

# The music band of Casa dos Educandos Artífices in Maranhão (1841-1889): from school practice to cultural practice<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** This article recovers the trajectory of the Music Band of *Casa dos Educandos Artífices* (CEA) (1841/1889) in the Province of Maranhão, which emerges from the welcoming of destitute boys after the Revolta da Balaiada, articulating pedagogical and educational practices via professional instruction from specific cultural practices. We analyze the progression of musical formation, mainly instrumental, as a subject that orbited the curriculum and the musician trade, beyond the classes of early literacy, Christian doctrine, notions of national grammar, and mechanic instruction focused on trade learning: mason, tailor, carpenter, blacksmith, and barrel-maker. The processes to create/implement CEA and establish/develop/peak of the music band are intercrossed with the characterization/use of the space and the extracurricular activities of apprentices in musical formation, beyond the flow of subjects and the organization of school time as units of analysis under the perspective of Norbert Elias and the theoretical-methodological assumptions of Cultural History. We approach the power relations implicit in trades and reports between presidents and public instruction inspectors, in teachers' actions, and in the laws and regulations that contribute to data triangulation to understand the nature of vocational instruction, the characteristics of musical formation, and the respective projections of school practices into cultural practices pointing out new identities.

**Keywords:** children's instruction; music band; *Casa dos Educandos Artífices*; school institution; Maranhão Empire.

## 1 Introduction

In political terms, the period of the Brazilian Empire (1822-1889) orbited between liberals and conservatives who fought for ways to legitimate, maintain, and establish oligarchies supported by agricultural production. There was a belief that the instruction guided by legal devices would reduce intra-elite conflicts and allow a certain model of political domination through ideological homogeneity and training. This homogeneity would be carried out via the process of elite socialization, directed by instruction, occupations, and political carriers (Car-

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valho, 2006), as well as the powers attributed to the Provincial Assemblies to appoint and dismiss public works according to the value of exchanges and favors (Fausto, 2003).

A period of significant social, political, economic, and educational transformations influenced by the French and Industrial Revolutions that contributed to the dissemination of liberal thought, which arrived in Brazil through foreign and Brazilian travelers (Mignot; Gondra, 2007). Liberal ideas that justified the creation of institutions of power and social control aiming to weaponize and protect the local governments from the “dangerous” or popular classes (Malerba, 1999), but that also projected themselves into pluralities of judgments from groups of bachelor’s degree holders, landowners, traders, and physicians who defended abolition and the Republic in a network of reciprocal interdependences considered here as a figuration.

Regarding public instruction, the early literacy (*primeiras letras* - first letters), elementary (*elementar*), and primary (*primária*) schools point out three models of schools at this educational level in the 19th century, the naming in the sources varies: the first was conceived as a space for elementary teaching and knowledge – the place or reading-writing-counting (Hébrard, 1990); the two others, change names depending on the insertion of new contents/subjects in the curriculum or the division of primary education into two educational levels, according to the 1855 Regulation. Different models of primary school, which, according to the dynamic established, project singular needs, different demands, subjects, and practices that mark the difference depending on the materiality in said schools<sup>2</sup>. Pieces of evidence point out the social configuration in which the school institution was inserted, “[...] for the contractor’s implicit interests in the records and how the position choices [project] ways of reading and understanding [such spaces], as well as the respective production of meaning via representations” (Castellanos; Carvalho, 2024b, p. 35).

However, despite the attempt to fulfill legal dispositions through the laws, regulations, and prescriptions to normalize elementary and secondary education after the 1834 Additional Act that granted the provinces the power to legislate, there were not enough teachers at the time for the increasing number of early literacy schools, which have contributed to the expansion of mutual learning method (Bastos; Faria Filho, 1999), implemented in Brazil through the Law from October 15, 1827<sup>3</sup> and the creation of Education Inspectorates.

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<sup>2</sup> Viveiros (1953, p. 6), in work published in several editions of the newspaper *O combate* in 1937, discovered the notebook of *Liceu*, written in 1838, that reads, “[...] **from the 14 schools we had, we moved to 24**: two in the capital and one in *Alcântara, Arari, Brejo, Caxias, Guimarães, Icatú, Mearim, Monção, Paço do Lumiar, Pastos-Bons, Pinheiro, Itapecuru, Rosário, S. Bento, S. João de Côrtes, S. Antonio das Almas, S. Vicente Férrer, S. Miguel, Tutóia, Vinhais, Viana, and Vargem Grande*” (our highlight).

<sup>3</sup> The Law from October 15, 1827, was the first Brazilian law on public instruction after the Independence. It determined the establishment of “*primeiras letras* institutions” in less populated places using the mutual learning method. Though the 1827 Law and its Complementary Act from 1834 do not mention high school institutions, the provinces were responsible for their creation and maintenance, which became known by different names, such as *Ginásios, Liceus*, and others, depending on the location. These institutions were seen as “preparatory schools for university” during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Higher education was under the strict responsibility of the central government.

Establishments to control and inspect public and private school spaces to standardize the class organization, educational practices, methods, and programs seeking to disseminate the unified model of civilization through literate culture (Hilsdorf, 2006).

Therefore, at first, the monitorial method was obligatory, aiming at the economy of time, space, and teachers' salaries as an orthopedic practice (Castellanos, 2022). Later on, its use was relativized with the approval of the Law nº. 267/1849, during the rule of Honório Pereira de Azeredo Coutinho (1849-1851), President of the Maranhão Province, which established a reform in public instruction, presumably the first as the term did not appear in any previous law. The seven first articles of the 32 that compose the legislation correlate the number of students with the education method use; that is, they establish different salaries depending on three categories of teachers: 1) those attending from 10 to 39 students (art. 2º), would teach the *individual method* and would receive the fixed amount of 300\$000 réis a year; 2) those with 40 to 79 students (art. 3º), would teach through the *simultaneous method* due to the fixed yearly amount of 400\$000 réis; and 3) those with 80 to 160 (art. 4º) would teach through the *Lancastrian method* earning 600\$000 réis a year. Besides the different salaries for public teachers (art. 6º) and the additional gratification of 3\$000 réis to all these teaching categories for each student added to the minimal number.

Nonetheless, though Gondra (2024) has defended in the opening conference of the *XV Encontro Maranhense de História da Educação* (EMHE) that the monitorial system was not simply a method but a model of European primary school in the 19th century, due to its rules and organizational, ethical, and political principles that grounded it, in Brazil, its implementation was restricted to the technical part, considering it a teaching method that coexisted with the individual, simultaneous, and mixed methods. In terms of proposals, mutual teaching was an attempt to systematize popular instruction. However, we should mention the failure of this experience during the 19th century and the fact that it was ephemeral and had little expression in Brazil (Souza, 2007).

