

The general confiscation of the body, of time, of life: emancipating and forming *brazilienses*, *brasilianans*, *brazilians*

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Abstract: How did Brazil's independence process take place? What relationships were established between the projects of nationhood and those for educating the population? What initiatives were taken to consolidate the education of the people in the complex national experience? As we are constantly and permanently called upon to think about the processes of emancipation and autonomization and their relationship with the projects for training and educating the population, in this article I return to these general questions to examine aspects of the planetarization of the so-called "Mutual Education System", its circulation and forms of implementation on national soil. With this resource, I sought to reveal training projects, the type of emancipation they embody, and the problems and contours they present. In this way, thinking about a post-independence training system articulates some initiatives aimed at schooling, and offers a certain framework for problematizing the transnationalism of the pedagogy of mutualism, which implies recognizing the complex networks of power relations in emancipated Brazil and the debates involving divergent interests about the urgency and need to educate *Brazilienses*, *Brasilianans*, and *Brazilians*.

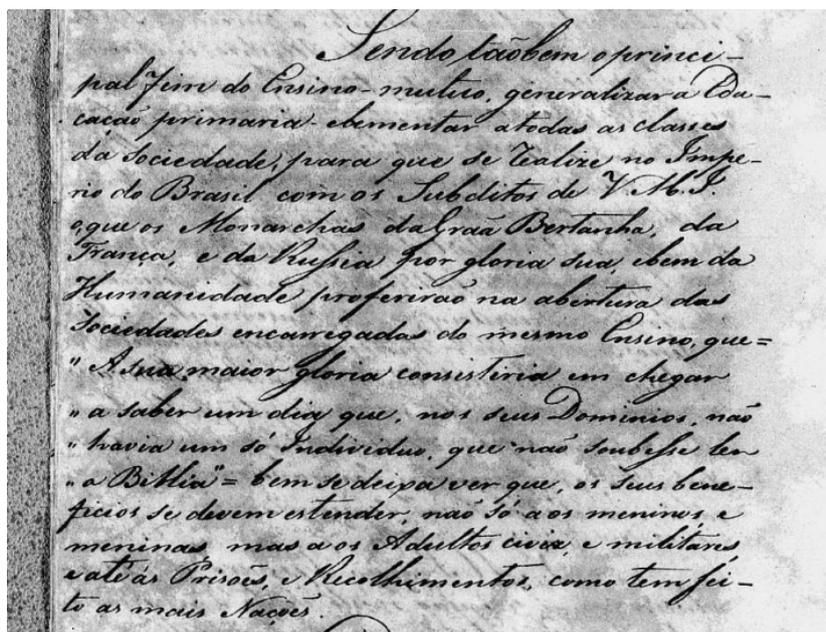
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1 Introduction

Figure 1 – Fragment of the “Memoir” signed by Euzébio Vanério (1825).



Fonte: Biblioteca Digital Luso-Brasileira¹.

The main purpose of Mutual Education is to generalize elementary Primary Education to all classes of society so that what the Monarchs of Great Britain, France, and Russia, for their own glory and the good of humanity, said at the opening of the societies responsible for the same Education, may be accomplished in the Empire of Brazil, with the subjects of Your Majesty, that “=Your greatest glory would consist in knowing one day that, in your Domains, there would not be a single individual who could not know how to read the Bible=” it is clear that its benefits should extend not only to boys and girls but to civilian and military adults and even to Prisons and Retreats, as most Nations have done. (Vanerio, 1825)².

It was Friday when the scholar born in Funchal³, on the island of Madeira, signed and dated the “Memoir” (Figure 1) that he sent to D. Pedro I, entitled “Memory concerning

¹ Available at <https://bdlb.bn.gov.br/acervo/handle/20.500.12156.3/431051> <https://bdlb.bn.gov.br/acervo/handle/20.500.12156.3/431051>. Accessed on Jan 25th, 2025.

² This is a transcription of Figure 1.

³ According to Blake (1893, Vol II, p. 310), Euzébio Vanerio Correia was born “in Bahia between the third and last quarter of the last century”, having died “before 1850, in this city, where he served as a bookkeeper and customs interpreter, after having been a substitute teacher in the royal commerce class, and finally had a boys’ school, if I am not mistaken.” The works of Paixão (2020) and the podcast related to Urânia Vanerio, daughter of Euzébio Vanerio, (<https://open.spotify.com/episode/4dxhsTHQe0IIZVKdWugrbp?si=4926762e05ec4707>. Accessed on Feb 04th, 2025) indicate some inaccuracies contained in Blake’s entry. Euzébio and his wife, Samoa Angélica Vanerio, were Portuguese. According to the news published in *Correio Sergipense* on March 26, 1852, he had died the previous day, due to a sudden apoplexy.

the Mutual Education offered to the Thousand Times August and Magnanimous Emperor of Brazil, Lord D. Pedro I by his smallest and most humble and reverent subject, Euzebio Vanerio”⁴.

Representing himself as “[...] the smallest, most humble and reverent subject”, Vanerio resorts to the rhetoric of humility to obtain the favors he requested: to inspect schools, open a normal school, and translate materials related to mutual education. The use of this topic must be combined with the positions occupied by the subject of the enunciation and his place of authority in the debate regarding education in the Provinces of Bahia and Sergipe. There are three indications of the functions exercised and the stamp contained in the text sent to the young Emperor of Brazil. One of them can be seen in the *Diário das Cortes Geraes e Extraordinárias da Nação Portuguesa* (1821), four years before the document in question and approximately 13 months before Brazil’s official independence, that is, on August 7, 1821. In this section, it is reported that:

The same Secretary reported on the offer made to the Courts by citizen Euzebio Vanerio, Principal of the School called *Constituição* in the city of Bahia, of a translation from English of the system of the British and Foreign School Society of London to teach reading, writing, arithmetic and needlework in elementary schools according to the method of mutual education invented by Lencastre, which was received with pleasure and sent to the Public Instruction Commission (*Diário das Cortes*, 1821, p. 1809).

Here, two hints offer outlines for understanding the statement produced in 1825, that of a school principal and that of Joseph Lancaster’s translator. It also anticipates the thesis that the spread of elementary schools should be for everyone, including the provision of “needlework”, with a focus on the education of women.

The third piece of evidence consists of information published in the *Annaes do Parlamento Brasileiro*, in the session of September 28, 1827. It is a request from Euzebio Vanerio, asking for a salary increase for his duties as bookkeeper and customs interpreter, which allows us to understand the multiple functions performed by the Portuguese scholar.

The authority seen in this note is reinforced by the authorial role he had performed, of which I highlight two of the materials listed in the entry written by Sacramento Blake (1893). The first consists of the book *Duties of Man or Moral Culture, expanded and translated from various authors for the use of youth*, offered to the Illustrious and Excellency Conde da Palma, in 1819. The second corresponds to the book *Guide for Good Family Mothers, or Physical Education of Boys*, undated.⁵

⁴ “Memoir” was dated as follows: Rio de Janeiro, September 16th, 1825.)

⁵ Blake (1893) states that this manuscript has 88 pages and that there is a copy of it in the library of the Geographical and Historical Institute (IGH), probably the Geographical and Historical Institute of Bahia

With these indications, it is possible to argue that the topic of humility is supported by the topic of authority, allowing us to perceive a political and pedagogical alignment⁶. It is about reinforcing central power, including by adhering to the method prescribed by the Emperor, through some measures that preceded the regulation and nationalization of mutual education on October 15, 1827.⁷

A political alignment also appears in the scope of instruction, as stated in the epigraph of this text. It is not just a matter of instructing young boys and girls, civilian and military adults and even those who were in prisons and detention centers, as was being done in the highlighted Nations (Great Britain, France, and Russia) should also be instructed, but not in any way. To this end, the reference to Lancaster seems to function as a key element in the construction of a legitimate statement of a System that should be disseminated on a global scale.

