

UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA

INSTITUTO DE EDUCAÇÃO



HIDE AND SEEK:

***NORMALITY ISSUES AND GLOBAL DISCOURSES ON BLIND
SCHOOL MODERN PROJECTS (LATE 18TH – 19TH CENTURIES).***

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**Tese orientada pelo Prof. Doutor Jorge Manuel Nunes Ramos do Ó,
especialmente elaborada para a obtenção do grau de doutor em
Educação, especialidade de História da Educação**

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CD 2 contains the documental *corpus* gathered from the archives and libraries consulted for this work, non accessible for screen readers given its quantity, but whose transcriptions or OCR may be grantable from the author by individual request made through the email maria.romeiras@gmail.com. The *nuclei* are as follows:

A - Archive of the Institut Valentin Haüy

Manuscript sources

Printed sources

B - Archive of the Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles

Printed sources

C - Library of the Royal National Institute for the Blind

Printed sources

D - Archives of the Royal National Institute for the Blind

Manuscript sources

Printed sources

E - Biblioteca Communale Sormani di Milano

Printed sources

F – Archivo del’Istituto dei Ciechi di Milano

Manuscript Collections

Allievi Ammissioni
Allievi Visitatori
Barozzi
Convegni e congressi
Esposizioni
Istituto de Ciechi a Milano
Istituti edenti per ciechi Italia e estero
Strumenti scrittura ciechi

ACRONYMS

- ACAPO – Associação dos Cegos e Amblíopes de Portugal
- AHCML – Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa
- AHP – Arquivo Histórico Parlamentar
- ANTT – Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
- APEC – Associação Promotora para o Ensino dos Cegos
- AVH – Association Valentin Haüy
- BAFCG – Biblioteca da Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian
- BL – The British Library
- BNP – Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
- BNF – Bibliothèque Nationale de France
- BS – Biblioteca Sormani di Milano
- CES – Centre for Educational Sociology
- CIEd – Repositório de Teses em Educação da Universidade do Minho
- CNAM – Centre National des Arts et des Métiers de Paris
- CNRS – Centre National de Recherche Scientifique
- DITED – Depósito de Dissertações e Teses Digitais
- GEO – Gabinete de Estudos Olissiponenses da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa
- ICM – Istituto dei Ciechi di Milano
- IE – Instituto da Educação da Universidade de Lisboa
- IIMC – Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos do Rio de Janeiro
- IJAN – Institution des Jeunes Aveugles de Nancy
- IMJA – Institution Marseillaise des Jeunes Aveugles
- INJA – Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles
- IPCAG – Istituto per Ciechi Ardizzone Gioeni di Catania
- LOC – The Library of Congress
- NEI – New England Institution for the Blind
- RCAAP – Repositório Científico de Acesso Aberto de Portugal
- RNIB – Royal National Institute for the Blind
- WBU – World Blind Union
- WHO – World Health Organization

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RESUMO:

O presente trabalho tem como objetivo redirecionar e recolocar questões associadas ao nascimento das escolas para cegos, movimento que emergiu em diversos pontos do ocidente moderno, em associação com o movimento mais global da escola enquanto processo institucional de taxonomia e economia de controlo dos cidadãos em formação e discurso de desejo dos mesmos quanto a uma integração num espaço de determinação de poderes individuais pela ação própria e desenvolvimento de mecanismos de regulação social interna.

Ao trabalhar documentação de três casos de estudo em situações políticas, geográficas e sociais bastante diversas: Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles (Paris), Royal National Institute for the Blind (Reino Unido) e Istituto per i Ciechi (Milão) foi-me dado compreender que na diversidade se desenham padrões, e em que medida pode esta teoria ser aplicada à área de estudo da normalização do corpo pela normação de discursos sociais e pedagógicos.

Deste modo, a minha questão situa-se no campo da identificação de possibilidades de associação entre os movimentos de ensino institucional para corpos com receções sensoriais diversas, ou seja, numa arquitetura paralela de um mesmo modelo de cidadãos, e ainda, principalmente, na possibilidade de consciência da sua participação nessa ânsia de igualdade provocatória, implicadora de cada um num modelo disciplinar pessoal e num labirinto de indeterminação, tão poderoso como o de uma exclusão por desconhecimento.

Para desenvolvimento deste enredo iniciei a minha escrita pela exploração de uma nova área de investigação que consiste em estudos da deficiência, em particular o estudo de uma diversidade de aptidão sensorial específica como a cegueira. A aproximação a grupos de trabalho internacionais foi fundamental, dado o relativo apagamento da deficiência no discurso histórico, como se pudesse ser desenvolvida uma hermenêutica selectiva e apagada parte da empiria disponível, silenciados os discursos de diversidade. Como se o homem fosse passível de ser observado e arquivado de acordo com a mesma taxonomia

herdeira da modernidade que lançou socialmente as raízes de uma profunda discussão entre diferença e semelhança, originária dessa transparência transversal à maior parte da escrita histórica.

Consciente desta dificuldade, assumi o trabalho específico dentro do tema como especialidade, invertendo a questão, ou seja, parti de um estudo específico sobre fontes de arquivos de escolas-projecto destinadas à instrução e moldagem social de alunos cegos para questionar a partir delas a interação inevitável com o movimento escolar da modernidade, heranças discursivas e materiais, partilhas de tecnologias discursivas e disciplinares, pontos de fusão de identidades iguais e diversas, de onde nasce a minha questão do desejo de pertença a uma grelha conhecida e produtiva, fundadora dos estados modernos em que ainda hoje nos situamos institucional e socialmente.

As vozes teóricas que me suportaram estes desafios surgem da escola pós estruturalista. Michel Foucault pela análise disciplinar, pela visão particular da gestão do corpo em sociedades organizadas e pelo desejo como móbil de deslocação individual. Jacques Derrida pela perspectiva deslumbrantemente criativa da potência discursiva do homem e pela dissecação dos motivos e possibilidades das estruturas arquivísticas, que tanto me auxiliaram a ler o *corpus* documental que recolhi, compreendendo o nascimento e desaparecimento das personagens e dados, os gritos e os silêncios, a perigosa beleza da escrita quando esta mesma era um factor de exclusão ou salvação dos alunos cegos que eu estudava, do final do século XVIII ao final do século XIX.

Os conceitos chave que utilizei foram organizados em binómios: os pares estigma/governo de si, normalidade/anormalidade, modernidade/escola, visão/cegueira (conceitos inter cruzados com o conceito de sensorialismo) e finalmente visão/modernidade são janelas duplas de interpretação, jogos de possibilidades para a leitura de novas questões dentro da questão principal que me coloco, orientando-me, não numa cruzada por direitos humanos no tempo, nem na procura de um discurso de verdade de vertente sociológica: apenas o desdobrar de um campo de possibilidade para o surgir de um conceito de diferença física e sensorial inexistente de *per si* e que a modernidade adaptou

aos novos modelos universais de educação. Para tal vou utilizar bastante a vantagem das cambiantes regionais dos casos de estudo escolhidos, que apelam a regionalismos, forçando uma postura além da tradicional história comparada, consoante as teorias de Jürgen Schriewer.

A organização do corpo central da tese tem como base outras tantas questões diversas em que tento equilibrar os binómios conceptuais e as palavras-chave propostas com a empiria recolhida:

- Podem as escolas projectadas ou adaptadas para alunos cegos ser consideradas provas de conceito de discursos de auto governo para as sociedades modernas em que se integravam?
- O imenso investimento realizado pelas instituições, para desenho de edifícios-teste, de novos materiais tridimensionais, para desenvolvimento e coordenação de possibilidades de leitura e escrita autónoma por parte de alunos cegos terá tido finalidades de gestão política, filosófica ou ambas?
- As técnicas de governo dos corpos numa urbanidade em desenvolvimento e num meio escolar nascente terão sido alargadas no sentido de integrar experiências vindas de campos de estudo paralelos como a observação médica que convertia estigmas em potências e pela acção pedagógica através da captura e conversão da mobilidade e agilidade do desejo mediante regras institucionalmente prescritas?

O desenvolvimento desta procura em realidades geográficas e políticas diversas ajudou-me a ter presente a mutabilidade permanente dos estados modernos e as especificidades regionais, de origem política, económica e cultural dos três casos de estudo.