Within this equation, the school spaces of primary instruction in the Province are established and it was among this tension that the balance among the number of schools and students, the number of teachers, their respective salaries, the structure of school spaces, the materials of school culture, the content proposed, and the enrollment levels that a law about the teaching method to use is instituted according to the school maps<sup>4</sup>. In this perspective, different models of schools in this educational level with different social configurations, such as the early literacy, elementary, and primary schools, as well as farm and domestic schools<sup>5</sup>, the *Escola*

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<sup>4</sup> School documents that, though not systematized in the structure and content, show aspects inherent to the grammar of schools and teaching.

<sup>5</sup> Spaces provided and organized by the country for children and young people, where teachers were supposed to teach—often together with neighbors and relatives. The teacher's payment was the responsibility of the

do *Cutrim* and the *Seminário das Mercês*, among other; for the excluded people, considered “destitute of luck” another nature of instruction, based on prescriptions of psychophysics rules created by coercion devices and mechanisms of self-control (Warde, 2007), was crucial. Silent technologies used to correct and adapt the students to the norms and precepts established by a network of police officers, physicians, priests, judges, teachers, and other people responsible for maintaining the “supervised freedom” (Foucault, 1987). Institutions such as the *Lazarettos*, *Santas Casas de Misericórdia*, and *Casas de Aprendizes Artífices* which “[...] were created to control passions, instincts, ailments, perversions, drives, and desires” (Foucault, 1987). In this scenario, the *Casa dos Educandos e Artífices do Maranhão* (CEA- Maranhão House of the Artificer Apprentices)<sup>6</sup> was established as another model of primary school focused on the elementary and vocational work for deprived male children and teenagers from seven to fifteen years old, after the consequences in the Province raised by the *Balaiada*<sup>7</sup>.

In these terms, the problem of this article is based on the question: To what extent did the pedagogical practices via instruction and professionalization in the CEA in the Maranhão, during the Empire, and the new school practices instituted by the music formation touch different cultural practices that projected new identities, considering the new habits, behaviors, and values that orbited the professional formation and guarantee the occupation exercise? Practices and the shapping of subjects during childhood and adolescence that, according to Warde (2007), establish mental or psychic configurations, in which cognition, feeling, behavior, and values are not susceptible of abstraction (Elias, 2001a). Thus, the aim is to recover the life cycle of the institution, the trajectory of its Music Band to understand the nature of vocational instruction, and the school characteristics, articulating the processes of creation/installation of the establishment, the use of school physical space, the flow of subjects, and the organization of school physical space, the musical formation, and the exercise of the musician profession; practices considered here as schooling or cultural ones that point out the differentiation, under the light of theoreticians, such as Elias (1993; 2001a; 2001b) and the theoretical-methodological assumptions of Cultural History (Chartier, 1988; Castellanos, 2002). School and cultural practices that can be analyzed due to the power relationships instituted among presidents, inspectors, directors, clerks, and teachers. These units of analysis intercrosses from several sources: the institution’s regulation; the official letters of the directors to the Presidents of the Provinces, and the reports of the inspectors of public instruction and the presidents themselves, considering the legislation, the norms, and the

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head of the family who hired them, usually the landowner.

<sup>6</sup> Provincial law Nº 105, August 23, 1841.

<sup>7</sup> *Balaiada* was the most important popular insurrection in the Province of Maranhão (1839-1841), with unfoldings in the provinces of Piauí and Ceará, such as the *Cabanagem* in Pará. It was a movement that unified several groups, provoked by a crisis in the export of cotton, through the imposition of *Lei dos Prefeitos* [Mayors’ Law], with the support of poor and enslaved people (Marques, 1970).

prescriptions that shared this elementary and vocational education into theoretical, literary, musical, and practical lessons, the latter focused on the learning of a mechanic art or trade.

## 2 Representations of Casas dos Educandos e Artífices

The confinement territories of these “destitute boys”, as a way for provincial governments to keep exercising their power/disciplining, occupied the periphery regions of the city, which delineates a characteristic of all *Casas de Educandos e Artífice*: receive children orphan from father or mother (or both), and abandoned in the foundling wheels – revolving doors in the convents and charitable institutions where unwanted children were let. Under a strict military order, these children should learn how to read, write, count, and learn a mechanic trade to integrate into society later and contribute to developing industrial arts in the provinces.

Besides these admission conditions, they should be physically apt to exercise work maneuvers in the workshops and military exercises legitimized by discourses, evaluations, and medical intervention because judgment of what society expects regarding the ways of being and acting in the world of a child-student “[...] is part of a long process of formation of this specific school way of being a child” (Boto, 2002). In fact, this intervention was required by all the principals of these institutions that saw in the medical practice “[...] the disappearance of major epidemic outbreaks” that affected students, such as cholera, intermittent fevers, and beriberi. Hence, the recommendations of creating draining/ventilation systems, ventilation of spaces, such as bedrooms and kitchens, and the special care with the patients’ diets. This is visible in the frequent demands from CEAs’ directors regarding the creation of nursery wards inside the schools, according to the analyzed regulations and reports. The existence of these wards stopped educators to contact “abnormal” people (criminals and lepers, for example) attended in general hospitals or Casas Santas and the moral contamination. This relationship between education and medicine is present as sanitation and education for society and approached by Faria Filho (2004), Gonçalves (2004), and Kulhmann Junior (2002).

After the rebellions of Balaiada and Cabanagem, these institutions emerged in Maranhão (1841-1899)<sup>8</sup>, Piauí (1847-1873)<sup>9</sup>, and Pará (1840-1855<sup>10</sup>/1870-1897)<sup>11</sup> mainly aiming to keep

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<sup>8</sup> 1841 (year of creation/inauguration of CEA in Maranhão through the Law nº 195, from August 23) - 1889 (extinction year with the Proclamation of the Republic). Castro (2007).

<sup>9</sup> 1847 (year of creation/inauguration of CEA in Piauí by Resolution nº 220, from September 24, though it was inaugurated in 1849) - 1873 (extinction year). Ibid., Ibidem.

<sup>10</sup> 1840 (year of creation/inauguration of CEA in Pará by Law nº 79, from October 21) - 1855 (closing year). Ibid., Ibidem.

<sup>11</sup> 1870 (opening year with the name *Instituto de Educandos Artífices* by the Decree nº. 660, from October 31) - 1897 (year it became *Instituto Lauro Sodré*). Ibid., Ibidem.

the social and political order. In the other provinces, they were set up to create “[...] an army reserve corps, which initially hesitates parents and tutors to deliver to the children and protected ones the governmental care, [...] as a way to form cheap workforce for the public works of the government” (Castellanos, 2022, p. 3): the fabrication of materials, such as uniforms, shoes, and weapons for the police corps, or furniture for institutions like schools and hospitals.