(IGHB). In contact by email on May 8, 2024, I have not yet received a response from the IGH of Bahia. The response from the IHGB (Rio de Janeiro) was laconic: “Dear Prof. José G. Gondra. Unfortunately, we do not have the aforementioned works in our collection.” This may be yet another inaccuracy in Blake’s aforementioned entry. The fact is that, to date, it has not been possible to locate these two books.

⁶ An additional hypothesis to understand the alignment made explicit in 1825 refers to the process that occurred in Sergipe, in which Antonio Pereira Rebouças accused Euzebio Vanerio of diversion of funds, undue payments, and illegal practice of certain professions, considering that these were activities to be performed exclusively by Brazilians. This process culminated in Vanerio’s arrest in 1824 and, consequently, a series of actions taken to free him. The “memoirs” are one of the documents that may have contributed to the end of his imprisonment. Imprisoned in the São Pedro fort, in Salvador, Euzebio Vanerio wrote a letter to the editor of the newspaper *Grito da Razão*, dated July 21, 1824 and published on August 2, 1824, from which I recover the opening paragraph: “Sir, Editor of *Grito da Razão*. Due to the despotic and inquisitorial imprisonment with which I was shackled by the astonishing and unconstitutional arbitrariness of the Honorable President of Sergipe, collaborated by Secretary *Rebouças* and his illicit henchmen, I was only able to see issue 25 today; and not wanting and not having to consent through silence to the diatribes and impostures with which these and their associates seek at every turn to tarnish my conduct, which they will not be able to twist or mold to their ends, I hasten to beg you, as a courtesy and in keeping with your periodic standard, to publish these few lines. (...) In 22 years of residence in Pernambuco, Ceará, Santos, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Bahia, which I am proud of and honor with the name of Son, as the place where I have lived the longest, I have always acted in such a way that, if my conduct was not admirable, it would not fall into the abominable either” (*Grito da Razão*, August 2, 1824). For a more precise notion of the process, see the periodical *Grito da Razão* (BA), in the years 1824 and 1825. Regarding this dispute, see also Paixão (2020).

⁷ Regarding the relations between independence processes and the problem of instruction, see Limeira & Gondra (2022), Santos, Gondra & Lopes (2022), Gondra (2022), Gondra (2021), as well as the recent collections organized by Limeira, Clemente & Gondra (2022) and by Laínez, Medina, Lustosa & Vilanova (2023). See also the dossiers published in the *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* (Pasche; Cury, 2020), *Revista História da Educação* (Gondra, 2021) and *Revista Proposições* (Sooma; Sepulveda, 2023) and the documentary series “Se liga na história”, with 4 episodes: **Episódio 1** - Margens da independência do Brasil e a Educação - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K5-ga3Aexjo>, **Episode 2** - Lenda de Meio Século: Independência e Educação - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGSDo9F-TGU&t=91s>, **Episode 3** - O centenário da Independência do Brasil e a Educação <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sqe0sf7hfVU&t=63s> e **Episode 4** - As comemorações dos 150 anos da Independência e a Educação <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YHoP-RxdwEU&t=39s>. Accessed on February 27th, 2024.

2 A System to be planetarized

In 1803, the British Joseph Lancaster wrote what can be considered the main book on the pedagogy he had practiced at the school founded years earlier on Borough Road, Southwark, in London. Alongside this, he produced reports and traveled within and outside British domains to spread the monitorial system, especially in America (United States, Venezuela, Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, etc.).

But what did the British Protestant project consist of? How should it work? Who should it target? What agencies did he consider strategic for the system to actually work? What was he opposed to?

It is not appropriate here to address the circulation and modes of appropriation of so-called mutual education. There are good studies that address this task, such as those by Bastos and Faria Filho (1999); Cardoso (2003), Neves (2003); Caruso and Roldan Vera (2005); Caruso (2008); Jinzenji (2010); Ferreira and Schwartz (2014) and Olivato (2020), among others⁸. What I would like to discuss in this session refers to the diffusion of mutual education in the Portuguese-speaking world and the way it is described by 3 teachers and a student.

The first of them is Euzébio Vanério himself, to whom I have already made some references. The second is a cadet from the capital of the Province of Minas Gerais who is sent to the Court to learn the fundamentals of Mutual Education. In this case, he is Professor José Carlos Marink, “[...] who had learned the method in a Lancasterian school, established in Rio de Janeiro, to train teachers of all provinces, aiming to propagate this teaching system throughout the Empire.” (Inácio, 2003, p. 17)⁹. The training of military personnel as teachers was the result of decision number 69 of the Secretary of State for War Affairs on April 29, 1823¹⁰. The text of the decision states that the most qualified military personnel should be sent to the Court to receive instruction concerning this very useful teaching method¹¹. At the Court, their instruction was under the responsibility of Nicolau Diniz José Reynaud (BRASIL, 1823).¹²

⁸ For Latin America, see the studies by Jáuregui (2003), Roldan-Vera (2005, 2013), Baeza (2016), Torres (2017) and Acevedo Tarazona; Villamizar Palacios (2024), among others.

⁹ The Decree of March 1, 1823 “Creates a School of First Letters, using the method of Mutual Education for the instruction of military corporations.” Collection of Laws of the Empire of Brazil - 1823, Page 41 Vol. 1.

¹⁰ According to Carvalho (1980), the military personnel were part of the main sectors of the imperial elite - the “first generation of Brazilian officers of the line troops came from the ruling class” (Carvalho, 1980, p.148).

¹¹ The military personnel received an additional 6 thousand *réis* per month to take this course. See Appendix 3. To get an idea of what this amount represented in 1823, with 6 thousand *réis* it was possible to buy a bag of rice from Santos, with 1\$200 it was possible to buy an *arroba* of brown sugar and with 3\$200 it was possible to buy a ream of foolscap. See *Semanário Mercantil*, available at . Accessed on Apr 23rd, 2024.

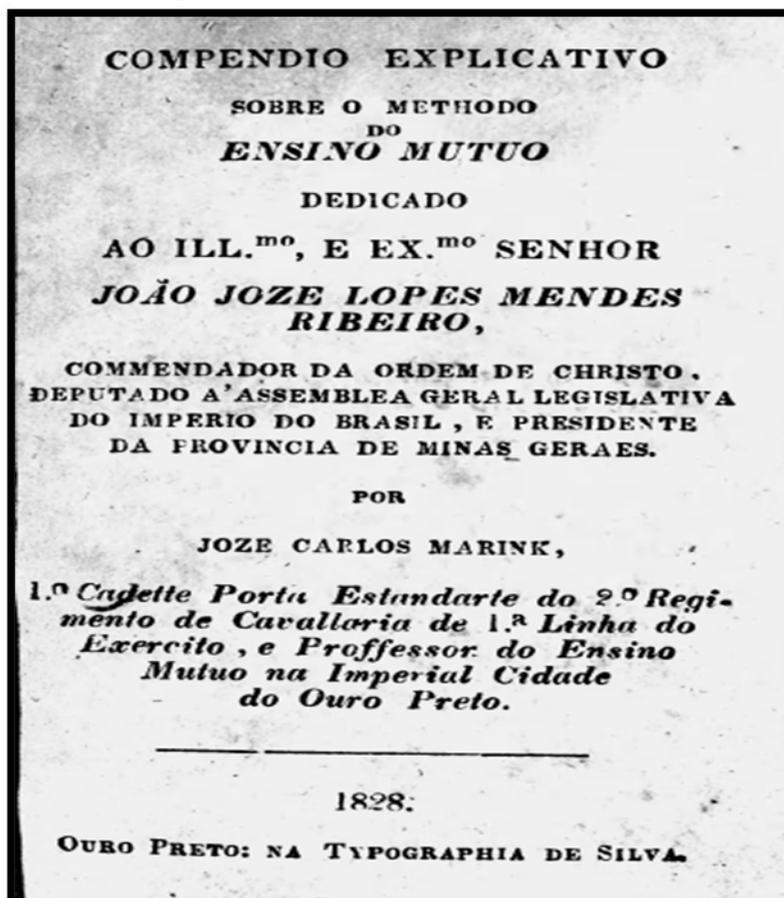
¹² See Annex 2.