Em França, encontrei discursos pedagógicos inspirados nos escritos metafóricos de Diderot sobre a cegueira, assim como motivações políticas e filosóficas para integração de uma humanidade cidadã por direito, beneficiando os cegos da aura do sensorialismo como privilégio no sentido da memória e das qualidades

intelectuais, numa ancestral tradição de visão mítica, elevada pelos resultados dos primeiros alunos.

No Reino Unido, a realidade dispersa só foi unificada depois de muito rentabilizados os recursos regionais asilares existentes no sentido de promoção da autonomia social, financeira e religiosa das pessoas cegas, adultos e crianças. A prioridade dada à leitura justificou o imenso investimento em sistemas de impressão por traços, bem como de diversas outras materialidades que passaram a ser a fachada de uma nação industrial, ela mesma construída na sua academia por cegos, como o matemático Saunderson, professor em Cambridge e institucionalmente por Thomas Armitage, fundador da primeira Associação Nacional.

Milão, a cidade pertencente a várias nações durante o tempo de estudo, é o caso mais rico em termos de controlo arquivístico e disciplinar dos alunos no seu instituto, além de assumir a música como destino e apresentação social dos seus alunos, não pelas características de plasticidade neurológicas das crianças cegas, mas pelo envolvimento de desejo que a comunidade cultivava e a que se associaram os naturais beneficiados.

Nas duas últimas secções deste trabalho detenho-me sobre as questões de identidade e de visão, conduzindo o leitor para uma finalização em desdobramentos possíveis de novas questões nesta área tão inovadora e tão difícil de identificar na sua transparência histórica. Na verdade, após o presente estudo apenas me posso permitir concluir que as grelhas de análise e de classificação dos homens são coerentemente móveis e imprevisíveis, sendo tão passíveis de abordagens diversas como quaisquer outras que se definam na nossa consciência histórica, aquela que nos leva a aproximar de todos os lugares e espelhos que somos atraídos voluntariamente a desejar, na semelhança ou na diversidade, para em espaço aberto nos definirmos, estigmatizados ou dissimulados na multidão, herança pesada da escolaridade moderna, preço do poder que transportamos, inevitavelmente, por sermos nós.

Palavras-chave: Cegueira, Normaço, Modernidade, Governo de si, Escola.

RESUMÉE:

Le présent travail se propose de réorienter et repositionner plusieurs questions liées à la naissance d'écoles conçues pour les aveugles, qui s'est déroulé simultanément dans plusieurs endroits du monde occidental moderne. Ce même événement peut également, par rapport à la tendance universelle au système écolier, constituer un autre processus institutionnel de classification taxonomique et d'établissement d'une économie d'autocontrôle sur les citoyens en formation et socialement capturés, ainsi que ses discours de la volonté, concernant leur intégration dans un espace de détermination de sa puissance.

En travaillant avec des documents issues de trois études de cas différents, provenant de diverses situations politiques, géographiques et sociales (l'Institut National des Aveugles Jeunes à Paris, le Royal National Institute for the Blind au Royaume-Uni et de l'Istituto dei Ciechi à Milan), j'ai pu identifier des modèles dans la diversité. Cet enrichissement empirique m'a conduit, sur les traces de Deleuze, Derrida et Foucault, à repenser la possibilité d'atteindre la normalisation du corps à travers les discours de normation d'origine pédagogique et sociale.

De même, ma question se penche sur l'identification des possibilités communes entre les différents mouvements de l'enseignement institutionnel, orientées vers des corps de perception sensorielle d'entrées diversifiées, ce qui ouvre des voies parallèles vers un modèle de même citoyenneté. En outre ces corps sont guidés sur une volonté provocatrice d'être égaux, transformant chaque personne dans un participant d'un éventail disciplinaire personnel et aussi d'un labyrinthe d'indétermination, si puissante que l'exclusion même de la connaissance de soi.

Mots-clefs: Cécité, Normation, Modernité, Gouvernement de soi, École.

ABSTRACT:

The present work intends to redirect and reposition several questions related to the birth of schools conceived for the blind, which happened simultaneously in several locations of the modern western world. This very same event may also be related with the global tendency for the school to become an institutional process of taxonomical classification and establishment of a self-control economy over the citizens being taught and socially captured, as well as with the discourses of desire of those same citizens, concerning their own integration in a space of individual power determination and development.

By working with documents from three different case studies, coming from diverse political, geographical and social situations (the *Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles* in Paris, the *Royal National Institute for the Blind* in the United Kingdom and the *Istituto per I Poveri Ciechi* in Milan, I was able to find patterns in diversity. This empiric enrichment led me, on the footsteps of Deleuze, Derrida and Foucault, to rethink the attainability of body normalization through the normation of pedagogic and social discourses.

Likewise, my question ponders the identification of common possibilities between different movements of institutional teaching, oriented for bodies with diversified sensorial input perception, paving parallel paths towards a same citizenship model. At the same time, it also awakes me to the leading of those bodies onto a provocative desire to be equal, turning each person into a participant of both a personal disciplinary web and also a labyrinth of indetermination, as powerful as self-knowledge exclusion itself.

Keywords: Blindness, Normation, Modernity, Self-government, School.

INTRODUCTION

AREA OF STUDY AND MAIN QUESTIONS APPROACHED

“It is because writing is inaugural, in the fresh sense of the word, that it is dangerous and anguishing. It does not know where it is going, no knowledge can keep it from the essential precipitation toward the meaning that it constitutes and that is, primarily, its future.” (Derrida, 2006:11)

“A thought that stands outside subjectivity, setting its limits as though from without, articulating its end, making its dispersion shine forth, taking in only its invincible absence (...) in order to regain the space of its unfolding.” (Foucault, 1990:16)

The present study is no more than a draft, it does not intend to be a speech of truth and its author's proposal is that it ought to be regarded as a possibility, a structure of queries, hypothesis and doubts rather than a fulfilment and reassurance on the chosen theme. Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault's writings on the former issue will thus be my companions on this trip of a question's constitution, displacement and disappearance.

Being my purpose the opening of new possibility fields of research and the questioning of dissimilar approaches on the subject of inclusion of blind citizens in institutional school modern systems, a leading question arises: the possible similitude of discursive links and the aim for common wishes, both born from the crossing purposes of global modern school movement and of blind school projects. Fragmentary perceptions of this problem will be drawn in possibility patterns of time, space and discourse issues both lost and found on the series of documents chosen from the selected archives above mentioned.

Were blind schools a self-government discourse proof of concept for general society targets? How did the global and coordinated investment in these schools rise both from sensorialist and revolutionist speeches? Were body

government technologies enlarged on modernity by the assumption of taxonomic differences, thus contributing to build variations on scientific and political patterns of truth? The production of material issues for these schools had the intention of normating the information production and dissemination? Were modern schools for blind children a social inclusive pavement aiming the government of a unique social pattern? Was there an awareness of this factor both by scholars, pedagogues and inmates, actors on the project?

In fact, all these questions emerge from the institutionalization and world spreading of schools for blind pupils, essays of social conscience and self-government throughout the late 18th and the 19th centuries. Modern epoch is thus assumed as my chronological reference, methodologically pondered as the birth time of contemporary naturalized concepts such as inclusion, but also being the main timeline reference for production of systems of self-government deeply linked to the schooling system through normalization technologies and discourses.

The choice of the Enlightenment for such a search on sensorialist investments is also particularly challenging due to the massive productions of both materiality and discourses, to the intensity and globalization of theories, and to the illusion of empowerment based on a huge effort on gazes and archival movements on information that allowed a new status for human taxonomy and a pondered will of knowledge on men itself.

My first aim is thus to analyse the effectiveness of this taxonomy on different sensorial characteristic's bodies. Likewise, to ponder how relevant and consequent were the social, political and pedagogical discussions on these different abled bodies, and if these matters could be related to the roots of institutions intended to create autonomous, controlled and socially normate persons, far besides its physical or sensorial issues.

