offering an education adapted to form the hearts of children, morally and religiously. Alongside this suppression, the young man from Porto makes another intervention that alerts us to the translator's operations.

The frontispiece of the original version represents one of the routines of the monitorial system related to the teaching of the alphabet. After a command from the monitor, the students had to show their plaques/posters/slates to prove that they knew how to write a phrase that every true Briton should engrave, not only in their memories, but in the hearts of the new generation, as a tribute of duty to the monarch, who should reign in the affection of his people – 'LONG LIVE THE KING!'. In the case of the translation, the technical procedure is preserved, but the phrase is changed to: 'LONG LIVE RELIGION'. The suppression of the preface by the Protestant bishop and the change of the phrase provide two strong indications of the translator's action in relation to the translated word, demonstrating the power of the recipients in the game of appropriation and circulation of the Lancasterian doctrine⁵.

5 It is not a case of advancing the contrast between the original and the translated text. However, the two changes highlighted are suggestive of the strategies employed by the student from Porto in translating the Lancaster text, indicating that he may have made other interventions in the Portuguese version.

Figure 3 – Covers of Joseph Lancaster's books (1810, 1823)



Source: Lancaster (1810, 1823).

The second-year mathematics and drawing student at the Royal Academy of Porto informs, on the cover, that the translation of the 'English original' (Figure 3) was intended for the Academies and Classes of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarve, for both Boys and Girls, and was 'dedicated and offered' to the Honorable Mr. Francisco Van-Zeller, whose patronage he had resorted to to ensure the publication of the book in 1823.

In search of support, when dedicating the book to the patron, the student from Porto states that the monitorial teaching adopted by Joseph Lancaster had produced, in England, [...] an excessive advancement in the first instruction of youth [...] and that, for this reason, according to him, all the Nations of Europe had striven to put it into practice. He then points out:

Your Excellency has also expressed your ardent desire to see him established in Portugal and its Dominions, and for this reason I have decided that he appeared in the Portuguese language translated from its original; and I think with all pride I cannot look for Patrons of this first essay of mine, this translation if not to Your Excellency, to whom I dedicate it respectfully: and I hope to deserve

it from Your Excellency that one shelter that those who with
decided respect are, like me,
Yours truly, most attentive Venerator (Lancaster, 1823, p. 8).

By fulfilling the patron's ardent desires, he found sufficient support to ensure the conditions for the publication of the aforementioned translation. The material assumes a structure of around 17 nuclei, and in the prologue, he presents the reasons and conditions under which he carried out the task.

PROLOGUE

It seemed to me that the duty of every man is to employ his time with benefit, both for himself and for all; and seeing that I had some time left over from my studies, I threw the present work to translate it into Portuguese: I know well that my few years and my talents cannot lead to an excellent grain of perfection this translation; however, as my intention is to be useful the Nation with a work that I think is very interesting to him because it is the first one that comes out to light, and that its Author JOSE' LANCASTER did so much good to the youth with it; for this reason I hope for an apology from the benevolence of the readers, because, as this Monitorial System of Education is already established throughout Europe, it would be good if in Portugal and its Domains it were adopted, and that the Professors would do all their diligence in guiding their disciples by the method of such an Illustrious British Author (Lancaster, 1823, p. 9).

As can be seen, the student from Porto resorts to the rhetoric of humility and usefulness, drawing attention to his young age, talent and the benefits that the system provided to young people. As if that were not enough, he resorts to the hyperbole of the system's spread, informing that it was already established throughout Europe, an additional reason to obtain support for the publication of the guide to be adopted by teachers in Portugal and all its domains.

For the purposes of this article, I explore the points that deal with the scale, object and modality of control that structure the system of monitorial education, self-represented as new, modern, fast, effective and cheap. Alongside the fivefold benefit of the new pedagogy, its indoctrinators and propagandists also appeal to arguments of a moral and political nature. After all, adopted in accordance with strict protocols, the system also advocated its preventive nature in relation to contagion, idleness and crime. Therefore, it is necessary to dwell a little more patiently on the art of doses in order to reveal the scale, object and modality of control of the aforementioned system. Although these elements appear transversally in the material, I made an incursion into three parts of the translated book, in which these components appear in a more concentrated manner, focusing further on the examination of the first point.

Object of control – the functioning of the body, the effectiveness of movements and exercises are covered in several parts of the translated guide. I highlight here part IV, in which the center revolves around the METHOD OF TEACHING THE ALPHABET OR FIRST CLASS, structured in six items: Auxiliary method of teaching the Alphabet by writing on the sand or blackboard; New method of teaching the Alphabet; Second Class; New method of teaching spelling by writing; A method of teaching reading and writing, by which one book will serve instead of six hundred; Extemporaneous method for spelling.

As can be seen, the crowds to be attended to in a class, according to the normative principles of the monitorial system of education, should be grouped into classes, indicating differentiation and hierarchy in the classes. Another point refers to the teaching materials or instruments: sand, blackboard, books, and finally, a third highlight to the use of the spelling technique. However, if these three points provide some measure of the object to be controlled, they are insufficient to perceive the subtleties of the mechanism. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out another excavation in the material to show the sophistication and rigidity of the control to be exercised over the bodies in teaching the alphabet to the first grade.