The CEAs created workshops that offered several types of services, mainly tailors, cobblers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and tinsmiths visible in all the regions. However, it is important to mention some notable regional exceptions: makers of canvas hats in Amazonas (1856-1877<sup>12</sup>/1882-1894<sup>13</sup>); typographers in Piauí e, bookbinders in São Paulo (1874-1883)<sup>14</sup>. And the musicians in Maranhão? How was the music workshop established in this Province? How did the rehearsals for the Music Band enact themselves? When and where did the music formation students practice? In this dynamic, the offer of a professionalizing education complemented by the “men’s workshops” that changed according to the progress of mechanic arts (Boto, 2002), follows the flow of economic changes in the provinces, leading to the closing or the (re)opening of one or other trade modality. Therefore, the greatest “progress” of these establishments was observed when the provinces reached a greater economic development due to the accumulated capital from the exploitation of cotton in Maranhão, coffee in São Paulo, cattle raising in Piauí, and the export of leather and cattle, besides the exploitation of rubber in Amazonas and in Pará. This development can also be seen in the admission of a higher number of students due to the improvement of these conditions in the school spaces and the creation of new workshops. However, provinces such as Ceará (1856-1877)<sup>15</sup>, Rio Grande do Norte (1858-1862)<sup>16</sup>, and Alagoas (1854-1859)<sup>17</sup> “[...] were always closing workshops through the gradual shutdown and full closure of CEAs” (Castellanos, 2022, p. 6), Sergipe (1856)<sup>18</sup> and Goiás (1861)<sup>19</sup> did not even enact them.

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<sup>12</sup> 1856 (year of creation by Law nº 60, from August 21 and inauguration in 1857) - 1877 (closing year). Ibid., Ibidem.

<sup>13</sup> 1882 (opening year with the name *Instituto de Educandos e Artífices* by Law nº 564, May 8) - 1894 (year the name changes to *Instituto de Artes e Ofícios*). Ibid., Ibidem.

<sup>14</sup> 1874 (year of creation/inauguration by Law nº [non-identified], from July 24) - 1883 (when it is substituted by Instituto Ypiranga). Ibid., Ibidem.

<sup>15</sup> 1856 (year of creation by Law nº nº 754, from August 5, though it was inaugurated in 1857) - 1877 (probable year of extinction). Ibid., Ibidem.

<sup>16</sup> 1858 (year of creation by Law nº nº 376, from August 9, though it was inaugurated in 1859) - 1862 (extinction year). Ibid., Ibidem.

<sup>17</sup> 1854 (year of creation / inauguration by Law nº nº 234, from April 7) - 1859 (extinction year). Ibid., Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> 1856 (year of creation). Ibid., Ibidem.

<sup>19</sup> 1861 (year of creation). Ibid., Ibidem.

The geographical centrality of *Casas de Educandos Artífices* mapped in the Brazilian North and Northeast regions had several reasons<sup>20</sup>, among them: 1) the disordered demographic growth that intensified the poverty level, in Maranhão during the *Balaiada*; 2) the industrialization surges that led to the reopening of the Casas in Pará and, mainly in Amazonas, with the exploitation of rubber, gaining the status of *Institutos de Educandos Artífices*; 3) the increasing number of abandoned under-aged people begging and vagrancy, leading to the migration of former-peasants bankrupt in São Paulo; 4) the presence of “[...] poor, white, enslaved, and freed women” of all ages that birthed and abandoned their children or gave them to others (Dias, 1995); 5) the increase of poverty and the need to form workforce for the manufacturing activities in the Province of Piauí, after the transference of the capital from Oeiras to Teresina; and 6) the poverty resulting from the historical droughts in the regions of Ceará and Alagoas, the same happened in the provinces of Rio Grande do Norte and Paraíba.

This does not mean that sheltering establishments (for men and women) of elementary and vocational instruction were not created in the other provinces. Franco (1988) mapped around 75 institutions with similar ends, called *Casas de Educandos, Asilos, Institutos, Colégios, Colônias, Orfanatos, Externatos, Seminários, Escolas* and *Liceus de Artes e Ofícios* between 1818 and 1925. The nuclear difference between establishments is that, despite being a primary and vocational formation — that would guarantee the insertion in the “civilized” world through the gradual transfer of institutional control for self-control/policing of individuals about particular behaviors/passions and the exercise of a specific profession that aimed the individual development via workshops —; they also adopted the same pedagogical methods used by the war armories (even those directed by non-military), as happens in Ceará and in Paraíba that were run by religious people and worked in their own spaces kept by provincial funds. The dynamic is different from the one adopted by the *Companhias de Aprendizizes Menores*, which although had the same end of shaping and disciplining children’s behaviors, the military managed these organization that were supported with resources from the central government and sought to form a contingent for the army (Dias, 1995). The formation of professions and the exercise of trades that “[...] stripped of their gear and apparel, are specialized social functions which people perform in response to specialized needs of others; they are, at least in their fully developed form, institutionalized sets of human relationships” (Elias, 2001a, p. 89) that constantly orbit “[...] group tensions and institutional conflicts [that are] caused by the institutional standard of their relations and roles [...]” (Elias, 2001a, p. 90). Relations and functions that should be analyzed as a whole when referring to the formation of professions and the exercise of occupations, though it

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<sup>20</sup> See Cunha (1979); Freitas (1954); Fonseca (1986); Franco (1988); Rizzini (2004).

is quite limited for the scope of this work<sup>21</sup>. However, regarding the CEA in Maranhão, it is crucial to question how the musician formation was developed and how the exercise of the musician trade was established. When describing the *Companhias de Aprendizes Menores* connected to the *Arsenais de Guerra* (War Armories), the 1852 Reform affirmed that Pará, Pernambuco, and Bahia had better conditions. In this latter, 100 students learned drawing, as well as 14 professions; 97 students of early literacy and the 11 mechanical trades in Pernambuco and 48 learners in Pará, with five workshops. The place where they operated was “[...] badly aired, not susceptible to cleanliness, not suitable for a school”:

Besides the general establishments just mentioned, there were others in the Provinces that had no property from which to survive. In these ones, poor boys are admitted, receiving convenient education, primary instruction, and learning a mechanical trade, so that, having compensated with their work their expenses, they had a way of living through which they become useful to themselves and to the society that educates them. Such are the cases of the educators in Maranhão and Pará. However, Pará, with only 12 students in the last year, was in such a state of decadence that its absence would not be perceived by the Province, mainly because it has a *Companhia de Aprendizes Menores*. In fact, the number of Pará students had greatly decreased since 1850. [...] I pointed out some causes for the decadence of this establishment [...]. The inside of the house was in ruins; the boys were lacking hammocks, beds, or bunks, and often clothes, uniforms, and shoes [...]. Last, finally, the current principal, discouraged or for any other reason, does not know or does not consider it possible to improve the current situation and, consequently, any attempt is useless. The Casa dos educandos in MARANHÃO is *not only the most complete establishment of its kind but the single one that has prospered from the attempts undertaken in other parts: have a good principal and able teachers* (Dias, 1995, p. 6, our highlight).