Figure 2 – Decision number 69 of 1823.

N. 69.— GUERRA.— Em 29 de Abril de 1823.— Manda tirar dos corpos de linha das Provincias um ou dous individuos para frequentarem nesta Côrte as escolas do ensino mutuo pelo methodo de Lencaster.....	52
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Source: CLB, 1823, p. 52. (See Annex 1).

Figure 3 – Cover of Marink's Compendium.



Source: Newspaper Library of the National Library¹³.

José Carlos Marink was 1st Cadet Standard Bearer of the 2nd Cavalry Regiment of the 1st Line of the Army, and not only directed the work at the school in the province of Minas Gerais but also produced the *Explanatory Compendium on the Method of Mutual Education*, published in 1828¹⁴. In this material, Marink claims to present general notions of teaching

¹³ Available at https://objdigital.bn.br/objdigital2/acervo_digital/div_obrasraras/bndigital0405/bndigital0405.pdf. Accessed on January 28th, 2025.

¹⁴ The Compendium is dedicated to and requests a kind of sponsorship from the president of the Province of Minas Gerais, José Lopes Mendes Ribeiro, graduated in Law from the University of Coimbra in 1798. He practiced law in Lisbon until 1805, when he was appointed Secretary of the Government of the Captainty of Minas Gerais, a position he held until 1821. He was a deputy and secretary of the Minas Gerais government

by the aforementioned method, “a faithful confession” (Marink, 1828) of what he observed and learned in Nicolau Diniz José Reynaud’s class at the Court. For him, the difficulties of instruction by the Mutual Education Method were a consequence of the lack of knowledge of its elementary notions, a void that his compendium intended to fill.

The Compendium and the insertions in the journalism of the military teacher¹⁵ demonstrate that he was committed to demonstrating what he summarized from what he had learned from Professor Nicolau Diniz José Reynaud in Rio de Janeiro. The moment of the public examination constituted a ceremony that was supposed to attest to the training postulated by the British Joseph Lancaster¹⁶, whose foundations sought to demonstrate alignment and fidelity. After all, it was a matter of showing the effects of the 108 points contained in the aforementioned Compendium, which was intended to present to the respectable public some explanations about the aforementioned method, whose objective, according to him, had motivated the printing of the “limited Compendium” (Marink, 1828).

If it were possible to make a general summary of the operation of the cadet-teacher, we could indicate that it works on two levels. The first is the order of opposition, through which it forces a polarization between the *old* and the *new* method. The old, described as “quite disapproved” is compared to a ship in calm, a vessel that, no matter how diligent the pilot was, would not emerge from its state of lethargy. The state of inertia, in turn, is equally associated with the state of “deep-rooted terror” caused by the “ferocious despotism” of the teachers and the severe punishments, not always motivated by misconduct. Inertia, despotism, and injustice are three of the markers of the *old*. The *new* was represented by

board from 1821 to 1823. On April 7th, 1827, he held the position of judge and President of the Senate of the Ouro Preto Chamber, when he was appointed President of the Province of São Paulo, which he did not exercise because he was soon transferred to be President of the Province of Minas Gerais, whose administration he directed interruptedly from December 18th, 1827 to April 22nd, 1830, as a result of also being a deputy in the General Assembly of the Empire. He was a member of the Minas Gerais government board from 1821 to 1823[1] and president of the province of Minas Gerais from December 18, 1827 to April 22, 1830. He was a deputy for Minas Gerais in the General Assembly in its first two legislatures (1826 - 1829 and 1830 - 1833) and was twice presented on a triple list for Senator of the Empire. See https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jo%C3%A3o_Jos%C3%A9_Lopes_Mendes_Ribeiro. Accessed on April 23rd, 2024.

¹⁵ To follow part of Marink’s militancy in favor of mutual education in the Ouro Preto press, see Gomes; Gondra; Fernandes (2024).

¹⁶ At the end of each month, the pupils are called up by division, before the teacher seated at his desk, and each of them is **examined** and questioned about the reading lessons that have been given in his class. Whoever is found fit to pass is immediately enrolled in the higher division, and begins studying on the following Monday. [...] On the last Saturday of each month, the teacher draws up new class lists, and enters the changes in the alphabetical register: as these changes alter the class numbers of all the pupils, on the following Monday each pupil comes to tell their name to the class monitor, and receives a new number. For the examinations in the arithmetic class, the general monitor writes on their slate the names of those pupils whom they have seen excelling, or whom the class monitors have pointed out to them as deserving special attention: on inspecting this slate, the teacher calls up, on the following day, the pupils whose names are written on it; examines them carefully, and, if there is any reason for making any promotions, all are recorded” (Hamel, 1818, p.121-122).

the negative. It was the subject of much conversation in Brazil, because of what was being produced in the most civilized countries of Europe, considering their regime, order, work, and development and the maxim that “boys should learn through play”. A play that serves as a kind of irony¹⁷ when we observe the second plane of the discursive operation contained in the aforementioned Compendium: that of detail. The structure of 7 chapters, distributed around 108 points, covers aspects related to space, time, diverse materials, knowledge, emulations, advancements and delays in classes and between classes, absences, delays, exams, rewards, punishments, signals, to name a few, is not gratuitous.

Point 32 seems to work well to signal the limits of learning through play. At this point, it seeks to summarize what is largely documented in the doctrinal texts of Joseph Lancaster, described as a man of “great skills” by the propagandist from Ouro Preto. Point 32 deals precisely with the correction of delinquencies. For him, delinquents should be subjected to the following punishments:

1. Deprivation of the place,
2. Passing from a higher class to a lower class,
3. Go from monitor to disciple,
4. Not receiving the reward,
5. Kneeling in different places according to the teacher’s will,
6. Making the criminal the object of mockery of the other disciples’ arguments,
7. Staying after class time.

It ends with an etcetera and similar ones, which indicates the diversity of the orientations in relation to this point contained in Lancaster’s texts.

Finally, the investment in indoctrination, in the regular dissemination of the foundations of the so-called Mutual Education, and the demonstration of its results in public sessions seek to fill with meaning what is contained in the apocryphal epigraph of the “Explanatory Compendium on the Method of Mutual Education”: “*Fruit that forged weak reason is subject, oh reader, to imperfection*”.