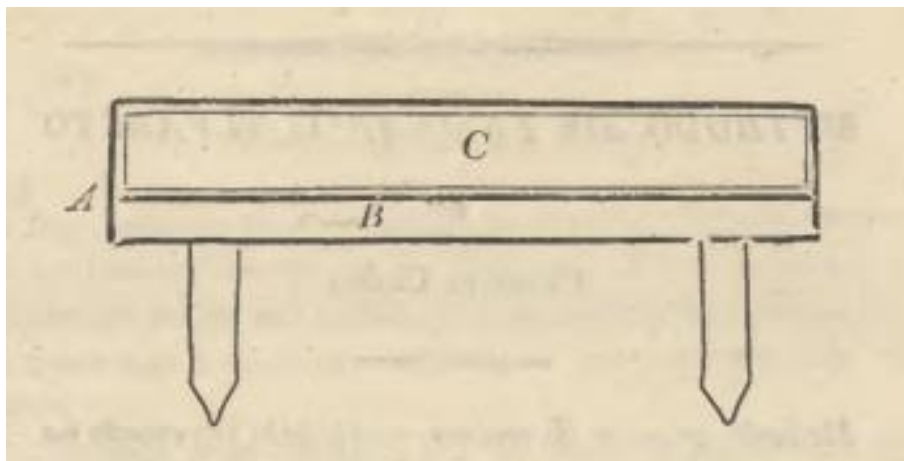
According to the translated guide, the first class should be composed of boys (I added the girls)⁶ who did not yet know the alphabet. This class would be composed of any number of those who had not made “[...] sufficient progress to distinguish all the letters of the alphabet at first sight” (Lancaster, 1823, p. 19). It then establishes the proportion of decurions – 1 for every 20 students, as well as the function of both. For the monitors, the duty to teach and, for the disciples, the duty to learn.

The stratification of classes is the object of special attention. According to Lancaster, the true name of each class is of great importance. For him, the class in which all those who did not know the ABC were found should be called 'first class', or the ABC class. Having established the distinction, he delves into the possibility of recognizing and fixing the internal differences in the classes, which refers to the problem of furniture. For the British doctrinaire, the bench for the boys and girls to sit on should be firm on the floor and, at the foot of this, a hand and a half higher⁷, there should be another, also fixed to the floor, for them to write on. As if the description were not enough, he adds an illustration to prevent gaps in reading and in the ways in which the classes function and the positioning of the bodies.

6 Cf. Report of the Imperial Affairs Department for the year 1833, which contains information about monitorial education schools for girls in Rio de Janeiro and other Provinces. Available at: <https://memoria.bn.gov.br/docreader/DocReader.aspx?bib=720968&pagfis=35> Accessed on February 26, 2025.

7 Since this is a translation from the English language, it is probably referring to the *span*. A span, according to this unit of measurement, corresponds to 9 inches or 22.8 cm.

Figure 4 – Sketch of school furniture in a monitorial teaching class



Source: Lancaster (1823, p. 20).

By presenting a kind of sketch of the furniture (Figure 4), it also establishes the correct way of using it. Thus, the letter *A* shows the entire surface of the desk and the letter *B* indicates the existence of an empty space where the children should rest their left arms while writing with their right hand. The letter *C* defines a space where the sand would be. This space should be painted black, so that the black background would show them the figures drawn when the students made the letters in the white sand. The folded lines mark the one-inch-high rulers⁸, forming a box where the sand would be; which could be of any quality, as long as it was dry.

The furniture, consisting of two fixed benches, anticipated the liturgy of the procedures to be adopted in the method of teaching the alphabet. However, the dramaturgy continues with the definition of the actions to be carried out by the agents of the classes. Thus, the boys and girls would write with their fingers in the sand based on a voice command given by the decurion. Those who knew how to write and distinguish some of its letters should be placed next to someone who did not yet know how, with care being taken to help him or her; so that he or she could copy the letters, watching the other do them. For the British Protestant, this way of copying from one another represented a great step towards advancement.

The play should continue with the taxonomy of letters and their complexities. To this end, it works with 3 types of difficulties, indicating a safe route for teaching. The letters should be taught in order, arranging them into three classes, according to

8 The use of this unit of measurement dates back to the ancient Roman Empire, and it was equivalent to the average width of a thumb. This measurement had drawbacks, since the width of thumbs is not the same for all human beings. For this reason, in 1959, the countries that used this measurement, such as the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, agreed to establish a relationship between the inch and the centimeter. This agreement established that one inch would be equivalent to 2.54 centimeters.

the similarity of their shape. For the English pastor, there were three examples that regulated the formation of the entire alphabet.

In the first group are the letters that could be written with lines; such as the letters I, H, T, L, E. The second includes those that required the formation of one or more angles; such as A, V, M, N, Z. The third corresponds to the letters that required the formation of a circle or a curve; such as O, U, C, J, G, D, P, B, Q, S.

According to the book, this arrangement of letters favored faster learning due to the similarity of their shapes. The greatest difficulty in teaching letters occurred, according to the guide, in those whose shapes were similar, distinguished only by the change of position: p, q, b, d. Often they were mistaken for each other; but by doing both letters at the same time, the child would immediately distinguish them.

The liturgy of teaching the alphabet combined an ordering by difficulties with repetition. For Lancaster, the disciples, once exposed to the exercise, should be forced, again, to make the letters at the same time and this would be as curious as it was amusing, to see a number of “[...] little creatures, some of whom would not be more than four or five years old, only stretching out their little fingers to make the letters” (Lancaster, 1823, p. 21). Finally, as soon as this had been done, they would rest until the sand was smoothed by the decurion with a sander, such as it is used to sand clothes, or a similar stick. Once the sand was completely dry, all the letters would be erased immediately, and the children would return to using their fingers, as before.

If the bench is an obligatory element in the monitorial classes, another part is a prerequisite for the success of this model: the wall. According to Lancaster, the new method of teaching the alphabet requires a cardboard hanging from a nail on the classroom wall, around which eight boys and girls from the first grade should stand in a semicircle in front of their alphabet, with their numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. These numbers should be on cardboard tickets suspended by a ribbon around the neck with the numbers written on them. The wisest student would occupy the first place, being decorated with a gold leather ticket with the word 'Merit' written on it, like a badge of honor. It will always be him that the decurion will ask first. When pointing to one of the letters of the alphabet, he will ask: 'What letter is this?' If he answers promptly what letter it is, he will say 'Very good', keeping his place in the class; and if he makes a mistake, he will lose his place, ticket and number, which will go to the one who answered correctly⁹. For the London doctrinaire of mutualism, this plan promoted constant emulation, always attracting the attention of the decurion, to the extent that he could not look away while the boy/girl was repeating the letters; a device that avoided inattention.