The *Casas de Educandos Artífices*, or care and professional learning institutions, had a scheme of disciplining gestures, works, and school contents, as well as the boys' language and behavior that worked uninterruptedly aiming to “[...] scrutinize time, space, and movement” (Foucault, 1987, 118) and aiming to establish relationships of “docility-utility” for the mechanical work and the theoretical classes, in the dormitories, in the music classes, and when working as a musician, mainly in the relations with their superiors; such power mechanisms employed by the principals as responsible for order and control, materialize themselves in acts of vigilance and punishment of contraventions as authority emblems and

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<sup>21</sup> To understand the emergence of new professions and correlate changes observed from the arrival of the Court in Brazil until its Independence, see *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*. Book II: *O Brasil monárquico* [Monarchical Brazil], vol. 1: The emancipation process: “The colonial middle class [...] starts now to be enriched by maybe more active elements, or starts to welcome trades previously unknown, in sort of cosmopolitanism that, even in later years, will not have many examples”. (Barreto *et al.*, 2004).

were supported by regulations aiming to control the activities and the rhythm of the disciplining device through prescriptions and norms.

In other words, according to Warde (2007), school and its pedagogical practices towards schooling and the profession, demanded, in this case by the CEA, worked as practice-shaping practices and, the existence of these establishments as spaces for teaching and occupation training, allows us to talk about the history of childhood as the history of an “orthopedic practice” (Foucault, 1975, p. 11). Institutions that ensured that the boys’ temporal occupation of activity times was distributed to eliminate “[...] the elimination of anything that might disturb or distract; it is a question of constituting a totally useful time” (Foucault, 1975, p. 118), even among those with seven years old – the lowest admission age. Time regulation via the principal’s bell started in the early hours of the morning and ended at night, after work in the workshops or in the music band rehearsals.

This “behavior microscope” extended to the dormitories as a way to avoid physical contact, masturbatory practices, and/or escapes to meet prostitutes; mechanisms of vigilance and moral authority that also establish themselves to keep the distance between boys under age and of legal age, establishing 14 years old as a standard age. That is, though the early childhood, puerility (considered a second childhood oscillating between 7 and 12 years old)<sup>22</sup>, and its third phase (between 12 and 13), considered by Rousseau as “[...] the single period of human life in which the progress of forces would overcome the need” (Boto, 2002, p. 51)<sup>23</sup> are phases contraposed between childhood and adolescence; on the other hand, the disciplining instruments and the structures of controlling/shaping seem to point out adolescence as a divider of teaching practices, moral and seduction controls by the rules of self-control/individual policing of students’ emotions - children/adolescent. But not completely when musical formation is put in the agenda and the execution of functions as a musician through the music band. If in the first years of the establishment the spread of diseases and juvenile distortions were avoided, as the principals of Maranhão Casa reported; after the band formation and the constant rehearsals and projections, new cultural practices touched by school practices focuses on the formation of the musician changed the dynamic of the Institution. School and extracurricular practices beyond the school walls in days and times outside the school context, which orbit around the musician formation, were conceived as a future profession and pointed out an identity resignified by the Casa, now conceived as a training space for professional musicians. This would take place through the teaching of music depending on their respective contents and/or subjects that would tend to guarantee

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<sup>22</sup> Second life phase, which is the one where “[...] infancy properly ends; for the words *infans* and *puer* are not synonymous” (Rousseau, 1999, p. 65); However, in “Émile [,] there is infancy in the puerility [residing] in this “[...] one of the most original discoveries of Rosseau’s pedagogical treaty”. (Boto, 2002, p. 49).

<sup>23</sup> See also Levi and Schmitt (1997).

the formation of the profession and the work exercise through the school's regulation. In this logic, how did music and its teaching transform into content or school subject? How did music knowledge become disciplinary knowledge?

A sense of civility due to the new cultural practices that, in some way, start from what I understand as a civilizing process, which is supported in the change of the ways to be and exist intertwined with the social transformations in the historical becoming; changes in the mental and social structure that create interdependence relationships between moral and social development. Civilization, that “[...] we are used to consider as a possession that apparently reaches us ready and finished, without asking how we ended up having it, [being] a process or part of a process in which we, ourselves, are involved” (Elias, 2001b, p. 70). In these terms, according to the discipliners, breaking the rules led to punishments necessary for social adjustment, which, depending on the contravention severity, varied since the public exhibition in front of the whole faculty, “[...] the obligation of serving the meals to the other students, the restriction in the diet, and the imprisonment for days under house arrest, up to expulsion or sending the offender to the Navy Armoires in the most serious cases” (Castro, 2007, p. 65).

The hierarchicalization of penalties stimulated the meritocratic classification of students, dividing them according to their moral, intellectual, and industrial capacities. Yearly public exams measured the intellectual and industrial capacity, while the moral capacity was accessed by vigilance agents: directors, masters, and teachers; exams and awards, such as public and corroborative exhibitions that would justify the role of the institution in providing orderly and working men that would contribute via trades, professions, and their roles in the industrial arts and the necessary development for the Province. In the opposite direction, those who did not show an aptitude for writing, reading, and mechanical work were called bastards, stupid, or inept and accused of improperly using the financial resources of the Province. In this logic, what were the criteria used to evaluate music teaching and the musical capacity of artificer apprentices if, in musical education, the intellect is a necessary condition but not sufficient to make music? Would the Music Band be an institutional tactic to account themselves for the government and society in general, about the formation of professions and the exercise of the roles of the musician craft? Or was it a strategy of self-support that, due to regular school practices via rehearsals and presentations, established itself as a cultural practice that projected new identities because of the music band in the CEA from Maranhão?

### **3 The teaching at Casa dos Educandos e Artífices do Maranhão (CEA)**

The *Casa dos Educandos Artífices do Maranhão (CEA)*, created by the Provincial Law Nº 105, from August 23, 1841, opened in November under the direction of José Antônio Maia Falcão (Maranhão, 1841), to attend “[...] destitute boys, preferably the rejected,

and give them instruction, the first letters, and a trade” (Viveiros, 1953, p. 15). At the opening time, 28 boys were enrolled, some from the *Casa dos Expostos* [House of Foundling Wheel], others sent by the judges of orphans or by indication of the Province president. For it to work, the government acquired furniture, fabric for the children’s clothes, and instruments for the workshop. However, due to the lack of adequate accommodations in the first year, the apprentices learned the mechanical trades outside the establishment. However, as this learning system outside the *Colégio* contributed to the indiscipline and lack of morals, soon several workshops were arranged inside the house, though some were extinguished by several reasons throughout the years, while others had a significant representativeness: those to form blacksmiths, tailors, and carpenters (Marques, 1970), as well as musicians (Castellanos, 2022). At the time, the CEA building was composed of carpentry, masonry, and shoemaking workshops, a nursing ward (with a nurse and two nursing aids), a kitchen, a chapel, dormitories, and a room for early literacy. In the following years, other workshops, such as tailoring, gunnery, and music, were created.