The materials prepared by the British author (Lancaster), popularized by a professor at Court (Reynaud), and “faithfully” synthesized by the cadet from Ouro Preto, indicate the commitments, according to them, to a strong reason and perfection of the subjects. To this end, rather than learning through play, what is perceived is the definition of a rigidly structured pedagogy, seeking to regulate the smallest details through microcellular actions, a condition considered necessary for boys and girls to learn the places that men and women

¹⁷ Irony (or antiphrasis) is a figure of speech used to say something through expressions that purposely refer to the opposite of what was intended.

should occupy in the micro-society of schools and classes and, by extension, in society in general, that is, according to their merits and conduct¹⁸.

The third is a teacher from Bahia. She is Faustina Adelaide Felisbella Umbelina de Barros¹⁹, whose letter is published in a newspaper in Bahia and republished in the newspaper *Aurora Fluminense*²⁰, in Rio de Janeiro. The republication, a common practice in journalism at the time, gives the text a special meaning, as we can see in the type of letter published in duplicate:

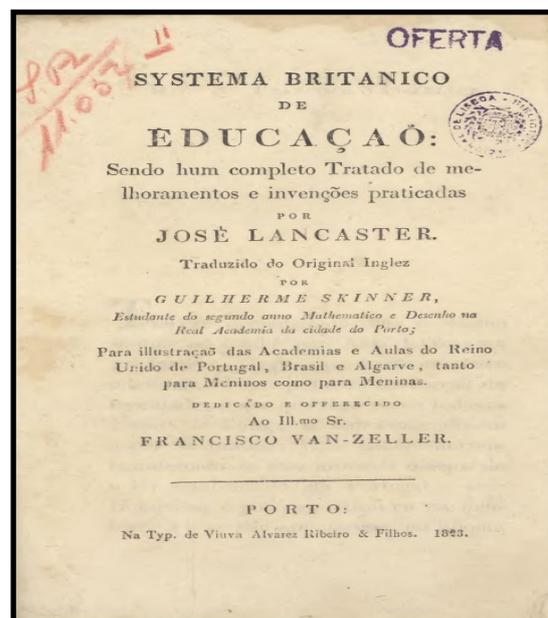
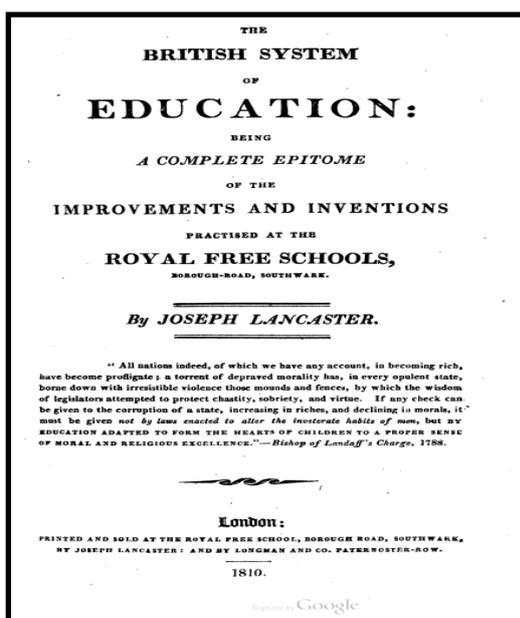
Mr. Editor of Bahiano. Happy is our Country, and we with it, happy are the people of Bahia, for having a truly Constitutional Monarch, a very good one, who Sanctioned the law of October 15, 1828, organized by our Legislative Assembly, which ordered the creation of Primary School Chairs, through the method of Mutual Education for the benefit of youth, not only for boys but also for girls, in all the Parishes of this City: it is my responsibility to be provided in the parish of Conceição da Praia, where I have been living on Ladeira da Preguiça, with a Classroom open since August 17 of this year, ready to receive my tender Patricians, to provide them with a school education that will prepare them so that one day they will not envy the heroines of the cultured Nations. When, Mr. Editor, would iron despotism do the same? Ah! Mr. Editor, Constitution and more Constitution, which is the asset that this Patrician of yours most values, asks you to insert these lines. –Faustina Adelaide Felisbella Umbelina de Barros (*Aurora Fluminense*, 1829, p. 1015).

Figure 4 – Covers of books by Joseph Lancaster (1810) and William Skinner (1823).

¹⁸ To reflect on the disciplinary nature of the Mutual Education System, see Gondra 2024a.

¹⁹ In the Inep inventory there is a list of requests from Professor Faustina requesting a salary increase (undated – Public Archive, 1-9-10), an opinion from Professor J. S. Sento Sé in favor of delivering mutual education tools to the teacher (Nov 12nd, 1831, Public Archive, 32-9-10), a certificate presented for vacant chairs (Jul 27, 1830) and an opinion from Professors Manoel José Gonçalves Pereira and João Ladislau de Figueiredo Mello regarding a request presented by the teacher (Jul 29th, 1830, Public Archive, 12-9-10). Inventory available at <https://bit.ly/3UR5aQu>. Accessed on May 22nd, 2024.

²⁰ Published on Friday, September 18th, 1829, in issue 241, p. 1015. Available at <https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=706795&pasta=ano%20182&pesq=&pagfis=1105>. Accessed on May 7, 2024. In this publication, throughout its life cycle, we found 20 occurrences of the term “mutual education”, which allows us to observe a certain capillarity of the policy and varied uses in public, private, and confessional classes, asylums, retreats, and prisons; for example. It should be noted that these occurrences do not exhaust the publicity of the method, as it can be referred to as monitorial, decurion, Lancaster (and variations in the spelling of this name), teaching per se, among others. It is important to continue to deepen the reflection regarding the circulation and appropriation of the postulates of the aforementioned method in the pages of this newspaper.



Source: https://books.google.com.br/books?id=LtBCAQAAMAAJ&pg=PP10&hl=pt-BR&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=1#v=onepage&q&f=false and <https://purl.pt/30199>. Accessed on Jan 25th, 2025.

The duplicity of the publication can be attributed to the alignment with the “truly constitutional” and “quite benevolent monarch”, reinforced by the provincial adherence to Mutual Education, but also by the audience and the type of argument used. It is a public class of mutual education intended to serve the “tender Patricians” so that they would not envy the heroines of the cultured nations.

Until now, the signals from the two male teachers and the female teacher refer, still in a generic way, to the mutual education system and the benefits arising from its application. It is worth noting, however, some of the foundations of this political-pedagogical program. To this end, we worked with a translation of one of Lancaster’s texts into Portuguese.

We now come to the case of the student Guilherme Skinner. Given the diversity of studies and materials related to the so-called “Mutual Education”, I focused on a translation of one of the Lancaster materials (1810) carried out by a Portuguese student, as a resource to show the circulation of these postulates in parts of the Portuguese-speaking world. I do not mean to say that it was the first, nor the main strategy for disseminating this project in the Portuguese language, nor in Portuguese America. To support this statement, it is enough to observe the campaign contained in *Correio Braziliense* in 1816. When contrasted with originals from Lancaster (1810), what was published in the newspaper edited by Hipólito da Costa can be considered a type of translation of some postulates of the newspaper published in London (Leão, 2004; Bastos, 2005, Limeira; Gondra, 2022), apart from the prescription of the general education law of 1827, a measure that officializes and seeks to give legitimacy and legality to the aforementioned method in the Brazilian lands, with the most diverse effects.