Furthermore, it was particularly relevant for this essay a seeming conflict between sensorialism as a whole and vision predominance and apparent dependency onto modernity progresses. This issue is found on the folding similarities and differences between regular school projects and blind school

projects and on the techniques specifically established to overcome the lack of the sense of vision per specific architecture, materials and disciplinary issues. Of course, this illusory dissonance is both provocative and baroque in its manner of solving the path to the other side of the mirror and to the creation of new selves. Science also became a possible explanation, as developed far ahead, of a strong psychological intermission on this pedagogical process, through its deep link to regular modern school procedures.

Amongst the social technologies for normation, within the processes of construction of modern states, I chose to study sensorial specificities such as blindness, low-vision and deaf-blindness: my sources led me to believe that they proved to be available and accessible windows into brain potential, further more than losses of ability. Relying on the assumption of this body mould aptness and its ability to self-manage on adapted materiality and spaces, it became possible to offer these blind students an equivalent social choreography as they would have gained from regular schools, performing on standard bodies and standard sense abilities.

In addition, the genealogy of the normation processes enables to perceive some possible concepts and contexts of the term abnormal and its gradual embedding on forthcoming social uses (Foucault, 2008b). Plus, assuming vision as the exquisite sense of modernity onto the fields of cognition, communication and information in an effective cultural prompt (Crary, 1992 and 2001), studies and statistics on sensorialism highlight the huge investments on projects of blind schools as all the concerning research implied.

Considering the former observations and interests, I chose to explore three case studies: the Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles (Paris), the Royal National Institute for the Blind (United Kingdom) and the Istituto per i Poveri Ciechi (Milan). These institutions represent three different main interests (pedagogy, techniques and arts), three politically and geographically diverse frames (centralization of a country pattern, regional solutions with national support and international projection plus a local project within wars, managements and diverse social and political orientations) but above all, there

can be found a global pattern of self-governmentality schooling, overcoming the inmates sensorial differences about which self-sustenance is concerned, assuming them as citizens in project, in time, architectures of pedagogical and social success, whatever circumstances surrounded them.

As such, and as far as I could structure it throughout this diversity, my archive turned to be a moving map of discourses, harmonizing different human patterns through techniques and discourses issued from the new-born modern schooling system and parallel experiments. In what the occidental world was concerned - stigmas and prejudices set apart yet not forgotten (Goffman,1988) - a general assumption grew that, with adequate means and training, a blind man or woman from the 18th century onwards, not only had the potential but longed to be conditioned in the modern social grid. And this was a global thought and procedure all through my series of documents, whether they were medical reports, architectural memoires, pedagogical or political discourses: in common, there could be found an essay of mouldable citizenship.

On a second moment, I travelled from the schools to the students themselves and used the help of new areas of contemporary concepts such as neuroplasticity to create a different platform of analysis for the bodies implied, their possibilities and impossibilities in communication and in the processes of production and reproduction of information. Opening this window, I also found another cornerstone: the concept of *potential* replacing the one of *lack*. This idea is further supported by scholar architecture, body ruling and three-dimensional materiality.

Contemporary concepts filtered my archival sources, like carbon 14 tests on archaeological pieces, as statements of a scientific discourse in motion. This particular resource, also endowed to Foucault's methodology, was for me a precious aid for understanding the need for the constant changing of perspectives on a subject in history, bringing sources back to life by several means of questioning and relating them to our daily queries. This methodology was also important to associate statistics and emerging medical science as modern discourses of truth and their intermission in such particular schools as

the three examples I proposed to look at. On the other hand, assuming vision as the exquisite sense of modernity onto the fields of cognition, communication and information (Crary, 1992 and 2001), studies and statistics on sensorialism will help me to adjust the role of the huge investments on projects for blind schools and all the concerning research.

Based on the documental series describing and illustrating the three-dimensional information produced on the institutional examples studied it is possible to perceive institutional interrelation, interaction and influence, born from correspondence, exhibitions, congresses and publications exchange, following the universal trend of modernity, although sustaining specificities of each school on the geographic areas where they were located.

Also to consider the assumption through observation, of the inmates body mould aptness and its ability to self-manage through materiality and spaces. Blind students were given an equivalent social choreography as they would have gained from regular schools performing on standard bodies and standard sense abilities. Hence the possible concepts and contexts found for the words abnormal and normal, whereas embedded on forthcoming social procedures (Foucault, 2008b). Consequently, these projects supported the *praxis* of modern states to empower the processes of production and consume, predicting the overcome of men's features and creating a new, efficient and economic range of possibilities for its self-management. Or, in other words, drawing a new square on the social web.

Considering the hypothesis that these citizens with cognitive autonomy and capable of corresponding to a production, consume and self-management state defined objective, were driven by the route of school towards an efficient technology of equality or normalization, the inclusion of citizens apart from the majority's characteristics would have been, in fact, the exercise of a governmentability technique, unfolding the normation object to social layers kept apart in a dependency system. As such deep success is found and proclaimed, with the inclusion of these new social performers in a productive disciplinary system, liberating the society from charity institutions or personal

tutor guidance's. Also, exploiting the assumption that inclusion and normalization were integrated in the modern schooling system as a unique and efficient technology, developed by induced behaviour, the Enlightenment principles of equality between human beings were reinforced, in a particular balance between self-management principles and the socially expected. In other words, a technology not emerging from the physical or sensorial abilities that exist but uprising from each citizen's potentiality that may be carried forward: the principle of sensorialism, popular with free-masonry movements, and hereby recognised as, probably, the boom of the self-government principle, the most normative way of being.

According to these proposals, my work starts by an overcome on the new modern governmentability folds, whose power was exercised over their entrusted subjects in order to normalize, integrate and produce in conformity with the awareness and control of their sensorial and physical selves, producing new and conscientious empowered citizens.

PERSONAL AND ACADEMIC MOTIVATIONS

“The speaking subject is also the subject that speaks”

(Foucault, 1990: 10)

The current approach to a question based on a field of interest constituted by the oppositional pair *stigma* and *normality* comes partially from both my academic and professional experience. Whilst a question compels one to write over a specific field of knowledge, previous paths cannot be ignored. The writing speech is no more than biographical, yet aiming towards the displacement of the world surrounding our own topology.

As such, a coherent orientation of my path over multiple questions and interests whereas speech, communication and identity were permanent cornerstones, from cultural project's management to information accessibility and usability, evoked technology as an interaction factor between multidisciplinary discourses and issues. And so did communication remain my questioning field, whether it meant difference or resemblance, aptitude or exclusion.

Assuming human communication as my main interest of study and my technique and technological experience as my path smoothness, I pursued for years team experiences on projects about users with special needs, specific formation in communication ethics and also practical knowledge in communications processes such as Sign Language, Deaf-blind communication systems and embossed reading/writing systems such as Braille, fundamental for the current approach to this work. It was also during my Masters Research that I started to acknowledge some deeper questions involving communication, materiality, pedagogy and constitution of identity processes throughout history, namely on modernity.

Notwithstanding my former familiarity on ability and disability, as on normality/abnormality issues, only by following the current discourses on social rights of different abled persons and contacting several national and international associations and projects did I perceive that I had been captivated by a particular flow of ideas. Situated on the historic field, I tried to balance this contemporary intervention appeal using Foucault's system for dealing with present problems, solving long-term researches and de-disciplining the potential of analysis of wide historical flows. Michel Foucault's particular interest on medical themes and on human own-perception history gave me the necessary theoretical basis to add a few thoughts and helped me to unfold naturalized contemporary concepts, the ones that we are unaware of, that succeeded to compose what we consider our acquired and unquestionable identity.

Regarding what I'll call the history of the allowed differences, I picked as my field of work the array of processes by which were constituted and structured the first schools for the blind, the ones that accompanied the global modern schooling process, the ones that also grew with the new modern nations and replaced the asylum reproductive techniques of dealing with the sensorial and physical difference. Willing to propose that there was a geographical spread of this movement I choose the three mentioned case studies in different geographic and political scales. Besides, I had the chance of finding three wonderful potential archives for this work, each one with different priorities within the same aim and epoch. On different archives I was able to find similar series of trans-national institutional correspondence, inmate's processes, architectural memoires and plans, medical and pedagogical discourses and a substantial amount of externalization discourses (e.g. magazines, exhibition's catalogues, public presentations or concerts).