⁹ According to a study by Tronchot (1973 apud Foucault, 1999), students should receive more than 200 orders per day. In the morning, 26 voice commands, 23 by signs, 37 bell rings and 24 by whistle, which corresponds to one whistle or bell ring every 3 minutes.

Benches, workbenches, dry sand, a mortar, a stick, nails, cardboard, and notes make up the arsenal of tools to be used in the monitorial system of education, not to mention the existence of a large space that could accommodate up to 1,000 students divided into classes, according to the advance, which implies thinking about a physics of schools, in an equally new architecture, aligned with the principles of public hygiene, a very important topic at a time when infant mortality was quite high and life expectancy very low. This set of elements and the detailed prescriptions regarding the functioning of schools based on monitorial pedagogy provide a very precise measure of the object of control, based on the classification and functioning of the bodies, the effectiveness of their movements and the exercises planned.

Two additional elements offer a supplement to the dimension of the control contained in the pedagogy of the decurions. In defending the technique of spelling or dictation for learning the alphabet, the London Protestant summarizes the advantages of this method in the following terms

This method it is entirely an improvement, human addition, and an introduction to other studies, without any other labor on the part of the master, and without disturbing or hindering his attention to other studies, as usually happens in the case of different lessons at the same time; finally, it doubles the progress of every one towards wisdom, by acquiring all these things at the same time, prevents sloth, and creates that great desire in the lessons for quietness, not as a punishment, but because much attention is needed; for, as their lessons require much writing, few can write and speak at the same time (Lancaster, 1823, p. 27).

As highlighted by the creator of the Monitorial System of Education, the advantages are many, as it promised to double progress in learning the alphabet, prevent laziness and also provide a quiet environment without the use of punishment. This achievement was the result of a formula in which there should be no room for idleness, since students should be constantly active. Moreover, the prescribed lessons required continuous attention through the many writing exercises in the sandbox, in semicircles and in spelling.

The other element consisted of resuming the set of tools required for a monitorial class. For a school to operate according to the protocols established in tutoring pedagogy, what would this represent in terms of value? The Lancaster book is silent in terms of information regarding the financial dimension required to make a monitorial class effective. However, a small and expressive collection located in the National Archives allows an approximation of this crucial point in the creation, maintenance and continuity of the tutoring system in the capital of the Brazilian Empire.

On Monday, September 6, 1830, the teacher from the Parish of Santa Rita, Venâncio José da Costa, listed a set of objects needed for the class he was teaching.

Figure 5 – List of expenses with equipment for the Monitorial Education Classroom of the Parish of Santa Rita (Court of Rio de Janeiro, 1830)

*Despesa dos Utensilios da Aula do Ensino Mutuo da Fre-
guesia de Santa Rita desta Corte no Imperial Seminario
de S. Joaquim, que vai fornecer todo o completamente
da mesma Aula para seguimento de seu exercicio.*

Pedras 100 a 400 reis.	48,000
Canetas 100 a 240 reis.	24,000
Macos de lapis 12	4,000
Hum livro em branco para matricula.	8,000
Humna pasta	2,000
Tisoura	1,600
Canivetes 4 a 2,000 reis	8,000
Diccionario da Lingua Nacional.	36,000
Cordas de tripa e fecho das prantas.	15,200
Espanjas 4 libras a 3,000 reis.	12,000
Pedra de amolar	1,280
Camprainhas 2.	4,000
Barbante	1,280
Chumbo para apertar pennas na accao de xapar,	960
Tinturo	2,000
Espanador de pennas.	8,000
Varredores	320
Agulhas 2	1,600
Compasso e tiralinhhas	1,600
Summa toda a despesa na quantia de	
cento oitenta hummil quatro centos e quarenta	181,440
Rio de Janeiro 6 de Setembro de 1830.	
Venancio Jose da Costa	

Source: National Archives – Series IE5-01 – Fund 93.

The list of expenses for the Santa Rita Parish School (Figure 5), which operated at the Imperial Seminary of São Joaquim¹⁰, in the Court, consisted of 19 items: stones, pens, pencils, white book for registration, folder, scissors, pocket knives, dictionary of the National Language, gut strings, sharpening sponge, bells, string, lead for setting feathers, inkwell, feather duster, sweepers, whistles, compasses, and ruling pens. The total of these items, considering the variable quantities as shown in the table, corresponds to the value of 181\$440 réis¹¹, according to the document signed by professor Venancio José da Costa¹². In terms of volumes, it is possible to deduce that the most consumed items were stones (100), pens (100) and pencils (12 packs), with the dictionary of the National Language being the most expensive item, considering the value of 36\$000 paid for one unit, corresponding to almost 20% of the total value of this list.

The operation of the Santa Rita school required similar equipment to that of the Sacramento Parish school, with one notable difference. In this case, the teacher requested 2 reams of foolscap paper, 6 bundles of paper weight, 400 quill pens, 1 dozen pencils, 8 small stone quills, writing ink, 4 brooms, 1 month of the black who serves in the classroom¹³, totaling \$28,950. It is worth noting that the cost of the 'black' was around \$8,000 per month, which corresponded to approximately 27% of the amount requested by teacher Francisco Joaquim Nogueira Neves.