The second-year mathematics and drawing student at the Royal Academy in the city of Porto states on the cover that the translation of the “English original” was intended for the Academies and Classes of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarve, for both boys and girls, and was “dedicated and offered” to the Illustrious Mr. Francisco Van-Zeller, whose patronage he used 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 mutual education adopted by José Lancaster had produced, in England, “[...] an excessive advancement in the early instruction of youth [...]” (Skinner, 1823), and that for this reason, according to him, all the Nations of Europe were striving to put it into practice. He then points out:

Your Excellency has also expressed your ardent desire to see it established in Portugal and its Dominions, and for this reason, I have resolved that it should appear in the Portuguese language, translated from its original; and I believe that with all pride I cannot seek a Patron of this first essay of mine or translation other than Your Excellency, to whom I dedicate it with the most respectful admiration: and I hope to deserve from Your Excellency that welcome which those who with decided respect are, like myself, Your Excellency’s most attentive Venerator find (Skinner, 1823, p. 8).

By fulfilling the patron’s ardent desires, he finally found sufficient support to ensure the conditions for the publication of the translation in question. In the end, the material assumes a structure of around 14 chapters, as follows:

Box 1- Structure of the book “British System of Education: Being a Complete Treatise of Improvements and Inventions Practiced by Joseph Lancaster”.

Parts	Title	Pages
I	DEDICATION	7
II	PROLOGUE	9
III	ON THE CLASSROOMS, DESKS, AND PREPARATORY ARRANGEMENTS. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arrangement of Hats • Mode of Arranging Classes • Different Construction of Classes • Order of Classes for Those Learning to Read • Gradation of Classes for Learning to Write • Gradation of Classes for Learning Arithmetic • Mode of examining pupils, and arranging them into Classes for learning to read and write • Mode of writing in Classes • Mode of forming a Class in arithmetic classes 	11

IV	METHOD TO TEACH THE ALPHABET OR FIRST CLASS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Auxiliary method of teaching the Alphabet by writing on the sand or board • 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 of spelling 	19
V	NEW METHOD OF TEACHING ARITHMETIC <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First Class - Of ciphering • First Class - Of Arithmetic • New method of teaching the four rules of Arithmetic • Arithmetic by reading • Extemporaneous method of Arithmetic • Another method of examining the Arithmetic knowledge of your disciples • New method of inspecting the boys for absentees • Decurion of the absentees. 	33
VI	INSPECTION	47
VII	EMULATION AND AWARDS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tickets for prizes • Order of Merit - another method of teaching youth that is distinguished by its application to study, and is equally honorable, and less expensive • Tickets for prizes • Letters of recommendation • Emulation between Classes 	50
VIII	ON OFFENSES AND COMPLAINTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main faults that occur in classes • Rule and order by which the decurions make complaints. 	57
IX	INSTRUMENTS AND METHODS OF PUNISHMENTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Of the Wooden Chains • The Basket • The Caravan • Proclamation of the errors of an offender before the Classroom • Lack of cleanliness • Of the prison after class • Tone of singing when reading • Writings of shame • Other types of punishments 	59
X	SUBSTITUTES AND DECURIONS	65
XI	ON ORDERS AND WRITS	67

XII	DECURIONS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Of the decurions who teach, the qualifications necessary for such employments, and the manner of determining these qualifications • Rules for appointing teaching decurions • Of the decurions' tickets, list of substitutes, and office of the general decurion • Of the duties of the Decurions 	70
XIII	OBSERVATIONS FOR MASTERS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Of a common error among masters. 	75
XIV	APPENDIX - ARRANGEMENT OF CLASSES AND THEIR PROVISION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arrangement of lessons for classes • Arrangement of blackboards • Blackboards • Sand • Classroom Supplies - List of things needed for the class under this education plan. • Advantages derived from extending this plan to the so-called Sunday classes. 	77
XV	EDUCATION OF GIRLS.	81
XVI	EXPLANATION OF PRINTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Print 1 - Of the places to go when they will read • Print 2 • Print 3 	82
XVII	AFTERWORD (?) <p>“What more interesting service can be done to the State than that of educating its children?</p> <p>Of all public jobs, the most interesting is that of educating the youth. The State needs nothing more than good citizens; now, it is not nature that makes them, but good education.”</p>	84

Source: Prepared by the author.

A comment on the translation by the student from Porto requires a look back at the prologue, in which he presents the reasons and conditions under which he carried out the task.

PROLOGUE.

It seems to me that every man must use his time usefully, both for himself and for all; and seeing that I had some time left over from my studies, I took up this work to translate it into Portuguese: I know very well that my few years and my talents cannot bring this translation to an excellent degree of perfection; however, as I intend to be useful to the Nation with a work that I believe to be very interesting for being the first to come to light, and that its Author JOSE' LANCASTER did so much good for the youth; for this reason I hope for an apology from the benevolence of the read-

ers, because, as this System of Mutual Education is already established throughout Europe, it would be good if it were adopted in Portugal and its Dominions, and that the Professors make every effort to guide their disciples by the method of such an Illustrious British Author (Skinner, 1823, p. 9).

Now, as we can see, the two male teachers, the female teacher, and the student, are connected to the pedagogical debates of the time and seem to share a certain understanding of what was necessary to invent Brazil. One of the conditions for forging the Nation and Brazilians consisted precisely in the use of a technology that would provide the general confiscation of bodies, time, and life. In this context, the system of mutual education is represented as a strategic piece in the nationalization project set in motion after independence²¹. With this, I move on to the second part of the conference, in which I seek to explore aspects of the school system in its complex mediations, considering the policy of *teaching for oneself*, one of the pillars of the so-called mutual education.

3 Schooling, mutualism, and power relations

The invention and reinventions of the school as an *institution* are linked to what we can call a disciplinary society, typical of the 17th and 18th centuries in the European world, as postulated by Michel Foucault (1978, 1991, 1999, 2003, 2006)²². In this case, it is worth asking: how is the institution-discipline binomial structured and functioning? This connection appears in the examination of the functioning of society, in the weakening and disappearance of sovereign power, in the political struggles between the church, the bourgeoisie, and the aristocracy, with the entire support network associated with each of these orders, whose greatest effect was the strengthening of the bourgeoisie, the invention of the State and the creation of a broad set of mechanisms that will support and sustain the State. Therefore, when examining barracks, prisons, hospices, the army, asylums, tax authorities, and schools, for example, Foucault (1991) sought to demonstrate how this apparatus is associated with the State, which also assumes the powers relating to the functioning, management, and universality of these different facilities. It is a question of thinking about a network of monopolies that, in turn, organizes and helps to (re)produce the State.

From this general institutionalization or this network of monopolies, if you prefer, I will give some examples taken from the phenomenon that interests us, which is education through school. The general question seems to me to be to question the emergence of the

²¹ For a more general reflection on education in the Brazilian Empire, see Gondra and Schueler (2008) and Faria Filho (2003).

²² On this subject, see also Revel (2006); Machado (2006, 2017) and Castro (2004).

school, of this new technology of the social, and, in a second step, to ask about the nationalization of this equipment.

In this sense, it is necessary to combine the disciplinary element, typical of the institution, with the normalizing element, typical of regulation. In this sense, how did the independent State seek to treat and regulate the school? From when? For what purposes? What changes does it promote in the regulatory activity?