At the time I started working with the former mentioned series of documentation, I had already made several contacts outside my country that enriched my perspective and allowed me a new displacement of perspective. Reading white in white for hours, talking with contemporary role models of the modern system, I obtained unexpected comparisons of the evolving of their

historical origins and initial cooperation system. Enriching my study, these three case studies had specializations: institutional and political school, laboratory of material discourses and artistic centred. Due to my former thesis on the first Portuguese school for blind students that was not created for asylum purposes, I had a term of comparison, which helped me to formulate more questions on this particular three-dimensional kind of teaching that spread throughout the occidental modern world.

To elaborate my main question was difficult, but I knew it would be somehow centred in the binomial lack/excess. Disciplines such as neurology, sociology, architecture and philosophy constituted a cloud around my constituted archive, and did not necessarily fulfil the missing links but helped me to stare and gaze and be aware of possible new perspectives on what we call now social rehabilitation schooling or special schooling.

“What is a person, a soul, a self?” (Hacking, 1995:221) is a hard issue to work with, for its contemporary political and social issues make it harder for an historian to choose this theme without being judged or included in wide global humanitarian movements. It is my clear statement that this work is not thought or written with further inspiration than the search of new possibilities of men potential beyond timeline, geographic location and government systems: i.e. the possibility to rebuild from an outside deeply established system of self-ruling. I will be satisfied with my work if it opens deeper gazes of man over himself, overcoming the unawareness of physical, sensorial or social constrictions.

STATE OF THE ART AND THEME RELEVANCY

“Que la différence soit à la lettre “inexplicable”, il n’y a pas lieu de s’en étonner. La différence s’explique, mais précisément elle tend à s’annuler dans le système ou elle s’explique. Ce que signifie seulement que la différence est essentiellement impliquée, que l’être de la différence est l’implication. S’expliquer, pour elle, c’est s’annuler, conjurer l’inégalité que la constitue.” (Deleuze, 1993: 293).

Disability History is a hereafter field, slowly being constituted as a research area, heavily assuming the necessity of multidisciplinary contributions as much as of freedom for long-term studies. In order to understand the binomial normal/abnormal and its potential output into our present history one must care for long-term searches and contemporary aims. There should also be a severe awareness that all socially committed sources, although interesting, are, most of the times, fragile constructions aiming to support contemporary political demands.

This latter observation is not a criticism but a personal statement: Disability History should be regarded as a discipline *per se* and not as a weapon of social intervention. The difficulty to apply this methodological intention is equivalent to the challenge one must face in all education studies. Although schools of thought following Foucault’s methods of dealing with contemporary issues in long-term history fields are quite effective, they are detached from any kind of desire for truth or justice. They are, in fact, a fragmentary freedom for questioning present issues.

Likewise I propose myself to write this work. Not affiliated with desires of change or achievements of dogmatic statements but essaying to identify some deep and forgotten layers of the image man built for his social presentation on modernity, a mirror we still hold on present days.

The former words only intend to clarify some choices I made on my theoretical researches. We never write alone, and the look for my brotherhood had to follow some consistency points, one of the most important highlighted by António Nóvoa in his work *Evidentemente* (2005:14) quoting an idea of Pierre Furter: “Tudo isto nasce de um equívoco, tantas vezes denunciado e sempre ignorado: a educação nunca fez e nunca realizará uma mudança revolucionária.”¹ Thus, the most important standard on this report of affiliation and state of the art is the concept of preservation of personal intentions of up-to-date knowledge, in order that the questions issued by the works in progress should come to light with the adequate awareness of its field of study.

As such, I gathered authors and writings that helped to constitute new questions, and not all the productions on the field of disability history/special education/blind history/blind education. Furthermore, my work has several contributions of researchers on diverse knowledge fields, e.g. brain moulding, history of modern education, normalization issues, as they are my standing point for the identification of the modern discourses of truth applied to the modern social grid. There are not many approaches on the construction of the blind student, as above itemized, although the actual means of communication and information sharing are starting to fulfil some gaps and to link researchers with similar interests and approaches:

- Examples of academic departments at work:
 - Association Valentin Haüy, France
 - Centre for Disability Studies, University of Leeds, UK
 - Disability History Association
 - Paul K. Longmore Institute on Disability, San Francisco State University, USA
 - Royal National Institute for the Blind, UK
 - Society for Disability Studies, USA

¹ Author's translation: “This all comes from a huge misconception, often reported whereas overlooked, the statement that education never prompted nor achieved any kind of revolution.”

- Université de Paris Sorbonne, Paris VII – Diderot (laboratoire en histoire des déshabilités), France
 - University of California, Davies, History Department, USA
 - University of Cologne, History Institute for Didactics and European Integration History, Germany
 - University of Louvain, Centre for Pedagogical History, Belgium
- Authors of generic publications and recent papers on Disability History, Philosophy and Anthropology:
 - Anna Piotrowska
 - Anne Walschmidt
 - Edith Willoughby
 - Erving Goffman
 - Emmanuele Nathan
 - Emmanuele Rapisarda
 - Fabio Levi
 - Gaby Rick
 - Gildas Bregain
 - Henri-Jacques Stiker
 - Katherine Kudlick
 - Kimberly French
 - Michel Foucault
 - Oliver Sacks
 - Patrizia Pentassuglia
 - Paul Longmore
 - Pieter Verstrate
 - Zina Weygand

- Authors caring for sources publishing and translation:
 - Anne Klein, University of Cologne
 - Emmanuele Rapisarda, University of Catania
 - Katherine Kudlick, University of San Francisco, Davis
 - Paola Bonamoni, Istituto dei Ciechi di Milano
 - Pieter Verstraete, Catholic University of Louvain
 - Sebastian Barsch, University of Cologne
 - Zina Weygand, Centre National des Arts et Métiers de Paris
 - Zoubeida Moulfy, Institut national des Jeunes Aveugles de Paris

- Specialized magazines:
 - Luce su Luce (ICM)
 - Valentin Haüy (IVH)
 - Voir Barré (Ligue Braille)
 - Cahiers Hypothèse
 - Disability History Association Newsletter
 - Disability and Society (Routledge, UK)
 - Disability Studies Quarterly, USA

- Contributions from other disciplines:
 - Philosophy – Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Georges Canguilhem
 - Neurology, Psychology and Psychiatric – Semir Zeki, Oliver Sacks, Chiara Capelletto
 - Visual studies – Johnathan Crary, Donald Hoffman, Richard Gregory, Alfonso Lentini

- Thesis (master and doctoral) in Portugal since 2000²:
 - DITED – 11 on handicap/*deficiência*, 1 on blindness/*cegueira*
 - RCAAP – 69 on handicap/*deficiência*, 3 on blindness/*cegueira*
 - CIEd – 12 on handicap/*deficiência*, 4 on blindness/*cegueira*

- Researchers registered at <http://www.academia.edu>
 - 90 for Disability History
 - 11 for Blindness History (100 papers registered)

Several other authors could be quoted, namely the Portuguese researchers on education António Nóvoa, Jorge Ramos do Ó, António Candeias, Rogério Fernandes and Justino de Magalhães. Their works had or still have a particular ability to frame the disability subject either directly or indirectly related to a new pondering necessity within the wide range of education history writings. Not being their prime subject of intervention, they represent references of historians with the acknowledgment of the area and of its shortcomings, and from them I received many questions that I carry throughout this work. Other historians and sociologists, e. g. Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvernor, concerning pedagogical materiality studies or Augusto Deodato Guerreiro on adaptive information technologies also contribute from different perspectives.

Where art and philosophy meet, one could highlight the work of Elisabeth Delahaye on the study of the senses woven at The Lady and the Unicorn's tapestries at the Cluny Museum of Paris, the works of Umberto Eco on the concepts of Beauty and Ugliness and the project of Jacques Derrida for

² Results obtained on 01-04-2012 at 19:42.

the blind artistic representation at the Louvre. They all shred the chances of a less uniform fabric thus benefiting my writing.

Nevertheless, the amount of works specifically linked to the genesis of inclusion and the possibility of its relation with the establishment of the institutional schooling system is small. Most of the thesis and publications on this field are either on disability history or on special education. The few found with a different approach, a historical glance on the present of the normated students, are gathered in groups of research recently starting to invade a traditional and utilitarian approach, born from its ethic and humanistic surroundings.