Since the CEA instauration was determined (Art. 3º), beyond mechanical trades, students should receive the “teaching of the first letters and religious principles” (Maranhão, 1841). If we consider the CEA as a figuration or social formation with variable dimensions “[...] in which individuals are connected to each other through a specific form of reciprocal dependencies and whose production presupposes a movable balance of tensions [...]” (Elias, 2001b, p. 47), so we can perceive the roles, the functions, and the respective relationships conducted by the Province presidents and the inspectors of public instruction, as well as principals, teachers, and educators themselves. For example, the classes would have a daily regularity of six to eight hours, except on Thursdays (Art. 50), and would be given by a “man with good fame and reputation”, who was licensed to “[...] teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and bookkeeping principles” (Maranhão, 1848b). The students should present themselves (Art. 42) “[...] decently dressed and follow the regulation of the *Casa* in general, especially the regulations related to the classes taught” (Maranhão, 1855a).

On January 2, 1842, the early literacy classes started under the regency of the teacher Manuel Ferreira Freire, who, together with José Antonio Maia Falcão (the principal), created the regulation called *Practica para o serviço da escola*. The teacher was aided by students who performed the roles of immediate and decurions; the first, had the responsibility of forming students by decurion, providing the math tables, the letters, and the writing notebooks to the decurions, besides caring for the school’s cleanliness and organization; the latter, after receiving from the immediate the class materials, forwarded them to the decurions, followed their reading and calligraphy lessons, every weekday (except Thursdays), and revised the “[...] arithmetic principles, studied, repeated, and executed” on Saturdays (Maranhão, 1841); a specific day to maintain and clean the building as a way to hold students accountable for the organization and

hygiene; a mechanism to control behaviors and conduct, which should also reflect organically and gradually in the individuals' self-control of actions. Changes in singular psychic structures via educational practices, profession formation, and the exercise of the function that transform destitute and rejected children into working and orderly men. In these terms, how did the music classes work? Who would be the teacher? Would he also be the Band's director? How many musicians did the school have to implement the musician formation as a profession?

Concerning the pedagogical practices, the exercises were made “[...] in blackboards and later transcribed into notebooks” with a heading indicating the date, the school, and the student's name. After being used in the classroom, the material was kept in the establishment's archive so that it wouldn't be “[...] spoiled or lost” (Maranhão, 1841), with the apparent record of frequency, performance, and morality. However, the teacher applied punishments, under the principal's orders, for the students who could not read, write, and count or that had a bad calligraphy. The most frequent punishment (Art. 21) consisted of twelve “[...] paddle strikes each time” (Maranhão, 1845). Other corrections (Art. 23) could be applied to guarantee that the “[...] rules of respect, subordination, and moral order were religiously applied in the school” (Maranhão, 1845). Practices to teach and control behaviors that shaped the minds and bodies of destitute children and young people, bringing new mental and psychic configurations that referred to “[...] a new standard of human relationships and feeling structure; [that is] new acquired behaviors, [that is] new behaviors acquired [that] correspond to another pattern of relationships and another structure of feeling” (Elias, 1990, p. 80), as well as “[...] another cognitive pattern and another cognitive structure” (Warde, 2007, p. 32). A transition from orphan or abandoned children, with no perspectives, into men apt for society via professional instruction; a *becoming* that, through professional formation and the exercise of a job would return to society new forms of civility: the self-sustenance mediated by work (for example, as a professional musician), and the conviviality ruled by education/morality.

Regarding the school materials, there were not enough notebooks, tables, Catechisms, or books for all students. According to the teacher Colin, “[the] existing books were very deteriorated and adequate only for the students learning to read but not to the more advanced ones. The latter needed compendiums and books in which they [could] absorb more varied instruction” (Maranhão, 1861)<sup>24</sup>. In these terms, the balance of tensions between book distribution as school material culture (Castellanos, 2020), which was not subjected to the fulfillment of the provincial government as established by the law in article 92

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<sup>24</sup> In 1847, Colin, the substitute of the early literacy (*primeiras letras*) teacher José Cândido Vieira, who assumed the position after the Legislative Assembly of the Province voted the institutional budget. Vieira had already substituted the Director of the Casa José Antonio Maia Falcão, who had taught between September and November 1843, to fill the gap left by teacher Manuel Ferreira Ferrer, who asked to leave because he had not received a salary since the beginning of his work on January 2, 1842. In 1889, Innocencio de Lemos took the place of teacher Colin after his retirement. See Castro (2017) and Castellanos (2017).

(Maranhão, 1854) but the will of third parties (school principals, teachers, donors); and the consumption level of the works by students that depended on individual appropriation tactics according to the use of such practices; placing under suspicion the methodologies of classification/assessment of knowledge and learning implemented by the institution, as we can not identify in the documents children's level of cognitive maturity nor the age of those awarded, which would hinder the establishment of relationships and comparisons between ages, performance, and morality level; even if in 1889, a large number of young children was already foreseen in the institution. But, how were the punishments for musical formation? Would the punishments be the same, considering that music teaching and practice had a different nature? What was the minimum age to start in music or play in the band?

The sculpture class applied to drawing could be attended by internal students and those from outside the CEA, according to Law nº 243 from October 16, 1848. To teach it, the teacher needed to prove he was overage and his morality (Art. 6) through the use of “[...] criminal records in all places they had lived in the three years prior to the requirement data and the testimonies of their respective parish priests” (Instrução, 1855). In this case, the “[...] individual who underwent forced labor punishment, or legal condemnation for crimes of stealing, robbery, fraud, bankruptcy, kidnap, incest, adultery, or any other, which offended the public moral of the religion of the state” (Instrução, 1855) could not be appointed as a public teacher. Besides proving their professional capacity via an exam conducted in front of three examiners of recognized competence, receiving, if approved, the annual salary of five hundred thousand *réis*<sup>25</sup> (Maranhão, 1848b).

Created by the President of the Province, Antonio Joaquim Álvares do Amaral (Maranhão, 1848), it was initially taught by the Lieutenant Colonel Fernando Luís Ferreira, every Thursday (from 6 to 8 am), and on Tuesdays and Saturdays (from 5 to 7 pm in both days) (Art. 67), benefiting all students “who considered themselves apt to work and each one in particular related to the job they want to dedicate themselves.” (Maranhão, 1848b); it was assumed later by the teacher José de Albuquerque Cardoso Homem, though the lack of didactic material so that “students who attend could enjoy it” (Relatório, 1855), such as cases, frames, and books, was a constant obstacle. A situation that would allow artificer apprentices to practice the acquired knowledge in the frames and sculptures during the renovation of *Teatro São Luiz*, when it was incorporated to the Province *Província*<sup>26</sup>.

In 1855, Law nº 395 from July 1855, Article. 1, established a subject of mechanic, applied drawing, and sculpture, becoming what exists nowadays” (Maranhão, 1855b), which included the notions and practices of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry with a preliminary

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<sup>25</sup> Today, this number would be approximately 4,400.00 reais.