A first approach leads us to believe that school emerges from a diagnosis that considers it a necessity. It aims to fill a gap that it helped to establish, a gap that it intends to fill. A lack of faith, if we think of the school wave associated with the Catholic and Protestant projects of the 16th century. A lack of judgment, reason, or science, if we think of the state school, was born in the sphere of the complex Enlightenment project. In this vein, necessity forges another pair of opposites. This time it is the barbarian versus the civilized. However, how is the school machinery assembled, what structure is imposed on it and how should it function? I will draw attention to 7 points:

1. **It cannot be homogeneous**, it must be stratified from the point of view of
 - a) Hierarchy of knowledge – elementary, secondary, and higher education
 - b) Stratification of agents – managers, inspectors, teachers, family members and students
 - c) Differentiation of knowledge – horizontally and vertically
2. **Defined location** – cannot be placed anywhere
3. **Definition of time** – boarding school or day school (with internal division in the year, week, day)
4. **Delimitation of scope** (gender, age, social condition, health, duration)
5. **Establishment of method** – to teach and punish
6. **Manufacturing of school materials**
7. **Manufacturing of furniture, uniforms**

I believe that broadly speaking, we can say that these seven points, articulated in very different ways, can be considered as the general properties of the school equipment, designed to influence the subjects, their bodies, behaviors, and desires. In this way, it is possible to perceive strong features of the disciplinary dimension. With this, the disciplinary form is embraced by the State to govern the populations. In this sense, the school must be regulated based on a certain diagnosis or description that is made of the population in the name of the project that is intended to be implemented. Therefore, it is necessary to define and regulate the form and scope that is intended for this machine based on the time and logic of the newly independent State.

If this general matrix helps us to think about the emergence and functioning of the school, it is necessary to think about power and its relations: After all, returning to the terms of the inquiry suggested by Foucault (1999), what should be observed?

. How does power work?

- What system of differentiation allows some to act upon others?
- What objectives are pursued?
- What types of institutional modalities are employed?
- What forms of institution are involved?
- What type of rationality is at stake?

As can be seen, in genealogy (Castro, 2004) it is no longer a question of answering what power is, but of making the game and the plot of its functioning, purposes and desired effects perceptible. This seems to be quite fertile for problematizing institutions, taking the case of schools as a central reference.

By clarifying a little further his understanding of disciplinary power, Foucault (1999) approaches the problem that interests us most, that is, the articulations between body and power. For him, disciplinary power is nothing more than a form that is in a certain way terminal and capillary. It is a final intermediation, a certain modality through which political power, powers in general, come, at the last level, to touch bodies, act upon them, take into account gestures, behaviors, habits, words, how all these powers, concentrating downwards until they touch individual bodies themselves, work, modify, and direct “the soft fibers of the brain.” In this sense, disciplinary power would be a certain modality, very specific to our society, of what could be called body-power synaptic contact (idem, 1999). Considering these general coordinates, disciplinary power is described based on three characteristics:

1 - Disciplinary power implies a total appropriation or tends to be an exhaustive appropriation of the body, gestures, time, and behavior of the individual. The example offered to demonstrate this trait is the emergence of the disciplinary scheme in the army from the mid-17th century onwards, with the institution of cantonment. Discipline begins to be the general confiscation of the body, time, and life. As we know, the existence and permanent adjustments in the disciplinary system also constitute one of the foundations of the school training apparatus.

2 - Disciplinary power is continuous, being perpetually under someone’s gaze or in the situation of being gazed upon. It looks to the future, to the moment when things will work by themselves, when surveillance may be no more than virtual, and when discipline will consequently become a habit. Here are two examples that organize discipline: the figure of exercise and writing. In the first case, when it comes to physical exercise, it is described as a training of the body, training of skill, gait, resistance, and elementary movements, and

this is according to a gradual scale. In the second case, in order to take over the individual's body globally and permanently, writing will be a necessary instrument. Initially, to ensure the notation and recording of everything that happens, of everything the individual does, of everything he/she says; then, to transmit information from the bottom up, along the hierarchical scale and, finally, to be able to make this information always accessible and thus ensure the principle of omnivisibility. It is writing as a condition for the functioning of the panoptic principle, the basis of the discipline.

3 - Disciplinary power is isotopic or tends toward isotopy, and this represents several things. First, in a disciplinary device, each element has its well-defined place; it has its subordinate elements, it has its superordinate elements, like ranks in the army. In school, the clear distinction between the different age groups and, within the different age groups, the position of each individual in the class are examples of this *property* of disciplinary power. In the case of the mutual education system, the organization of classes by levels of advancement, the number of classes, and the number of students per class are linked to the measures of promotion, retention, and regression, as well as the techniques of rewards and penalties, offer a good measure of the isotopic character of power relations.

In this way of thinking about power and its functioning, the constituent elements of disciplinary processes presuppose a spatial fixation, the optimal extraction of time, the application and exploitation of the body's forces through the regulation of gestures, attitudes, and attention, the constitution of constant surveillance and immediate punitive power. This is the organization of a regulatory power that, in itself, in its functioning is anonymous, not individual, always resulting in an identification of the subjected individualities (Foucault, 1999). So, it is worth asking: what was at stake in the general institution of disciplinary devices? The *accumulation of men*, answers Foucault (1999). But what does this represent? This would represent an action parallel to the accumulation of capital. And, to make the reproduction and expansion of capital possible, it was necessary to carry out a distribution of the labor force present in each somatic singularity to maximize the possible use of men, to make all individuals usable, and to increase the profitability of work time, learning, improvement, of the time for the acquisition of knowledge and skills. In summary, he states:

This triple function of the techniques of accumulation of men and labor forces, this triple aspect is, I believe, the reason why the various disciplinary devices were instituted, tested, elaborated, and perfected. The extension of the disciplines, their displacement, and their migration, from their lateral function to the central and general function that they exercise from the eighteenth century onwards, are linked to this

accumulation of men and the role of the accumulation of men in capitalist society (Foucault, 1999, p. 90).

Conceived in terms of microphysics, for the author, disciplinary power finds its most complete formalization in Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon²³. This model of the functioning of disciplinary power is taken as a form for a whole series of institutions (prisons, schools, hospitals, workshops, orphanages, factories, etc.), being a scheme, a kind of mechanism that allows power to reach its maximum strength. The aim is to make the force of power more intense, its distribution better, and its target of application more certain (Foucault, 1999).

This form of power also acts in institutions that do not strictly follow this model but are directly linked to it, as is the case of the family, for example. Although it operates according to a dynamic closer to that of sovereign power, the family plays the role of deliberating on what is normal and regular. It is up to the family to refer those classified as abnormal and irregular to the institutions built to deal with abnormalities/irregularities. It is, therefore, at the end of the operation developed within these machines in the service of discipline that the individual can finally return to figure in the morphology of the normalized and normalizing family. Thus, although the power of the family is similar to sovereign power, for the latter to function, it needs to be in permanent articulation with the institutions characterized by disciplinary power, that is, a discreet action, confiscating bodies, time, and life; to be exercised in a continuous and isotopic manner, as can be seen in the details contained in the postulations of the advocates of mutualist pedagogy.