This same teacher, on December 10, 1830, lists the extraordinary expenses with stones, pens, pocket knives, glass, sponges, string, small inkwells, bells, towels and

-
- 10 During the permanent triune regency, the Minister of the Empire Lino Coutinho approved funds to renovate the old São Joaquim Seminary – a Jesuit College – which would be transformed into the Imperial Seminary of São Joaquim in 1824. It was then inspected by the Rio de Janeiro City Council as a free primary school for orphans and the underprivileged, children of military personnel and civil servants, and also admitted boarding students. See Andrade (2011).
 - 11 To avoid any doubt, note that the value is also written in full. An idea of the purchasing power can be obtained by comparing the items on the list itself. Another way is to compare the prices of other products, as is the case with the advertisements in the *Diário Mercantil* or *Novo Jornal do Comércio* dated September 6, 1830. The first advertisement is for the sale of slaves. A black man good for any job was being sold for \$330,000 and a great cook was being advertised at the price of \$550,000. A subscription to this newspaper for 4 months was \$4,000. If it were an annual subscription, the price would be \$12,000.
 - 12 He worked for years in the Parish of Santa Rita, being transferred in 1838, without his consent, to the Parish of Paquetá. On November 20, 1840, the *Correio Oficial* records a request from the aforementioned teacher for payment of 20\$000 for expenses incurred in the month of September. There are no references to monitorial teaching in the 11 occurrences of this teacher contained in this newspaper in the 1830s.
 - 13 The presence of a 'black' person to provide services in Professor Francisco Neves's monitorial education class points to the existence of a black man's regular work for the functioning of the class/school, without it being possible to state his legal status: enslaved, free or freed. It is possible that he was one of the 'slaves of the nation', but he could also be a slave for hire or a slave rented to perform the school's services. The lack of definition of the service provider's status is linked to the amount requested by the teacher, and it is not possible to specify the destination of the amount. Regarding the presence of Africans in school institutions, see Silva (2023), Fonseca and Barros (2016), Mac Cord, Araujo and Gomes (2017), Paiva (2006) and the dossier 'History of education and black populations' of the *Brazilian Journal of History of Education* (Barros, Arantes, & Gondra, 2022).

mugs without presenting individual and global values for the latter. This set of objects was what he considered necessary to maintain the Classroom for the Monitorial System of Education and the care of the 100 boys in the Parish of Sacramento.

Figure 6 – List of expenses with equipment for the Monitorial Education Classroom of the Parish of Sacramento (Court of Rio de Janeiro, 1830)

Relação da despesa mensal que fazem 100 Meninos, na Escola do Ensino mutuo da Freguesia de S. Sacramento da antiga Si. desta Corte.

1. Plumas de papel almago	4000	94600
2. Plumas de papel de jeso	4000	24400
400 Plumas de escrever.	800	3200
1 Duzia de lapis.	400	2400
8 Macinchoes ditos de pedra	400	3200
Tinta para escrever.		14920
4 Bafsonas.	60	2240
1 Alz. de Preto que serve a escola.		8000
		<u>284960</u>

Rio de Janeiro 10 de Dezembro de 1830.

Francisco Joaquim Nogueira Neves

NB

Tambem ha despesas extraordinarias.

Pedras, e Canetas.

Canivetes, e Vidros.

Espanjas, e Barbante.

Tinturas pequenas, e Campainhas.

Talhas, e Canseas.

Source: National Archives – Series IE5-01 – Fund 93.

As can be seen, Professor Francisco Joaquim Nogueira Neves, on June 28, 1833, details aspects that were absent in the 1830 list (Figure 6). Here, it is worth highlighting the specification for glass for reading boards, soil for writing boards, Barker's Reading Collection¹⁴, Reading Compendium for Boys, Compendium of

¹⁴ It refers to Antonio Maria Barker, a primary school teacher at a boarding and day school for boys and author of a collection of textbooks intended for initial schooling.

Arithmetic in Dialogue Form, Compendium of Simão de Nântua¹⁵, Compendium of Portuguese Expositors, Summary of the History of Brazil by Belegard¹⁶, Summary of Geography by a Brazilian, Treasure of Boys¹⁷, Compendium of Eusebio Vanerio, Compendium of Ventura, Compendium of the Economy of Human Life and Compendium of Sacred History¹⁸.

Figure 7 – List of expenses with utensils for the Monitorial Education Classroom of the Parish of Sacramento (Court of Rio de Janeiro, 1833)

Relação das despesas, que fôr com os utensilios, que se fazem indispensaveis para a Sala Publica de Ensino-mutuo da Freguesia de Sacramento da antiga do duto lito.

1. Alca, e dois Bancos de madeira a. d. 100	168000
10. Escapulos para os exemplares das d. 1.ª a	800
15. Quadros para exemplares de scripta a	600
15. Vidros para o d. 1.ª a	280
16. D. 1.ª grande para os quadros de littera a	560
75. Ferras para os quadros de scripta a	560
6. Ferras pequenas para a mesa de a. a	280
5. Duas de pedras a	380
30. Canetas a	240
Concerto de cinco cadurnas a	320
10. Colleções de littera p.º Barker a	1800
10. Compendios de littera para meninos a	320
10. D. 1.ª de Mathematica em forma de dialogo a	200
„ Abum compendio de jogar o jogo, em mudezas	2800
100. Paga a	280
1. Libra de estanho fino	2800
1. D. 1.ª de flo.	800
1. Compendio de Simão de Nântua	2800
1. D. 1.ª de Portuguez	1800
„ O Resumo da Historia do Brasil p.º Belegard	3800
1. D. 1.ª de Geographia p.º hum Brasileiro	1800
„ Trezoro de meninos	2800
1. Compendio p.º Eusebio Vanerio	1800
1. D. 1.ª p.º Ventura	2800
1. D. 1.ª da Economia da vida humana	1800
1. D. 1.ª da Historia sagrada	2800
	R. 137800

Rio de Janeiro 28 de Junho de 1833.
Francisco Joaquim Aguiar Neves

Source: National Archives – Series IE5-01 – Fund 93.