<sup>26</sup> Named *Teatro União* from 1817 until 1852, and later *Teatro São Luís*. During the government of Urbano Santos, it receives the current name: *Teatro Artur Azevedo*.

content of mechanics, and the “[...] drawing lessons [that] were in the practice of linear drawing, arithmetic, and theoretical notions of perspectives” (Maranhão, 1855b). These contents should be taught for two years (course time duration), “[...] whose teaching, as it is known, was spread throughout Europe and has also been practiced in Brazil” (Maranhão, 1848, p. 30a), in which those enrolled had to know how to read and write correctly and master the basic mathematical operations (Castro, 2007), to face different subjects<sup>27</sup>. Nonetheless, though it was closed in 1859 because it was a “luxury object”, according to Pereira Maia, that did not contribute to the “progress and development of the mechanical arts” (Maranhão, 1859); it was once again opened in 1862 by Law n.º 609, from September 21, 1861, signed by the President of the Province Francisco Primo de Sousa Aguiar (Maranhão, 1861), having as a “[...] teacher Domingos Tribuzzi” (Maranhão 1870b, p. 4), until 1889, when the activities finished. How about music teaching? Why was music formation not considered a luxury beyond the first workshops established? Which content was part of the program? Why the musician profession?

Geometry and Arithmetic applied to Arts and General Notions of Arithmetic and Algebra was the third class created by the government ordinance from June 25, 1853, and taught for free by Raimundo Teixeira Mendes, according to the method of Mr. Dupin<sup>28</sup>; a teacher that stands out in the history of Maranhão due to the works he did for the government, such as the “[...] Arapagaí channel, the Apicum and Dique sources, the *Companhia Anil*, when implementing the plumbing to the water tank and the *Companhia Fluvial de Navegação a Vapor*, built in the *Casa de Fundação*” (Marques, 1970, p. 249). Regarding the students enrolled, they needed to present to the teacher, via the principal, a certificate that they knew how to read and write correctly and mastered the four mathematic operations. The subject was taught in the teacher’s house, during the day and night, due to the distance between the institutions and the center of the capital, and the countless activities of the teacher. Nevertheless, on June 30, 1866, the Law N° 770 divided the subject into two: practical geometry and applied mechanics (Maranhão, 1866). The first was given at CEA, while the other was in *Casa de Fundação*, both open to those who wished to attend it. The artificer apprentices could enroll themselves in the second, if they were approved in the first and, when concluding both, they received a certificate of qualification. As an incentive to learn (Art. 10), it was determined that “Students who had finished the course, though not having finished the retention deadline to which they were obligated by the Art. 1º of Law N° 541, from July 30, 1859, [would be], *ipso facto*, exempted from the time [4 years] that was missing” (Maranhão, 1866, p. 1).

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<sup>27</sup> See Castellanos (2020).

<sup>28</sup> Simultaneous method used specifically to teach mathematical calculations, through which the teacher could teach the same lesson to all students.

Hence, in the subject of Practical Geometry, the elements of calculus, geometry, trigonometry, and descriptive geometry were taught with their respective applications to linear drawing and leveling, land and plan surveys, the architectural perspective, and the theory/practice of the calculus ruler. In the Mechanic subject, the elements of physical mechanics were also taught with its concerning applications to simple machines, such as: “[...] levers, winches, pulleys, screws & theory and practice of gear arms, pumps, main hydraulic wheels; special practical study and theory of steam engines and engine design” (Maranhão, 1853). At CEA, this subject was taught during the day, three times a week; at *Fundição*, the times alternated by period: twice a week at night and once during the day; the Sundays were used to project the machines, and the classes had the same duration in both institutions: an hour and a half that could be taught by the same teacher, with different payments. In 1869, the mechanic subject was transferred to the *Casa de Fundição* which offered better physical and material conditions for its development, besides the constant supervision Temístocles da Silva Maciel Aranha (the substitute of teacher João Antonio Coqueiro); in 1871 by Law N° 890, from July 6, Jansen Pereira (the substitute of Antonio Pereira Maia), determined the merging of two subjects, calling it Mechanics and Geometry applied to (Maranhão, 1870a). A subject taught in the establishment by Temístocles da Silva Maciel Aranha until its extinction by the Law N° 1270, from May 11, 1883, due to the teacher’s retirement (Maranhão, 1883).

The natural sciences class, created in 1863, was taught three times a week inside the establishment by Doctor Caetano Candido Cantanhede, who was a teacher of this subject at *Liceu*, aiming to instrumentalize students with physics and chemistry knowledge. However, it needed devices and physical spaces for its operation, such as graphometers, compasses, and drawing boards, as well as surveying frames, water and spirit levels, among other instruments. Nevertheless, the periodicity change of the works at CEA is questioned by the principal, as only eight students could attend it, considering that most were too young or were employed in the internal services of the Institution; “[...] finally, others [were] so rough and late in everything, that it seemed useless to attend such a class, because they would certainly waste time that could be used in some other work” (Maranhão, 1863). Finally, though Jansen Pereira recognized its importance, it was extinguished together with the agriculture class by Law N° 890, from July 6, 1870, under the justification of the President of the Province, José da Silva Maya (Maranhão, 1870a), that the “[...] [natural sciences] class was completely useless to the establishment, as experience had proved [...]” (Maranhão, 1870b) and established the classes of French language and Geography with a “recognized distinguished” teacher. French teaching is justified by the importance of the language, “in which dialect exists all that is best known in the arts” (Maranhão, 1870a) and that “[...] the sacrifice of the province would be better used, if, instead of the [natural sciences] class, the subject of French Language was established here, and, in this teaching, Dr. Carvalho would

certainly let nothing to be desired” (Maranhão, 1870a). However, though the projection of French literature in the Brazilian territory and the school space was still manifested and gradually increased during the Empire, this should be understood through “the webs of economic and cultural interests established between both countries and not as a result of the “importation of models” by the ruling classes” (Castellanos, 2017, p. 34). On its turn, there is little information about the Geography classes; they certainly have little relevance in the *Casa*, considering the lack of teacher’s time due to his work as an engineer implementing the public works of the Province and the lack of resources, such as globes and maps. However, it was taught by the first-letters teacher Roberto Augusto Colin in 1857.

#### 4 Music classes and musician training

The teaching of music and musical formation at the *Casa dos Educandos e Artífices* had different trajectories and trajectories due to the social dynamics established and specific contexts that marked in the same figuration and spaces the possible ruptures and resignifications. If there was the intention to create in the institution a music class via regulation since 1844, it is only implemented in November, 1851, by Law Nº 301 (seven years after the law establishment); the music band was created in August 29, 1844 by Law nº 197, after three years of CEA institutionalization, having Sergio Augusto Marinho as the director, a music teacher and Band maestro of the 5<sup>th</sup> Marine Battalion.

For the CEA principal, music was “[...] one of the parts that compose a good education, because the students could have extraordinary talents for this art, of which there are so few artists in this province” (Falcão, 1844, p. 7). In this sense, a music class in this establishment, the appointment of teachers, and the corresponding salary were more than necessary.

Art. 1 indefinitely created in the *Casa dos Educandos e Artífices* the subject of music, dealt with in article 10 of the Law Nº 197, from August 29, 1844, with a fixed salary of 550, 000 réis;

Art.2. Such subject will encompass the teaching of vocal music as an instrument, and the teacher will receive according to article 1 of the Provincial Regulation from November 05, 1849 (Castro; 2007, 250).