4 Final Considerations

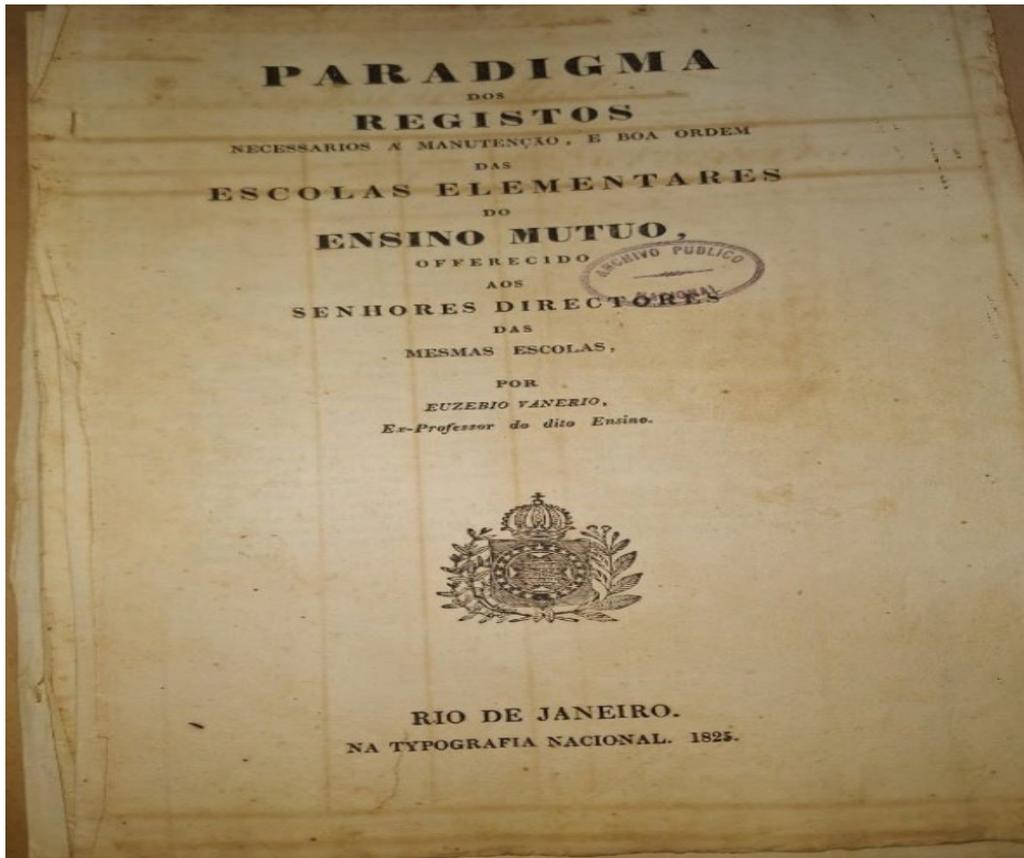
To conclude, three notes.

The first returns to the words of the teacher from Ouro Preto. For Marink (1828), nothing was practiced in mutual education that was not intended to make the boy aware of the true place of man in society. According to him, Mutual Education was not yet well organized in Brazil. The imperfection was attributed to the lack of caution with which it was "planted here", and it was "[...] necessary that all teachers make a special study to raise it to a higher degree of perfection [...]" (Marink, 1828).

The second note refers to the degree of formalization of mutual education schools, as can be seen in the material produced by the multifaceted Euzébio.

²³ To think about the way Foucault refers to Bentham's postulations, see Foucault (1978), especially the interview "The Eye of Power".

Figure 5 – Cover of *Paradigm of the Records* (1825).



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

Vanério, in 1825, entitled “Paradigm²⁴ of the records²⁵ necessary for the maintenance and good order of elementary schools of mutual education”. This document establishes how school records should be kept, and is composed of seven models, namely:

1. Record of Communication between the Founders, and the Principals, State or Provincial Government, and other Authorities, with whom they must come to an understanding, on matters relating to the Classes of said Education.
2. Record of correspondence with the Parents of Students, whether due to forced dismissals of the same, or due to absences from Class, or other such reasons.
3. Record of the enrollment of Candidates, in which they must be registered, as soon as it is known to which Classes they should belong.

²⁴ According to Pinto’s dictionary (1832), the term is equivalent to “exemplary”, that is, a model that should be imitated, that should serve as an example.

²⁵ According to Pinto’s dictionary (1832), the term was written in two ways: registo and registro. In this case, it refers to a book in which something is written down as a reminder. The deed that states that it was registered.

4. Record of the list of Classes, for which each Monitor takes the roll call daily in his respective Class and informs the Founder of its status.
5. Record of the effective status of each class on a daily basis, with the total number of students present and absent, and the complete status.
6. Record of student attendance at class sessions during the period of their enrollment.
7. Alphabetical or general record of all candidates who enroll in any school from its establishment until its termination.

When addressing the material to the principals of mutual education schools, he warns that these are records essential for the maintenance and good order of the schools. As if describing the seven books was not enough, the author presents the models to be reproduced and adopted by teachers in elementary schools. From this set of cards, for the purposes of an initial analysis, I highlight the seventh.

Figure 6 – Alphabetical record (Vanério, 1825).

N.º 7.

REGISTO-ALPHABETICO DE TODOS OS CANDIDATOS MATRICULADOS NA AULA
PEDRO PRIMEIRO,
ELEMENTAR DO ENSINO-MUTUO EM A VILLA (TAL) DA PROVINCIA (TAL) DO IMPERIO DO BRASIL
DES DE A SUA INSTITUICAO A SUA CESSACAO.

NOMES.	N.º	MORADIA.	ENTRADA.	CLASSES DE LETURA.								CLASSES DE ARITHMETICA.										SABIDA.	OBSERVACAO.
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
Antonio Francisco	5	R. Alfandega N. 17	18 ²⁵ / ₂₅	25	4	11	21	18	14	20	18	25	11	2	19	19	16	25	15	10	7	18 ²⁵ / ₂₅	Prompto em 1.º de Maio de 1825.
Amancio Lins	13	„ dita	22	24	19	17	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	5	13	11	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18 ²⁵ / ₂₅	Nenhuma assiduidade.
Agostinho Fernandes	15	„ Larga	51	18	4	22	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	16	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18 ²⁵ / ₂₅	Por vadio, e incorrigivel.
Bento Pitanga	1	„ Direita	7	18 ²⁵ / ₂₅	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bernardo Ananáz	20	„ Ajuda	18	18 ²⁵ / ₂₅	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Basilio Cosme	17	„ dita	14	18 ²⁵ / ₂₅	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cactano Julio	8	„ Hospicio	25	18 ²⁵ / ₂₅	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Constantino Jorge	16	„ Ortas	13	18 ²⁵ / ₂₅	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cornelio Franca	9	„ Tabuão	40	18 ²⁵ / ₂₅	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

N.º R. Pelo methodo acima se vai marcando a entrada, progresso, sabida, o motivo d'ella a todos os Candidatos. Neste Registo he necessario separar certo N.º de folhas para cada letra do alphabeto. A sua escripturaçao joga com as Listas de Classe, e mais registos; os numeros por cima da riscas na columna das Classes, mostra o dia do mez em que passou, assim como o debaixo, o respectivo mez.

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

As can be seen in the seventh card, the school, its location, the students, their identification numbers in the different classes, housing, date of entry, progress in reading and arithmetic classes, date of departure, and, a final field, intended for additional observations that could refine the description of the students about the reasons that could lead to their dropout are qualified. The card offers some of the criteria to justify the end of the school experience: due to promotion, attendance, truancy, and the incorrigible character of the student.

As I have argued, from a doctrinal point of view, the mutual education system aimed to optimize forces to the maximum, through the general confiscation of the body, time, and life. To this end, the regulation and control of details through bookkeeping was, as stated by Euzébio Vanério (1825), something indispensable. However, for such a mechanism to reach its optimum, it was necessary to consider the guidance of the cadet-teacher of Ouro Preto. For him, teachers should be well trained, so that the system could reach the highest level of perfection. The diagnosis and projection of the miner found a kind of repercussion in the ministerial report of 1832²⁶, when the minister, Nicolau Pereira dos Campos Vergueiro²⁷, noted:

²⁶ An additional clue to the difficulties in implementing the mutual education system in Brazil can be seen in the DECREE OF MARCH 4, 1829, which “Declares the Board of Principals of Mutual Education to be extinguished: The Law of October 15, 1827, having designated the Authorities responsible for exercising the management of primary schools through the Mutual Education system, previously entrusted to the Board of Principals of the same: I hereby declare that the functions of the said Board have ceased, as its continuation is no longer necessary given the aforementioned Law; Praising the Members who composed it for the zeal and patriotism they showed in carrying out their duties. José Clemente Pereira, of My Council, Minister and Secretary of State for Imperial Affairs, has understood it thus and will have it executed. Palace of Rio de Janeiro on March 4, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine, the eighth of Independence and the Empire. With the signature of His Majesty the Emperor. José Clemente Pereira.”