15 See Oliveira (2019).

16 Cf. Gasparello (2015).

17 See Sena (2014).

18 Regarding reading books in the Empire, there are good studies. Among them, I suggest those by Tambara (2002), Teixeira (2006, 2008) and Teixeira and Gondra (2010).

Figure 8 – List of services of the Monitorial Education Classroom of the Parish of Sacramento (Court of Rio de Janeiro, 1832)

Relação das despesas que se fizeram com o concerto da Escola e leccionar de Ensino mutuo da Freguesia de St. Sacramento da cidade do Rio de Janeiro, a seguinte.

Jornas de Carpinteiros	124 44 00
Ditos dos Pedreiros	52 44 80
Serventes	17 46 00
Portos	24 40 00
Fragagem	11 47 40
Matérias de Pedreiros	65 41 00
Madeiras	113 11 06
Administração do Mestre	20 44 80
	<u>428 906</u>

Empresta esta fôrça em quatrocentos vinte e oito mil novecentos e seis.

Recibo do Sr. Theodoro José Biencardi, acouta a soma mencionada.

Rio de Janeiro 19 de Junho d'1830.

João Paquero Super

Em cumprimento da ordem assignada supra por ser feita para o mesmo Rio de Janeiro 1830.

Antônio de

Francisco de

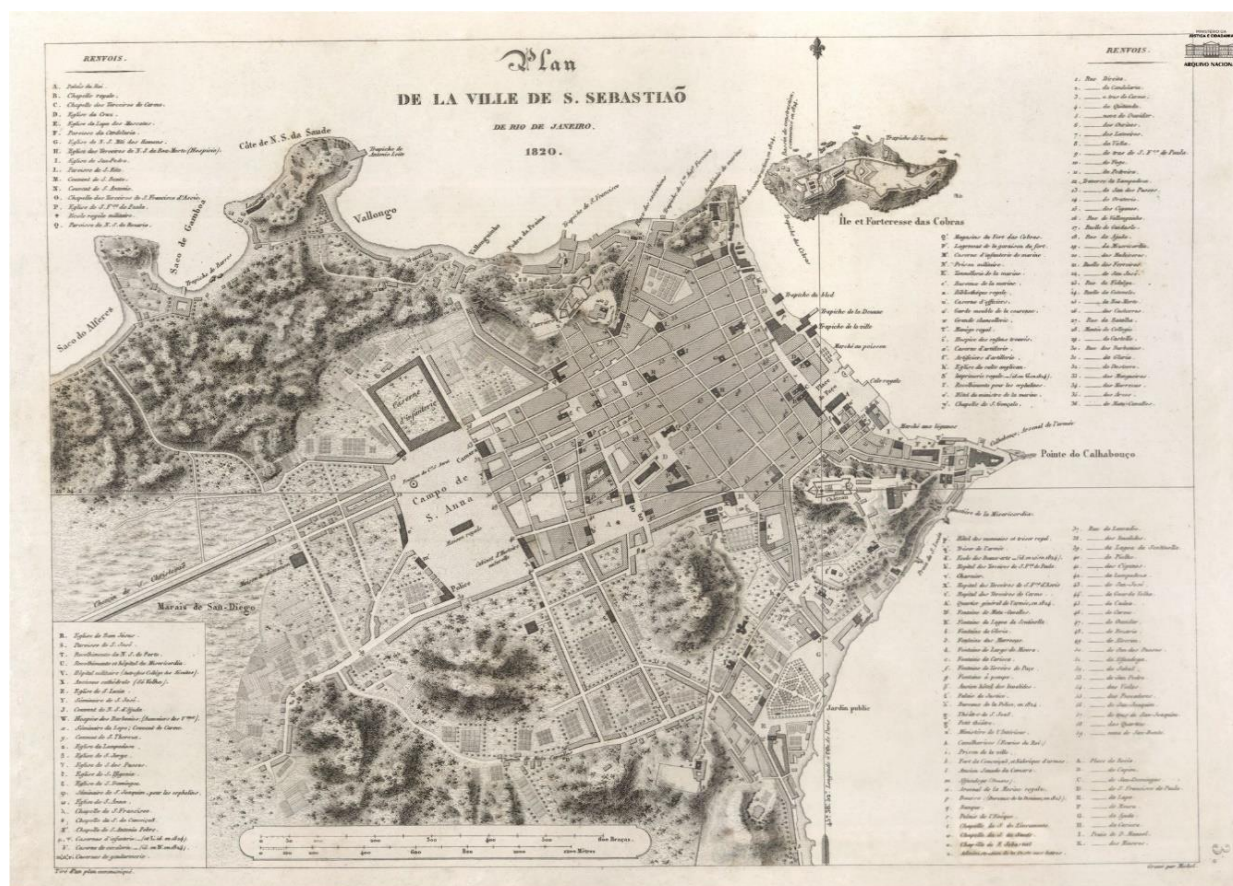
Source: National Archives – Series IE5-01 – Fund 93.

In addition to the equipment, adaptation and rental (Figure 7), another aspect needs to be taken into consideration and refers precisely to the services required to maintain the classes. According to the list sent by counselor Theodoro José Biencardi on June 12, 1830, it was necessary to pay for the services of carpenters, bricklayers, servants, painters, forage, bricklaying materials, wood and an amount for the teacher's administration (Figure 8). All of this totaled \$428,906, a much higher amount than the lists with more items and the most detailed ones.

Now, as can be seen, we have here an important material dimension so that control could be well exercised, since the effectiveness of the system depended on these devices and their protocolary use, as well as the promise of avoiding idleness, crime and contagion, according to the guide of the London master.