However, if the regulation of CEA music band was only established in 1848, four years after its beginning as a school practice, in which the pedagogical role of its director and master orbited around musical formation; the class of String Instruments was only created on May 31, 1854, by the Law nº 345, and the War Instruments in 1871. In other words, the music classes via teaching and musical preparation through practices specific to the students and the others participating in the CEA music band only materializes itself 27 years after its creation, showing

the disconnection between the musical practice as the execution of a trade and the teaching of music as a professional musical formation; the understanding of the function and the interdependence in which is inscribed the action of the profession that regulates the musician-apprentices freedom of action and point out the margin of maneuver of the director's position in the representation of interdependent students. If in 1844, the Music Band was supported by public funds to implement such formation and future profession, donating a number of instruments, having as a director Sergio Augusto Marinho; 13 years after João Pedro Ziegler, to fulfill his role as a teacher in the class of String Instruments borrows from *Teatro São Luiz* the respective instruments due to the apparent lack of institutional and governmental support.

**Frame 1 – Materials acquired by the government in 1844.**

1	Method for the clarinet
2	Clarinet in A
3	Two dozen reeds for clarinet in A
4	E-flat clarinet
5	A dozen reeds for e-flat clarinet
6	E-flat piccolo flute
7	A piccolo flute
8	Tertian flute
9	C flute
10	Clarion with return for all tones
11	3 piston trumpet
12	Hornets
13	Keyed bugle Crolfaut
14	Tenor trombone
15	Ophicleide in Crolfaut
16	Method for ophicleide in Crolfaut
17	Pair of cymbals
18	Chinese gong
19	Ream of lined paper with 12 lines

Source: Maranhão (1844, p.5).

The regulation of CEA Music Band, created by Maia Falcão (CEA principal) with the help of Marinho, the band director brings different criteria in the ways to operate, among them: 1) Director Maia is responsible for authorizing, hiring for religious and pagan [parties] without risking students' loss of "[...] the good customs for a payment equivalent to the work and the importance of the instruments" (Falcão, 1848, p. 9); 2) ¼ of the total raised by extra-curricular activity would be paid to the responsible teacher if he played in the festivity; 3) the rest of the value would be divided into 2 parts → distributed among students who played and the amount collected as revenue for the *Casa* funds; 4) the earnings for the Band direction was connected to the percentage of presentations.

What belongs to the student musicians will be converted in aid to their mothers and siblings if they are destitute or also to someone extremely poor who had raised them in their early years and if there are no such people the amounts will be collected with the rest of the previously mentioned to the Province Public Treasure, following the amounts and the names of the students to which it belongs so that, in due time, according to what is established at the end of the article 2º of said Provincial Law number 216 about the third part of the net product of the students' work will be given to them (Falcão, 1848, Art. 2, §3).

In other words, if the need for musicians is legitimized by the 1848 regulation; so, new needs are produced with the creation of the Band, via talents and new imperatives of musical formation through classes of vocal and instrumental music. Such needs perceived opportunities that orbited musical formation as a profession and the respective exercise of the role; that is, differences of new needs and practices that aimed differentiation. "Inequalities projected in the tension between the imposition strategies via legal devices and the appropriation tactics [of the Institution/teachers/students] that create inventiveness in transgression" (Castellanos; Santos, 2024, p. 14). New school practices allow musicians' professional formation through band rehearsals and the recurrent execution of the musician's role in school and extracurricular activities. The school practice gradually became a cultural practice recognized by the role played in the city of São Luís, transforming itself into one of the most profitable sources of fundraising for the *Casa* and a way to gain recognition and social prestige due to the presentations held in public events and places. The Band established in the law demands from the public funds the provision of a series of instruments that would support not only the pedagogical practices of music teachers while teaching music, but also the respective school practices that would contribute to new cultural practices that resignified the identity of the school and students: an institution that was born for the formation of mechanical professions and the exercise of trades (Elias, 2001a); it would also

stand out due to the musician formation as a profession and, would guarantee, through the planning of presentation, the musicians' performance as a function.

**Frame 2 – Prices for the presentation of CEA music band / 1857.**

ACTIVITY	DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES	PRICE
<b>Several parties</b>	An afternoon of party in the church until the Holy Mary	25,000
	Ditto until 9 pm	40,000
	An eve	25,000
	Ditto, with fireworks	30,000
	Novena	175,000
	Follow the procession during the day	40,000
	Ditto, at night	45,000
<b>Parades</b>	During the day – a morning or afternoon with honest people, whose assembly cannot have political ends	50,000
	During the night- similar until 11	70,000
<b>Balls</b>	The complete music band until 2 am	70,000
	For each exceeding hour	10,000
	For each student not in the band until the same hour	5,000
	For each one, for each exceeding hour	1,000
<b>Funerals</b>	From <i>anjos</i> - until the line north-south. Formed by the Largo do Carmo, from Praia do Cajú, until Portinho, through the streets Egípto and Formosa to the East of the same line	35,000
	From the same line to the West	45,000
	Of adults – from the line declared above to the East	40,000
	From the same line to the West	45,000
	Follow the funeral of angels or adults, with the presence of all students	100,000
<b>Others</b>	The non-specified events are at the Director's discretion.	

Source: Maranhão (1857, p.6).

In this logic, what would be the music teacher's role? The teacher had to teach the students the rules to play an instrument forwarded by the Director and that demonstrated abilities for music; direct and follow the band in all presentations; guarantee decent behavior; assess those under the examination as having made much, enough, or little progress and be substituted by most advanced students, though it was forbidden for the band and for

the students to play in places besides the church and decent houses according to the Article 61 of the 1848 Regulation, as the following evaluation shows.

**Table 1** – Frequency map of classes and students' respective progress/ 1874.

CLASSES	PROGRESS			TOTAL	
	EXAMINED	MUCH	ENOUGH		LITTLE
Early literacy	1	68	139	56	295
Drawing		30	90	40	160
Geometry	8	03	05	06	22
Music and war instruments		04	25	39	68
Music and string instruments		03	03	06	12

**Source:** Castro (2017).

However, the lack of specific material culture for these classes and said practices, for example, and the tensions between Marinho (with the music band) and Ziegler (with the string classes), force the latter to resign, being substituted by José de Carvalho de Estrela until the exoneration by the provincial funds in September 1856; even if the CEA direction, recognizing the band in the local society, had already supported the need to expand it by incorporating string instruments through the classes aiming a specific musical formation:

The music class is not complete because they lack singing teachers, and wind instruments, and a martial music band is being organized, which would rival nowadays with the best ones we have and has been sought for parties. Some students show a great ability and taste, with practice, they will become excellent musicians in this genre. If, however, the Assembly decides to have in this class complete musicians, it is essential to qualify the Establishment to engage teachers that will give it what it needs and buy the necessary instruments and methods (Maranhão, 1850, p. 17-18).