²⁷ According to Blake (1893), Vergueiro was born in Valporto, a district of the city of Bragança, Portugal, on December 20, 1778, and died in Rio de Janeiro on September 17, 1839. A law graduate from the University of Coimbra, he soon came to Brazil, his adopted homeland, in 1805 and established himself as a lawyer in São Paulo, later retiring to his farm (Ibicaba) where he began working independently for a European colonist. He represented this province in the Portuguese courts in 1822, in the Brazilian constituent assembly in 1823, and in the first legislature, and was elected senator for Minas Gerais in 1828. He held the chair of the Empire and temporarily that of Finance in 1832, and that of Justice in 1817; he was one of the members of the provisional regency after the abdication of D. Pedro I; he directed the Faculty of Law of Largo de São Francisco (São Paulo) from 1837 to 1842, and was one of the members of the first government of that province. He was one of the most dedicated workers for the independence of the Empire, having presented his separate vote in the Portuguese courts, as a member of the political commission of Brazil, which was tenaciously fought against and considered the most energetic proclamation of that independence, and having later refused to sign the Portuguese constitution. (...) He was a member of the council of His Majesty the Emperor, an honorary gentleman of the imperial chamber; a grand cross of the order of the Cruzeiro, and a member of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (Blake, 1893, vol. 6, p. 313).

Figure 7 – Fragment of the Ministerial Report (1832).

Terminarei, Senhores, este objecto por algumas observações, que me parecem dignas da vossa consideração. O methodo do Ensino Mutuo não tem apresentado aqui as vantagens obtidas em outros paizes: por esta razão o Governo está disposto a não multiplicar as Escolas, onde se ensine por esse methodo, emquanto as existentes se não aperfeiçoarem.

A segunda observação he relativa aos edificios para estas Escolas. A Lei manda applicar para ellas os edificios publicos, que houver. Ora a falta de taes edificios he geral, mesmo nesta Cidade: resta portanto o recurso de tomal-os por aluguel; porem difficilmente se encontrão com as proporções necessarias. O remedio pois será construil-os, consignando-se para esse fim as sommas precisas. Os Professores do Ensino Individual reclamão o mesmo beneficio, e o supprimento dos utensilios; mas como a Lei só trata daquelles, necessario he fixar huma regra para todos.

N. S. Senhores, os ordenados de

Source: Newspaper Library of the National Library²⁸.

According to the minister, the improvement desired by the teacher from Minas Gerais, four years after the publication of Marink's Compendium, had not yet occurred, which led him to determine that this type of school should not be multiplied, drawing attention to the problems related to school buildings and the supply of equipment necessary to make the

²⁸ Disponível em <https://memoria.bn.gov.br/docreader/DocReader.aspx?bib=720968&pagfis=1>. Acesso em 25 de jan de 2025

system fully operational. The ministerial assessment, however, does not imply a renunciation of the formulation of projects aimed at the initial education of the population, including and especially in the context in which it was necessary to educate “Brazilians”.²⁹ On the contrary, they proliferate, each one claiming to have found and to be equipped with the best formula to manage the multiple and the dangerous. Thus, the minister’s criticism seems to be anchored in an old reformist tradition, indicating, as can be seen, the limitations and insufficiencies of a given model, without considering the abandonment of projects that aimed (and aim) to confiscate the body, time and life, especially of the most vulnerable populations, as a rule, represented as the most dangerous.

²⁹ A respeito da formação de *brasileiros* como parte do projeto da emancipação nacional, cf, o episódio 1 da série “Se liga na história”, disponível em <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K5-ga3Aexjo>. Acesso em 25 de jan de 2025.

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N. 69.— GUERRA — EM 29 DE ABRIL DE 1823

Manda tirar dos corpos de linha das Provincias um ou dous individuos para frequentarem nesta Córte as escolas do ensino mutuo pelo methodo de Lencaster.

S. M. o Imperador sempre solícito em promover a instrucção e vantagens dos seus fieis e honrados subditos, não só dos corpos militares, como em geral de todas as outras classes, e mui persuadido de quanta utilidade seria crear-se neste Imperio escolas de ensino mutuo pelo methodo de Lencaster, o qual espalhando na Europa innumeraveis bens, podessem igualmente ser proficias neste abençoado Paiz, desenvolvendo o espirito, e preparando-o para novas acquisições de mais transcendentés idéas: Houve por bem por seu Imperial Decreto de 1º de Março proximo passado, instituir nesta Córte uma Escola das primeiras letras por aquelle methodo, a qual já se acha em actividade; e Querendo o mesmo A. S., que de todas as Provincias concorram individuos que, versando as lições da sobredita Escola, se habilitem a ser um dia entre os seus concidadãos os que alli creem este estabelecimento: Manda pela Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios da Guerra fazer esta communicação ao Governo Provisorio da Provincia de... para seu conhecimento, e afim de que envie para esta Córte um ou dous individuos tirados da Tropa de Linha, sejam da classe dos Officiaes Inferiores, sejam dos soldados, que tenham a necessaria e conveniente aptidão, para aprenderem o mencionado methodo, e poderem voltando á sua Provincia dar lições não só aos seus Irmãos d'Armas, mas ainda ás outras classes de cidadãos.

Palacio do Rio de Janeiro em 29 de Abril de 1823.— *João Vieira de Carvalho.*

Source: Collection of Brazilian Laws.

Annex 2 - Decision 11 of January 29th, 1823.

N. 11.-- IMPERIO.-- EM 29 DE JANEIRO DE 1823

Permitte o estabelecimento de uma aula de ensino mutuo nesta Còrte.

S. M. o Imperador, Deferindo a representação de Nicolau Diniz José Reynaud : Manda, pela Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Imperio, participar ao Conselheiro Inspector Geral dos Estabelecimentos Litterarios, para sua intelligencia e execução, que Ha por bem conceder faculdade ao supplicante para estabelecer uma aula de ensino mutuo nesta Còrte.

Palacio do Rio de Janeiro em 29 de Janeiro de 1823.— *José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva.*

Source: Collection of Brazilian Laws.

Annex 3 – Decision 130 of August 22nd, 1823.

N. 130 GUERRA— EM 22 DE AGOSTO de 1823

Manda abonar aos officiaes inferiores e cadetes que vieram das Provincias aprender o methodo do ensino mutuo uma gratificação mensal, emquanto frequentarem a dita aula.

Manda S. M. o Imperador, pela Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios da Guerra, que o Thesoureiro Geral das Tropas da Còrte e Provincia abone mensalmente a todos os officiaes inferiores e cadetes vindos das Provincias para aprenderem nesta Còrte o methodo do ensino mutuo a gratificação de 6\$000, emquanto frequentarem a dita aula ; e assim se pratique com o Forriell de linha da Provincia do Espirito Santo José Joaquim de Almeida Ribeiro.

Paço, 22 de Agosto de 1823.— *João Vieira de Carvalho.*

Source: Collection of Brazilian Laws.

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