Also, the need for a multidisciplinary research is strengthening these research groups or associations, and is producing already some works in progress aiming to contemplate other looks on difference, dissimilarity, normality, ability and disability concepts. This is one of the reasons that made me work in cooperation with two international groups of research, besides my weekly Lisbon meetings at Instituto da Educação with my colleagues of PhD and my tutor. These external groups are producing new fragments of work, sharing knowledge on congresses and scientific meetings and also helped me to build a new de-disciplined field of thought. And, of course, they were the main reason for writing most of my works and the current thesis in English. We do not write alone and I had the need to listen and to share.

Concluding for the pertinence of the subject and for the state of the art on disability studies, it is clear by the online presence of workers in progress and also by the dynamics of recent congresses and transnational work groups in development that unlikely approaches are beginning to show and that a new heterotopic field of knowledge on man and his unexpected social body is regaining awareness on the historic domain. It is my hope that the course of my work may find a place on a step of this building, disappearing in it.

SECTION I – METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

CHAPTER I – THEORETICAL AFFILIATION

“Friendship was perhaps promised to Foucault as a posthumous gift, beyond passions, beyond problems of thought, beyond the dangers of life that he experienced more for others than for itself. In bearing witness to a work demanding study (unprejudiced reading) rather than praise, I believe I am remaining faithful, however awkwardly, to the intellectual friendship that his death, so painful for me, today allows me to declare to him, as I recall the words attributed by Diogenes Laertes to Aristotle: ‘Oh, my friends, there is no friends.’” (Blanchot, 1990: 109)

The first three chapters of this work are defined as methodological. Clearing the evoked theoretical affiliations, defining the concepts pondered throughout the writing, and sharing with the reader the script of questioning are the three steps that form Section I. Without a clear definition of the path, a void would surround its contents. As read above on Blanchot’s quotation, all discourses needs to be clear if the writing is expected to be understood on its purpose, all affiliation’s explained on nothing more than the purpose of a standing point of production, identical and new, faithful and nevertheless a friendly treason.

Having read several authors both on theoretical issues and on methodological *praxis*, it is my role to define at this moment of the exercise of writing where exactly they come to me, where I depart from their thoughts and words, and where the void is located, the writing to come, the horizon naturally modified that will be left behind once this work is finished. The definition of theoretical affiliations is fundamental for the birth and death of any writing plot. And my school of thought is post-structuralism.

Considering the chosen theme, the schools projected for blind pupils and their coordination with modern school theories, and proposing a genealogical

approach to issues such as normality, inclusion, governmentality and identity, besides all the sensorial references and inferences that need to be taken into account on each one of these concepts, I will start by the justification of the support from Michel Foucault's theories on self-government, as also on his roots on Nietzsche and Bentham's works. I will use the self-government concept every time I will need to put in perspective the global points of the institutions meant for children, blind or sighted, and to provide clear comparisons between contemporary and modern schooling, if any. I will also follow a pragmatic use of these methodologies as an example of their flexibility, quoting Jorge Ramos do Ó's thesis (Ó, 2004), providing a wider perspective on the management of bodies both on time and space, usable to reach the desired *topos* meant for this comparison and for the detection of the vanishing of differences inside similar systems, as available to the reader on Sections III and IV of this work.

Michel Foucault's contribution to the pretended matters of governmentality and his genealogic approach to contemporary questions come from, amongst other masterpieces, in *Vigiar e Punir*³ (Foucault, 1987) and *Birth of the Clinic* (Foucault, 2005), in which the author pursue the beginning of a particular taxonomic and scientific gaze on the citizens bodies.

The classification however, would not stop at the walls of the clinic itself, but expand onto the associated schooling surveillance system, aided by technologies as diverse as architecture, confession or time-tables. A wide system spreading its arms around the subject of surveillance and providing it with means and techniques of self-control meant to be a passport to some utopic freedom within a normated society.

Taxonomy functioned both as prevention and prescription of the minimum parameters of normality that provided access to citizenship:

³ *Surveiller et Punir*, originally published in 1975 by Gallimard, the main work based on Nietzsche and Bentham's disciplinary surveillance and self-ruling theories.

“The clinic was probably the first attempt to order a science on the exercise and decisions of the gaze. From the second half of the seventeenth century, natural history had set out to analyse and classify natural beings according to their visible characters. All this ‘treasure’ of knowledge that antiquity and the Middle Ages had accumulated – and which concerned the virtues of plants, the powers of animals, secret correspondences and sympathies – since Ray, all this had become marginal knowledge for naturalists. What remained to be discovered, however, were ‘structures’, that is, forms, spatial arrangements, the number and size of elements: natural history took upon itself the task of mapping them, of transcribing them in discourse, of preserving, confronting, and combining them, in order to make it possible, on the one hand, to determine the vicinities and kinships of living beings (and therefore the unity of creation) and on the other, to recognize rapidly any individual (and therefore its unique place in creation).

The clinic demands as much of the gaze as natural history. As much, and to a certain extent, the same thing: to see, to isolate features, to recognize those that are identical and those that are different, to regroup them, to classify them by species or families. The naturalist model, to which medicine had partly been subjected in the eighteenth century, remained active. The old dream of Boissier de Sauvages of being the Linnaeus of diseases was not entirely forgotten in the nineteenth century: doctors long continued to botanize in the field of the pathological. But the medical gaze was also organized in a new way. First, it was no longer the gaze of any observer, but that of a doctor supported and justified by an institution, that of a doctor endowed with the power of decision and intervention. Moreover, it was a gaze that was not bound by the narrow grid of structure (form, arrangement, number, size) but that could and should grasp colours, variations, tiny anomalies, always receptive to the deviant. Finally, it was a gaze that was not content to observe what was self-evident: it must make it possible to outline chances and risks; it was calculating.” (Foucault, 2005: 108-109)

The relevance given to this wide quote - and magnificent explanation - of the new modern taxonomy and its relation to the new observance techniques that allowed institutional management of similarities and differences is enriched by its application to a specific archive, as exemplified in the above mentioned work of Jorge Ramos do Ó, *O Governo de Si Mesmo. Modernidade Pedagógica e Encenações Disciplinares do Aluno Liceal (último quartel do século XIX – meados do século XX)*. Throughout his work, the link between schools as global institutions of self-government, its dissemination of ethics and

discourses, and the assumption of modern school as a parameter of social self-responsibility are guides for the construction, definition and analysis of a proper archive. Although the example studied by Ramos do Ó is apparently far from my own subject, his use of foucaultian methodologies is precious, e.g. the techniques for the constitution of a coherent archive from the documentation raised on a departure question. Furthermore, the medical approach to the self-government theme is deeply developed and challenges the reader to cross-question the main issues. Following its analyses of the program of studies on the Portuguese secondary public schools and their scientific support to a plain social acceptance, several queries can be used, namely onto discipline, scientific gaze and study plans, which are also found in my case studies, *mutatis mutandis* the support materiality and other specificities on the communication field, nevertheless keeping close the genealogical and interdisciplinary approach:

“Parece-me que esta leitura crítica do plano de estudos me permite, de novo, fazer um remate de natureza genealógica. Tudo, mas realmente tudo, no discurso dos representantes da Saúde Escolar se passava como se a moralidade – na verdade o eixo central da escola moderna – tivesse na figura do médico, e o que ela representava, o seu novo guardião. Foi aí que desaguou a ênfase colocada na tópica da vontade. (...) É muito importante que se reconheça a existência de factos apontando para uma cumplicidade e, porque não ousar dizê-lo, uma inversão de hierarquia, em que o médico-terapeuta pôde começar a falar das temáticas do governo de si como se o seu conhecimento, de ciência certa, lhe conferisse uma autoridade superior à daquele que tradicionalmente vinha administrando a moral às populações.”⁴

⁴ Ó, Jorge (2004: 521). Author’s translation: “It would appear that a critical reading of this plan of studies should allow a genealogical conclusion. Everything included on the Health Inspector’s speech was centered on morality – the true axis of modern school – and its keeper, the doctor. That’s where it is found the true emphasis on the topic of will. (...) The existence of facts that imply complicity, even an inversion of hierarchy with the doctor/therapist is extremely important to be acknowledged. The doctor’s speech will from now on be focused on the praxis of self-government, within a role assigned by the authority of science, far more powerful from the traditional moral link from its practice to the life of populations.”