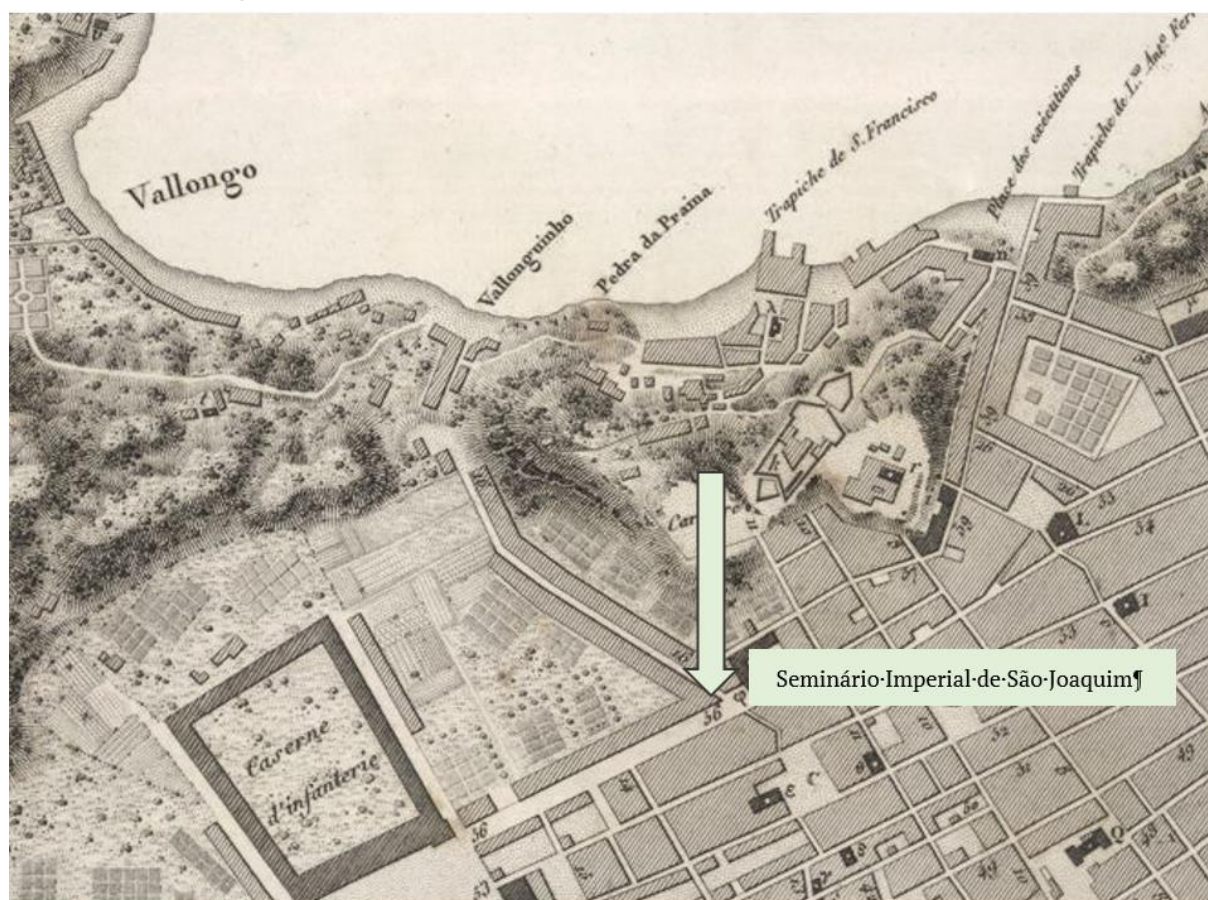
Finally, another aspect to be observed in the initiatives of monitorial education in the capital of the Brazilian Empire refers to the location. This should meet at least two requirements: hygienic location and population density. So far, the schools listed are located in the most central areas of the Capital of the Brazilian Empire (Figure 9), so as to be able to reach the maximum number of people and justify the pedagogy that supports it and the material investment required by the monitorial education system. This system provides robust and sufficient clues to measure the scale of control, one of the imperatives of a society founded and reproduced by increasingly soft, prolonged and scientific disciplinary schemes.

Figure 9 – Map of the city of Rio de Janeiro (1820)



Source: Map of the city of Rio de Janeiro (1820).

Figure 10 – Detail of the plan of the City of Rio de Janeiro (1820)



Source: Adapted from the map of the city of Rio de Janeiro (1820).

In this case, observing the spatial distribution of monitorial classes in the city's fabric (Figure 10) helps to measure the effects that were intended to be produced, which are not restricted to the physics of the city and the classes. Next, as an indicative measure, I point to the modality and scale of control contained in the doctrinal text of the Protestant pastor, as a more internal resource of the classes, aiming to intensify the effectiveness of the discipline.

Control mode — to observe how the monitorial teaching system presupposes a continuous and constant form of coercion, primarily exercised over bodily processes through a codification that meticulously regulates time, space, and movement, I highlight the ninth part of the book, which focuses on the "Instruments and Methods of Punishment"—a key element that underpins and structures the system's overall proposal: From the wooden chains; The Basket; The caravan; Proclaiming an offender's errors before the Class; Lack of cleaning; From prison after school; Singing tone when reading; Writings of shame; Another quality of punishments;

Scale of control – This marker can be seen in many parts of the book. However, it is worth noting how it is stated in the appendix, which deals with the arrangement of classes and their provision, in order to underline the prescription of a coercion

without slack in terms of movements, gestures, attitudes, speed when it deals with 'The arrangement of classes and their provision': From the arrangement of lessons to classes; Arrangement of the blackboards; Blackboards; Sand; Classroom Supplies - List of things needed for the class under this education plan; Advantages of extending this plan to classes called Sunday

As can be seen, the pedagogy of the monitorial education system is marked by a rationality of details, presenting and being supported by interconnected elements which, in turn, target and are justified by the external. The world is marked by moral decline, whose vaccine would be an education adapted to form the hearts of children, morally and religiously, in a fast, effective and cheap way, as the indoctrinators and propagandists of the monitorial education system self-represented. Thus, when testing the object, the modality and the scale of control as dimensions of the schemes and functioning of disciplinary power, it is necessary to complement and refine a little more some of Foucault's additional formulations regarding the gears and monopolies forged in the modern world, especially to make thinkable the notion of population, this multiple body to be equally disciplined, with the help of classes and systems self-described as more rationalized, as is the case of the so-called Monitorial System of Education.