However, the class of string instruments was definitely over in 1866 because it had not reached any result, as it only taught the fiddle as the *Casa* did not have resources to buy other instruments and the teacher did not lend his, considering that it was needed eight to ten years to competently play it, according to the teacher Leocádio Alexandrino dos Reis Rayol. Therefore, the class of String Instruments is only reactivated with the teacher João Pedro Kiegler, through the Law nº 980 in 1871 (15 years after canceling), due to the need of specific instruments for the band to complement it in the number of musicians and in the quality of the music; this direction is later taken by Lieutenant Leocádio Alexandrino dos

Reis Raiol, in 1881 as a substitute. However, the tension between the classes of War Instruments (Band) and String Instruments, had been losing meaning since 1854, when CEA establishes a “*Guerreada*” [Battle] against the Music Band of the 5<sup>th</sup> Marine Battalion, which, with the financial support of the Province as it was state run, played for free or demanded inferior prices to the ones offered by CEA, besides not paying salaries for the students and musicians that played for free in the Band of the 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry Battalion of the National Guard. According to Maia (1854):

[...] the revenue of the *casa* that was around 150 and 300\$000 réis, which now is lasting only two months (July and August) 62\$000 réis, a fifth part and the reason is obvious, because who can have free music or for much less than the price on the table of *Casa dos Educandos* (the prices on the table are very reasonable) will certainly not hire the Establishment. Finally, your excellency, in all or almost all festivities, for some time now, the music band of the 5<sup>th</sup> Infantry Battalion has been playing (Castro, 2007, p. 287).

Here, they start from a social need (the city - the Province with a lack of musicians) toward an institutional need (the musical formation through music teaching to gather resources) that projects itself as an individual need: the exercise of the musical profession. The excess of free presentations of CEA Music Band, invited by the President, on the other hand, forced Sergio Augusto Marinho, who was paid by the direction of the Band and received a percentage depending on the presentation, to resign and be substituted by Leocadio Ferreira Souza, who makes a new request for instruments in 1864. Nonetheless, if the recognition and gradual expansion in the number of workshops represented opportunities to access a greater number of children, on the opposite direction, it led to a significant increase in the expenses that caused conflicts between the direction and the provincial treasure, as the CEA reached the amount of 300 boys in 1873 (Cabral, 1989).

In this logic, despite the expressive number of students and the increase in the number of workshops and early literacy classes, besides the music classes and string and wind instruments since 1873, CEA starts to show some signs of decline evident after the implementation of the Law n<sup>o</sup>. 1.096, from June 18, 1874, which reduces to 100 the number of students (Maranhão, 1874). In subsequent years, though the scenario continues unchanged, even so, the number of workshops decreased, with only four of them at work in 1884. Thus, while it existed in the *Casa* the band financially contributed to its funds and guaranteed that the boys were cared by the “loving protector”, besides turning apprentices into music masters, considering that “[...] the arts enlighten social life and strongly tie the Citizens to the Nation by the attractions it offers” (Maranhão, 1844, p. 14). Thus, CEA with the advent of Republic (1889), would permanently finish its activities; institution that, “[...] despite [being]

a major philanthropic work, *after 48 years of fruitful and brilliant life*, [was] suppressed in December 13, 1889, by the Provisory Board of State Government, in the start of the Republic.” (Viveiros, 1953, p. 39).

## 5 Conclusion

The role played by *Casa dos Educandos e Artífices* in Maranhão local scene via instruction to teach the first letters and to form for the trades of tailor, carpenter, blacksmith, and barrel-makers the destitute boys and orphans from seven to fifteen years old had well-defined targets supported in the legal devices that defined it as a particular institution; however, the dynamic that was established in the figuration created among students, teachers-masters, principals, and society, has implicitly brought institutional and political configurations, which formed specific figurations due to the instituted interdependencies that allowed the formation of professional musicians and the margin of maneuver when exercising their roles as musicians, for example. Demarcations materialized in the changes of subjects and workshops that were delineating a guiding curriculum of primary and vocational formation through the constant renovation of contents and techniques, demanding the disappearance, substitutions, and/or their symbioses in synch with the educational programs stipulates, with the regulations of public instruction, the formation of professionals according to the local market, and even the new hiring/retirements confronting, presidents, institutional principals, and teachers. Demarcations that were also defined by the increasing access of students in the *Casa* and students’ specificity<sup>29</sup> according to the class in vogue, due to the lack and intermittence in the distribution and donation of didactic material, as well as the organization/distribution of school time and space, the application of teaching methods depending on the pedagogical and educational practices enacted by the teachers, principals, and secretaries, beyond the control planned by the principals, public instruction inspectors, and Province presidents that used imposition mechanisms via regulation/prescriptions, equally brought new practices for students future actions and lives. New school practices, such as musical formation and the exercise of music transformed into cultural practices of the establishment considering the new function of the *Casa* as a place to train musicians, point toward new identities that change the relationships depending on new representations.

Civility practices that changed the relationship of students with society, with school, and among them; sustainable practices in new habits, customs, values, and structures of feelings that point out two new identities: the musician projected in the professional formation; and the institutional one, socially recognized by the musical formation that pointed toward the exercise of the role. Between this musical formation and the exercise of making

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<sup>29</sup> Internal or external students. Castro (2017).

music as a profession via the teaching of music at CEA, the pedagogical practices, educational practices, school practices touch new cultural practices that define the institution beyond its initial objective: care for those destitute of luck and abandoned through the teaching of the first letters and a simple profession.

New practices can be observed concerning the age allowed to enter/leave the establishment during its 48 years of uninterrupted operation. If, in the beginning, the legislation seemed to be fulfilled, since 1850, with the development of music classes in the band, the number of participating students and the programs to be fulfilled by the school's interest extrapolate the period demanded artificer apprentices that participated, starting from childhood to adolescence towards adulthood; practices that become paradoxically one of the most rentable sources to raise resources to the *Casa* and a way to gain recognition and social prestige, in the opposite direction, it is one of the causes that led to the institution's closure, as it would go against the role established in the law.

On the other hand, though the prescriptions about children's behaviors and the disciplining devices (following the hierarchy of punishments) were considered in the regulations of the institution, the existence and application of this legislation denounced the "control effects" over children that, seem to guarantee the generality of the behavior of children-students and the youngsters- students in formation stimulating the self-control of drives/tensions; they are also vestiges that denounce that these devices did not attend everyone at the same time, nor with the same efficiency. To do so, if the school in general, with its rules, prescriptions, and norms has been used to shape children through the pacification of drives and the self-policing of behaviors, the *Escola dos Educandos e Artífices* in Maranhão in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the "confinement territory" of these people destitute of luck seeking social adjustment, it also seems that its generality might have influenced most children-students and adolescents-students in formation, guaranteeing with this education practices new practices of civility: the gradual insertion of graduates in society and in the job market as away to guarantee their own survival, for example, the musical formation and the exercise of the musical profession through music classes; the professional formation and the exercise of the function that guarantees the professional work as a musician.

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