The link between medicine, science, and the social exercise of power will be taken from these strong conclusions and experiments into my field. My case studies are schools of non-standard bodies, thus the reinforcement of importance of this scientific gaze and my wish to read examples of plots involving the truth of science in the centuries of its trans-national emergence.

As communication and sensorialism may be considered part of my work's borders, Jacques Derrida's essays on the power and flexibility of discourse are also fundamental approaches to some of my questions. The power of speech, its forms and origins, its ability to mould societies and to clear or erase fields of knowledge are problems to be taken into account from the methodological point of view.

It may be considered that two of Derrida's essays are of prime importance to a coherent pursuing of my writing: *Grammatology* and *Writing and Difference*. Both works are focused on the historicity, complexity, construction and interdependency of language; mostly, in fact, what Derrida calls the anxiety of language caused and causing the development of thought itself. Being interested, particularly on chapter VIII, on the study of different ways of surpassing sensorial differences into the empowerment of speech register, my reading of the power of speech comes from the expertise of his universe.

Two questions are always forthcoming onto my own issues: the incapability of thought outside discursive forms and the concept and relation of meaning with inscription. Each time I dare to touch these subjects, the discursive reference will be founded on Derrida's works, as follows:

"We have no language – no syntax and no lexicon – which is foreign to this history; we can pronounce nor a single destructive proposition which has not already had to slip into the form, the logic, and the implicit postulation of precisely what it seeks to contest." (Derrida, 2006: 354)

Not expecting to find but further questioning, my work assumes itself as a discursive exercise born from one's curiosity – why did institutional schooling

for blind citizens develop simultaneously with the general school discourses of the Enlightenment? And the phoenix rebirth will happen far from my thoughts, merely an exercise on questioning archival sources, humbly presented as written speech in order to add some new perspectives on the matter.

Therefore, following Jacques Derrida's considerations on the subject of intellectual production:

"Totalization, therefore, is sometimes defined as useless, and sometimes, as impossible. This is no doubt due to the fact there are two ways of conceiving the limit of totalization. (...) Totalization can be judged impossible in the classical style: one then refers to the empirical endeavour of either a subject or a finite richness which it can never master. There is too much more than one can say. But nontotalization can also be determined in another way: no longer from the standpoint of a concept of finitude as relegation to the empirical, but from the standpoint of a concept of the concept of play. If totalization no longer has any meaning, it is not because the infiniteness of a field cannot be covered by a finite glance or a finite discourse, but because the nature of the field – that is, language – excludes totalization." (Derrida, 2006:365)

Concerning this latter statement, I stand before a deflection on what could be misunderstood as my purpose: the use of a constituted archive and a glance towards a vague horizon are perhaps difficult to conciliate. The transcribed words and their choreography are nothing more than my proposal of a possible path; they do not intend an impossible totality, a truth, an answer, nor do they exceed the function of displacing contemporary issues into their origin, provoking new threads and new patterns on the normality concept.

Gilles Deleuze's clearance on my thoughts keeps likewise on the discursive path, although more closely linked to the interpretation of texts and sources. Issues as normality, difference, repetition, minority's discourses and the power of desire, are intimately linked to my work as I defined it in the Introduction.

Two particular texts are followed as needed throughout this plot: *Différence et Répétition* and a study of Deleuze on the work of Michel Foucault

(Foucault, 1998) that has the enormous advantage of an overview on the thought of two of my main studied authors, as I also found in *Maurice Blanchot: the thought from outside. Michel Foucault as I imagine him* (Foucault; Blanchot, 1990).

As to the former, I shall stand on Deleuze's notes of the *simulacrum* role on discursive techniques as to social expectations:

“O simulacro é a instância que compreende uma diferença em si, como duas séries divergentes (pelo menos) sobre as quais ele actua, tendo toda a semelhança sido abolida, sem que se possa, por conseguinte, indicar a existência de um original e de uma cópia. É nesta direcção que é preciso procurar as condições, não mais da experiência possível, mas da experiência real (selecção, repetição, etc.). É aí que encontramos a realidade vivida de um domínio sub-representativo. Se é verdade que a representação tem a identidade como elemento e um semelhante como unidade de medida, a pura presença, tal como aparece no simulacro, tem o “díspar” como unidade de medida, isto é, sempre uma diferença de diferença como elemento imediato.”⁵ (Deleuze, 2000: 140).

Another requirement on the explanation of links between desire, power and conscience, which this author detaches from a traditional stance, is:

“(…) ao mesmo tempo em que o desejo encontra o princípio da sua diferença em relação à sua necessidade no objecto virtual, ele aparece não como uma potência de negação, nem como elemento de uma oposição, mas sobretudo como uma força de procura, uma força questionizante e problematizante que se desenvolve num outro campo que não o da necessidade e da satisfação.”⁶ (Deleuze, 2000: 192)

⁵ Author's translation: “*Simulacrum* being assumed as a proper difference, two divergent series on which it acts, with an impossibility of any similitude, thus, without the minor probability of distinguishing original from copy. To enforce this idea is to found the conditions of real experience besides probability (selection, repetition, etc.). There is where can be found the living reality of an under-representative domain. Whereas identity has representation as one of its constituting elements and similarity as its unity of measure, the concept of clean existence – *simulacrum* – has the opposite as measure and is defined by difference of difference itself.”

⁶ Author's translation: “(…) while the concept of desire is set out towards its proper need as an object, it is constituted nor as opposition nor as denial; it is mostly a strength of search, of questioning and problematizing to be developed elsewhere from simple need or satisfaction.”

These statements are the constituency of most arguments used on chapters IX and X, leading the identities social motion by networking them and their discourses with their social possibilities and the sometimes overtake of those links and displacements.

To conclude with the interaction of my theoretical guides, I will assume my writing from this chapter onwards as a melody to follow, a probable tale of our present on its birth, a song of the Sirens, appealing and uncertain as life itself: “What makes them seductive is less what they make it possible to hear than what sparkles in the remoteness of their words, the future of what they say.” (Foucault, 1990: 41). Hence our writings reflect precisely what we are.

CHAPTER II – CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE

“Ceguidam ou Ceguidade: trevas, escuridade, que roubam dos olhos os objectos.” (Viterbo, 1966 :87)

“Todas as linguagens críticas desde o século XIX se valeram da exegese, um pouco como as exegeses na época clássica se tinham valido de métodos críticos. No entanto, enquanto a dependência da linguagem relativamente à representação não for esclarecida ou pelo menos delimitada na nossa cultura, todas as segundas linguagens estarão sujeitas à alternativa da crítica ou do comentário e hão-de proliferar até ao infinito na sua indecisão.”⁸ (Foucault, 1998:134)

There is a recursive issue on modern, as on contemporary need for taxonomizing language, submitting each writer to a discursive system where the need for clearance and truth became compulsory. Whether or not this question arises more from a philosophical horizon than from a pragmatic writing technique, it was for long academically undertaken for the proper construction of concepts and legitimated from recognized authors.

Far from conceptual affiliations it stands as the right way of producing or reproducing authorized knowledge. But what is written, by whom, what is deconstructed, on our fragmentary and vulnerable fields of knowledge, that is not possible to change and move and use towards the pursued answers that are hoped to change the focus on a chosen subject?

⁷ Author’s translation: “Blindness or sightlessness: darkness, obscurity, stealing the objects from the eyes.”

⁸ Author’s translation: “Exegesis was used by every critical language, since the 19th century, like critical methods were used as exegesis in the classical era. However, as far as language dependency on representation will not be cleared or delimited in our own culture, every alternative language shall depend on comment or criticism, infinitely proliferating in indecision.”

As such, perspectives of coherence for methodological chapters, may only intend to provide the eventual reader with a particular glossary, whose only purpose is to be questioned. Defining a departing discourse can only have the aim of harmonizing some basic idiomatic choices. Language is a weapon much too powerful to be ignored and the sharing and displacement of concepts - particularly when several areas of knowledge are gathered to redefine undertaken ideas – should be a technique more than a reverence. And thus I shall proceed.

Accordingly, the purpose of this chapter will be the search for some key words that are as particular and important to this writing as to establish a consensual platform of discourse between my identity as the writer and the hypothetical readers of this construction.