(UN)LINKS

Observing a change in the scale, object and modality of actions on the body, Foucault (1991) considers that the methods that allow the constant control of forces and that impose a relationship of docility-utility are what can be called 'disciplines'. With disciplines, unlike slavery, domesticity and vassalage, the human body enters a machinery of power, which scrutinizes, disarticulates and recomposes it, with a view to increasing the body's forces in terms of utility. For him, the invention of disciplines, of this new political anatomy, should not be understood as a sudden discovery. In this sense, they emerged from practices developed in schools, hospitals, military, and religious institutions, and were consolidated by their emphasis on detail—on calculating the infinitesimal and describing the most subtle traits of individuals. This focus reflected a new disciplinary rationality that sought to connect the infinitesimal with the infinite. Within this logic of detail, the meticulousness of Christian education, school and military pedagogy, and all forms of training would take shape, as can be observed in the foundational principles of the Monitorial System of Education. Discipline also requires the presence of a *fence*, the specification of a specific place, closed on itself so that it can function at its best, with its maximum effectiveness. However, isolation is not enough for the proper functioning of disciplinary apparatuses. For him, space must allow for the immediate localization of individuals, following the maxim: each individual in their place, and in each place,

one individual. This is the grid and the idea that the space for the proper functioning of disciplines is, in essence, cellular. Now, when observing the physics of the rooms, the furniture, the promotion, retention and setback schemes provided in the monitorial pedagogy, the art of distributions is constituted in one of the structuring principles, as stated, for example, in chapter III of Lancaster's book, entitled 'Of rooms for classes, desks and preparatory arrangements'.

The mechanisms of time appropriation are revisited in the item 'activity control'. At this point, Foucault (1991) draws attention to the rules that govern time in disciplinary institutions. The first concerns the establishment of schedules in the sense that this measure marks the gaps, obligations and cycles of repetition. Another one considers the temporal elaboration of the act, so that in the act, to be broken down into its minimum elements, the position of the body, limbs and joints is defined and, for each movement, a direction, an amplitude and a duration are determined; their order of succession is prescribed. Time penetrates the body. What is the great example of it? Walking. What other example does it offer? Writing.

The third rule concerns the good use of time. Nothing should be left idle or useless; everything should be used to support the required act, the smallest gesture. The body and gestures are correlated. The penultimate rule of time appropriation in the sphere of disciplinary power is the body-object articulation. Discipline defines each of the relationships that the body must maintain with the object it manipulates, and must establish a careful interconnection between the two. Finally, the exhaustive use of time, in order to extract even more available moments and from each moment, more useful forces.

In the book by the London pastor, translated by the student from Porto in 1823, the regulation of time is present in several chapters, especially in those dedicated to prescribing the method of teaching the alphabet, as highlighted previously, but also in the one dedicated to the method of teaching arithmetic, in the chapter 'On orders and mandates' and in the appendix 'On the arrangement of classes and their provision'.

In the item 'composition of forces', Foucault seeks to demonstrate that discipline ceases to be an art of distributing bodies, of extracting and accumulating time from them, and becomes an art of composing forces to obtain efficient work. The singular body begins to be understood as a mobile fragment, which acts in a composite time, in order to extract the maximum amount of forces from each one and combine them to reach an optimal result. To this end, for the forces to be composed and function according to the project of maximum extraction, a precise system of command is required. This, in turn, must be anchored in the brevity and clarity of orders, in order to provoke the desired behavior, as highlighted in the precise commands for teaching the alphabet and arithmetic.

When addressing how forces should be composed, he recognizes the body as a part of a multi-segmental machine, with primary school being one of the places where this mark can be best evidenced. For him

From the 17th century until the introduction of the Lancaster method at the beginning of the 19th century, the complex mechanism of the monitorial school was built one gear after another: the older students were first entrusted with¹⁹ tasks of simple supervision, then of work control, then of teaching; and so, in the end, all the time of all the students was occupied either with teaching or with learning. The school became a learning apparatus where each student, each level and each moment, if combined properly, are permanently used in the general teaching process (Foucault, 1999, p. 190).

The art of composing forces cannot perform without the arts of punishment as a complementary instrument for good training, which does not aim at atonement or repression. For Foucault (1991), punishment puts into operation five very distinct operations: relating acts, performances, and singular behaviors to a whole, which is at the same time a field of comparison, a space for differentiation, and the principle of a rule to follow. With this, the differences that emerge are appreciated, establishing a gradient that goes from the optimum to intolerable behaviors. Hence the punishment and the game of promotions related to it that seeks to cross all points and control all moments in disciplinary institutions.

The examination, as a component of the training apparatus, combines supervisory hierarchical techniques with normalizing sanctions—merging the ceremony of power with the experience of subjectivity, the display of force with the production of truth. It also functions as a mechanism that links a specific mode of knowledge formation to a particular exercise of power, since the examination:

- a) reverses the economy of visibility in the exercise of power.
- b) it makes individuality enter a documentary field, since the examination procedures are accompanied by a system of intense recording and documentary accumulation, which seeks to capture and fix individuals. Thanks to all the writing apparatus that accompanies the examination, it opens up two possibilities that are correlated: the constitution of the individual as a describable object, analyzable to recognize their own singular traits, in their particular evolution, in their own aptitudes or capacities, under the control of a knowledge that aims to be permanent. On the other hand, the establishment of a comparative system enables the

19 In Lancaster's prescriptions, these duties should be carried out by the most advanced, who, by merit, would occupy the position of monitors or decurions.

measurement of global phenomena, the description of groups, the characterization of collective facts, and the estimation of individual deviations within a population and their distribution across it²⁰.

- c) turns each individual into a 'case' - it is the individual as they can be described, measured, measured, compared to others and this in their own individuality. It is also the individual who has to be trained or retrained, classified, normalized, excluded.

But what constitutes the privileged target of discipline? For Foucault, in a disciplinary regime, children, the sick, the insane and the healthy delinquent are more individualized than adults, the healthy, the normal and the non-delinquent. It is towards the former that all individualizing mechanisms in our civilization are directed. Therefore, it is upon the former that disciplinary power will affect not only in negative terms (excluding, repressing, repressing, masking, hiding...), but also to produce reality, fields of objects, rituals of truth, the individual and the knowledge of them originate in this production. However, at the end of the chapter on training, Foucault asks: But would not lending such power to the often minuscule cunning of discipline be granting them too much? From where can they draw such vast effects?

To explore this problem, the third part of the book *Discipline and Punish* focuses on the disciplinary model. A compact model of the disciplinary apparatus consists of a closed, segmented space, monitored at every point, where individuals are assigned fixed positions, their slightest movements controlled, and every event meticulously recorded. In this space, an unceasing act of writing links center and periphery; power is exercised undividedly through a continuous hierarchical structure, and each individual is constantly located, examined, and classified among the living, the sick, and the dead (Foucault, 1991, p. 174).

We enter into the register of models in circulation and their forms of articulation. If discipline fixes, immobilizes or regulates movements, resolves confusions, compact agglomerations over uncertain circulations, calculated distributions, it must also dominate the forces that are formed from the very constitution of an organized multiplicity; it must neutralize the effects of counterpower that arise from it and that form resistance to the power that wants to dominate it: agitations, revolts, spontaneous organizations, collusions – everything that can originate from horizontal conjunctions.

Disciplines must also increase the singular usefulness of each element in the multiplicity, but by means that are the quickest and least costly, using the multiplicity itself as an instrument for growth. In order to extract the maximum amount of time

20 The study of the relationship between the mechanism of examination and its intensification with the emergence of concern with the notion of population deserves a note, since it subtly indicates the direction that Foucault (1999, 2008a, 2008b) will give to his subsequent works/courses. In the courses of 1975-76 (*Society Must Be Defended*), 1977-78 (*Security, Territory, Population*) and 1978-79 (*The Birth of Biopolitics*), the theme of population and government will assume centrality in his reflections.

and energy from bodies, these collective methods that are schedules, collective training, exercises, and surveillance are both global and detailed. Furthermore, disciplines must increase the effect of usefulness inherent to multiplicities, and make each of them more useful than the simple sum of its elements. It is in order to amplify the usable effects of the multiple that disciplines define tactics of distribution, of the reciprocal adjustment of bodies, gestures, and rhythms, of the differentiation of capacities, and of mutual coordination in relation to apparatuses or tasks.

Discipline makes power relations function not above, but within the very fabric of multiplicity, in the most discreet way possible, by means of anonymous instruments coextensive with the multiplicity they regulate, such as hierarchical surveillance, continuous recording, perpetual judgment and classification (Foucault, 1991). Multiplicity can be a workshop or a nation, an army or a school, an asylum or a family.

By characterizing disciplinary power over the body, in what it mobilizes to train and in ideal models, it is possible to observe the birth of new technologies or disciplinary institutions, highlighting the presence of concerns maintained in this new form of power. It is important to note that the emergence of disciplinary mechanisms and their functioning occurs in a field of forces, integrated by what already existed and was not completely eliminated and by new forms of agitation, collusion, dissent and revolts fomented by disciplinary power itself. These are the counterpowers to which Foucault refers and which, to some extent, provide a key to understanding the investments already made and what will continue in the course that follows *Discipline and Punish*, that is, the 1975/76 course, entitled 'Society Must Be Defended'.

In the January 7th class of this course, he states that he remains concerned with the mechanisms, effects and relationships between the various devices of power that are exercised at different levels of society, in different domains and with varying extensions. For him, discipline brings about another type of body. A multiple, numerable, quantifiable body, upon which general measures, calculated measures must be applied. It is the notion of population that emerges. Disciplinary power seems to embrace a new formulation, that of biopower, or power over life, power to be exercised over many, over the population. The game or forms of exercising power acquire another design with the entry into the scene of mechanisms for regulating the population or biopower.

Schools and the systems created to regulate them have long operated with the pair discipline and biopower, since both, individual bodies and the multiple body, are inseparable. Hence the argument mobilized by monitorialists and frequently remobilized when moral bankruptcy is diagnosed and a vaccine called *school* is invented or reinvented, mandatory, long-lasting and markedly unequal; a condition for keeping the diagnosis of insufficiency or failure current and, as a related effect, the need for instruments and pedagogies based on a network of coercion more or less

subtle ones to act increasingly on the individual and on multiplicities, in order to obtain docility and maximum profitability of bodies and homeostasis of populations.

These are, therefore, foundations that were assumed by the doctrinaires of monitorial pedagogy who, attentive to the one and the multiple, organized a System, a rationality, an art of doses to be globalized to promote the fight against moral decline and to obtain an adequate sense of moral and religious excellence. After all, as stated in the epigraph of this article, this action is not natural, and it should be the task of the State and its nationalized companies to promote the service classified as the most interesting, that is, that destined to instruct their children, since the State needs nothing more than good citizens.

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