Following the above-mentioned authors⁹, the current task is likened to the laying out of a larger structure, with several concepts as cornerstones, chosen for a better understanding and displacement of the studied issues, namely: self-government, body awareness, vision and sensorialism, the binomial normal/abnormal, blindness, modernity and materiality. For each one, some authors were gathered to clarify concepts and to allow a link to the archive's speeches. Gazing the case-studied institutions will allow the establishment of a discursive link in time and space, thus constituting history as a dimension of heterotopy.

Stigma/Self-government will be assumed, each and every time mentioned, as following Michel Foucault, Erving Goffman and Thomas Popkewitz's studies. Of course, several other authors have been consulted in such an important issue. However, this choice is due to these particular author's investments on researches regarding inclusion and exclusion fields, thus developing the concept onto the binomial of identity and difference through the modern usage of a particularly rich moulding technology of man.

⁹ Cf. Chapter I: theoretical affiliation.

The relationship established in Foucault's works between, on the one hand, a self-handling of power prescribed wishes and its inclusion on a policing power economy, and on the other hand, a more enlarged concept of identity built towards an authorized mentor (e.g. doctors, teachers, priests) is clear enough. These are, as I see them, the most coherent trends of modernity in an effort to frame the subject in its own social moral, panopticing its most inner lusts and solving them on a technology of self-discipline and surveillance.

According to Thomas Popkewitz, the role of pragmatism is also fundamental for the understanding of self-government technologies: "Pragmatism was a designing project of the individual who embraces the norms and values of agency, science, and progress." (2008:5). This is a particularly relevant issue for my next chapters, regarding Helvetius and Bentham's theories, not only as used by Foucault to deplete the self-observation concept, as due to modern society, but also as we found them on Dewey and other pedagogues headquartered on the travelling of pedagogic ideas, whose developing section will be the fourth.

Popkewitz also stands on the institutional application of self-government foucaultian theories for the governing of the child. In fact, either the institutional surrounding was meant to redeem or to ensure a social squared development. The founding ruling discourses were particularly suitable for inscription of a self-contrition's moral:

"The governing of the child was a response to the uncertainty of modernity but also embodies a cultural strategy that expressed fears about maintaining the qualities of a civilized population. Artificially intervening in the individual development of the child was required, for if not controlled properly, the individual character and dispositions could be potentially dangerous to the moral and spiritual future of the nation." (2008:19)

This is a glance onto self-government technologies that intends to structure another possible link to questions of inclusion/exclusion, in chapters VIII and XIII. Self-government is based on social expectation of an inner self,

thus, it is a wide and prescriptive discourse nourished by observation, identification, registers, archives and specialized and authorized discourses.

It has movement and a mouldable structure and that is the reason we still find ourselves within its needs, especially where inclusion is concerned:

“The planning of people is not merely to educate the subject to make right choices or to emancipate and give voice of those previously excluded. From notions of health to the family and childhood explored in this book, pedagogy has been to make the modern “citizen” and society through constructing principles to order self-governed individuals. Science continues historically as systems of theorizing, observing and classifying that open the innate qualities of humans for calculation and administration.” (Popkewitz, 2006: xi)

To conclude this first binomial analysis, and contrasting with self-government in its social and political performance, stigma will be treated as the outwardness of an accepted, naturalized and socially expected self. Long studied by Erving Goffman and also by Michel Foucault, the frontier of stigma will be assumed as an artificial line between the fields of wishes that modern school and modern states intend to promote and the untaxonomizable beings which the pedagogic and social panoptic of modernity cannot promote, through self-government, into a citizenship’s web.

Normality/abnormality is the second group of concepts that need to be defined in order to allow a better reading of the following chapters. As far as I shall be writing on blind inmates of the first institutional adapted systems, it is very important to define the social perspective on them and the choices made on such a huge investment. The absence of the sense of sight requires, for learning and communicating, specific materiality, today as in the 18th century. But what is specific and what is regular in schooling materiality? And how shall these inmates and future citizens of modernity be located on the social grid of production of the western new-born states?

Travelling towards the considerations of Georges Canguilhem on the matter of normality, in his work *Le Normal et le Pathologique*, are found

definitions of a quantitative frontier in each subject of medical observation. The ontological theories of illness and the definitions of abnormality come from that quantitative difference associated, as the author highlights, with time. A disease is a temporary state. Abnormality, thus, comes from a permanent coexistence with a physical or sensorial surplus or lack on a body that affects its behaviour, its presentation towards society, and its recognition. Therapeutics is, as such, a normative convention, besides its existence as a healing technique.

Such is the difference, according to Georges Canguilhem, between an ill body and an abnormal body:

“Voir dans toute malade un home augmenté ou diminué d’un être c’est déjà en partie se rassurer. Ce que l’homme a perdu peut lui être restitué, ce qui est entré en lui peut en sortir.” (Canguilhem, 2005 :11). Therefore, normality resides on conditions and frequencies recognized as solvable. Contrariwise, the author explains his idea on abnormality, out of pathologic discussions and care: “L’anomalie c’est le fait de variation individuelle qui empêche deux êtres de pouvoir se substituer l’un à l’autre de façon complète. Elle illustre dans l’ordre biologique le principe leibnizien des indiscernables. Mais diversité n’est pas maladie. L’anormal ce n’est pas le pathologique. Pathologique implique *pathos*, sentiment direct et concret de souffrance et d’impuissance, sentiment de vie contrariée. Mais le pathologique c’est bien l’anormal. » (Canguilhem, 2005 : 85).

Considering the social presentation of man and its identity towards an utilitarianism that has already been mentioned as one of the strongest philosophical paths of modernity, it is still important to highlight the author’s thoughts on the social identification and its effect on non-complementary differences between subjects:

“Quand l’anomalie est interprétée quant à ses effets, relativement à l’activité de l’individu, et donc à la représentation qu’il se fait de sa valeur et de sa destine, l’anomalie est *infirmité*. Infirmité est une notion vulgaire mais instructive. On naît ou on deviant infirme. C’est le fait de devenir tel, interprétée comme déchéance irrémédiable, qui retentit sur le fait de naître tel. Au fond, il peut y avoir pour un infirme une activité possible et un rôle social honorable. Mais la limitation forcée d’un être humain à une condition unique et invariable est jugé péjorativement, par référence à l’idéal normal humain qui est l’adaptation possible et voulue à toutes les conditions imaginables. » (Canguilhem, 2005 : 87).

In other words: “Omni cosa è metá. Per riacquistare completezza ha bisogno di uno specchio.” (Lentini, 2003:33). Normality and abnormality are mirror concepts, binomials, anamorphisms. Where a lack is found, an infinite possibility field is opened, as when two mirrors meet. But the signs of difference are thought more as a signal, a stigma, specificity, especially when unexpected or inexistent. Ervin Goffman studied these inner and social phenomena of dealing with difference, and gathering his conclusions related to the present study, I would like to emphasize the self-recognition of difference.

In Section II, the identification of the blind students by the families, the pedagogues, the doctors, is deeply documented for each of the three institutions whose archives have been consulted. There are reports, correspondence, taxonomy rules and purposes of compensation on a deficient image of the eligible inmate.

Nevertheless, and re-joining former Foucault’s contributions on the constitution of a cooperative and autonomous self¹⁰, the recognition of the difference – in this case, the incapability of total or partial use of the sense of vision – by the inmate itself is fundamental for the understanding of their schooling project success.

Goffman distinguishes two main characters of this plot: the giver and the recipient.¹¹ And I shall follow particularly the inmates perspective and expectation, as described: “It follows that in total institutions one crucial difference from civil life is that deference is placed on a formal footing, with specific demands being made and specific negative sanctions accorded for infractions; not only will acts be required, but also the outward show of inward feelings.” (1990: 115). And we are back to the kingdom of discourse: as a weapon

¹⁰ Cf. Self-government definition.

¹¹ This notion of an expected image of the other and the techniques of both its presentation, recognition and social pedagogy are developed by Erving Goffman at *Stigma – Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identities*, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* and *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Disorders*.

for recognition and description, as a mean for registering faults and progresses and certainly as path of redemption.

Systematizing these last paragraphs, the concept of normality that will be used, such as its opposite (abnormality condition) and their framing in the late 18th century schooling design of new citizens projects, are no more than discursive folds used by and for the blind students' awareness of their particular situation towards a visual world. Quoting Michel Foucault on the matter:

“Ce que le XVIIIe siècle a mis en place par le système ‘discipline à effet de normalisation’, par le système ‘discipline-normalisation’, il me semble que c’est un pouvoir qui, en fait, n’est pas répressif, mais productif – la répression n’y figurant qu’à titre d’effet latéral et secondaire, par rapport à des mécanismes qui, eux, sont centraux par rapport à ce pouvoir, des mécanismes qui fabriquent, des mécanismes qui créent, des mécanismes qui produisent. Il me semble aussi que ce que le XVIIIe siècle est arrivé à créer (...) c’est un pouvoir qui n’est pas de superstructure, mais qui est intégrée au jeu, à la distribution, à la dynamique, à la stratégie, , à l’efficacité des forces ; un pouvoir, donc, investi directement dans la répartition et le jeu de forces, Il me semble que le XVIIIe a mis en place aussi un pouvoir qui n’est pas conservateur, mais un pouvoir qui est inventif, un pouvoir qui détient en lui-même les principes de transformation et d’innovation. Et, enfin, il me semble que le XVIIIe siècle a mis en place, avec les disciplines et la normalisation, un type de pouvoir qui n’est pas lié à la méconnaissance, mais qui, au contraire, ne peut fonctionner que grâce à la formation d’un savoir, qui est pour lui aussi bien un effet qu’une condition d’exercice. » (Foucault, 1999 :48)

This quote adjusts both to a field of possibility and to a justification on the investment on blind schools: normalization of procedures and normation of behaviours, a new and scientific validated truth, an alternative grid capturing and promoting an infiniteness of social possibilities. It also refers to architectural aids, referencing Bentham’s suggestions for self-control and the benefit of different roles on the inmates, as their roles evolved in space and time of an architecture that captured much more than bodies.

Both **Modernity and School** become the third binomial on the departure structure of this work. According to Ramos do Ó (2003: 198) a new moral and a new discipline arise from modernity through institutional

schooling. But on what principles of modernity was this self-policing of souls created? And how can there be evidenced a direct relationship between these two nouns?

“A fundamental ambivalence of modernity is captured by the twin notions of liberty and discipline and examined in three major dimensions: the relations between individual liberty and political community, between agency and structure, and between locally situated human lives and widely extended social institutions.” (Wagner, 2002: i)

Therefore, if we assume modernity as a period of restructuring of the western governments on juridical and policed social unities, it is indeed clear that the disciplinary and institutional ways of power exercise become deeper and more intimate to exercise their efficiency.

The discursive ways of integration on social rules and the taxonomy and normation of citizens meant new supports of the need for production and power balance. The development and spread of judicial power¹², along with the dissemination of its economy and prevention through population moulding and normation (e.g. at schools, prisons and hospitals), constituted the roots of modern practices for social control mentioned both by Michel Foucault¹³ and Peter Wagner’s¹⁴ studies on this subject.

Within these new management parameters, the depth of the evolving conditionings on what Peter Wagner names “the continuity of selfhood” (2001: 60-79) highlights the modern approach to identity and the creation of difference, two topics of great significance to sections III and IV of this work:

¹² Issue detailed the work of A. Hespanha, *As Vésperas do Leviathan* (1986).

¹³ On normation, state and police, cf. Michel Foucault, 2008.

¹⁴ Both of Wagner’s works *A Sociology of Modernity. Liberty and Discipline* (2002) and *Theorizing Modernity* (2001) were very important in my personal constitution of this concept.

“(…) the ‘modern’ approach to identity casts a peculiar light onto this ‘context’ in which the acting human being operates. In a sense, this ‘context’ is only created by the assumption that an actor, gaining his identity, separates from his environment and then in turn acts upon his environment.” (Wagner, 2001, 73)

Also, following his thoughts on the difference issue, as to the creation of difference as the consequence of modernity social management changes towards the presentation of the self:

“(…) the identity of modernity was constructed by emphasizing differences. ‘Modern man’ aimed at distancing himself from a variety of forms of alterity – nature, wildness and tradition outside of his own social world, and the lower, dangerous classes, women and the mad inside it. In such critical perspective on the emergence of the concept of identity in modernity, relations of domination become visible. The proclaimed conquest of autonomy is then seen as possible only through the marking of (asymmetric) differences and thus through boundary-setting and the exclusion of the other.” (Wagner, 2001: 73).

Finally, in order to attain the nucleus of the projects of modern inclusive schooling, three concepts turn out to be of major importance: **vision and blindness** - to frame the gaze, the materials, the relations and the discourses of inmates and pedagogues– and, as a surrounding major concept, **sensorialism**, one of the contextualization paths of the former into their contemporary social grid.

Defining blindness is thus a first step to help characterizing the inmates of the Institutes analysed in section II; it is also an approach to the assumption of 18th and 19th centuries sightless pupils as intense pedagogic focus, albeit their circumstances being the visual developing world of modernity. Blindness can be defined as the lack of vision, as its opposite, and similarly as the space between both words as the world of possibilities in between, explored by doctors and sensorialist pedagogues of Modernity.

Although, of course, technically speaking, blindness may have several descriptions, actually still in discussion at the World Health Organization over the 1972's concepts: "An individual shall be considered to be blind for purposes of this title if he has central visual acuity of 20/200 or less in the better eye."¹⁵, I will rather assume a sociological point of view on the matter: blindness shall be presumed as a condition of incompatibility with the use of vision-defined techniques, materiality and discourses, both on school and on the planning and accomplishment of an independent citizenship life. The option for a more personal and social circumstance, categorizing it by its social links and pondering the infrastructures of oneness created to allow a corroboration on a global discourse is at the heart of the story I am about to follow with the reader.

For the study and use of this important keyword, I call to my help several voices I would like to give speech to, because their different points of departure paved my construction on the huge problem of the existence of a blind identity throughout history or, plainly, revealed the social awareness of differences and similarities on people that see and others who do not, even if their social role was artificially built on modern institutions intending to erase sensorial divergences and preach the raise of a unique pedagogically created citizen.

Starting by a historical perspective, nobody has a better view on this concept than the historian Zina Weygand, whose deep researches founded the particular area of disability history I am working on. The first serious and systematic contemporary forthcoming of her publications, in long term parameters, was the masterpiece *Vivre sans Voir. Les Aveugles dans la Société Française, du Moyen Âge au Siècle de Louis Braille* (2003). On the introduction one can find immediately this same preoccupation with an accurate definition of the noun *blind* at the sub-chapter "Les mots: de l'étymologie à la métaphore", on the semantic definition presented:

¹⁵ Cf. <http://www.who.int/blindness/Change%20the%20Definition%20of%20Blindness.pdf> consulted at 2012.05.01, by 11 p.m.

“Le mot ‘cécité’ vient du latin *caecitas*, lui-même formé sur *caecus* : aveugle. Quant au mot ‘aveugle’ il serait une déformation de l’expression d’origine latine ‘ab oculis’ (littéralement : ‘privé d’yeux’). Ainsi, à l’origine du mot, trouve-t-on l’idée d’une absence totale de vue, assimilable à une énucléation. » (Weygand, 2003 : 11-12).

Zina Weygand proceeds with more specific definitions, the legal, scientific, epidemiologic and sociologic ones, with particular attentiveness to the francophone world. The book evolves with an historical and sociological description and analysis of the first schooling initiatives in France, following the sensorialist principles, “la suppléance sensoriale” (Weygand, 2003: 16) that started in the end of the 18th century, a specialized and dialectic revolution between charity and pedagogy that spread throughout Europe and beyond. I will retain the *enucleating* concept as precious for the understanding of this spreading coordinated movement on chapter IV.

Jumping into the mirror, one is faced with the century of vision and with the taxonomy of the winners. Could the processes of dealing with pragmatic and sensorialist philosophic choices, embedded by free-masons, be an exercise of power and control through an exquisite form of educating bodies that had more wholeness than predicted¹⁶, and could exercise pedagogic surprises?

Combined, the theories of Jonathan Crary, Donald Hoffman and Richard Gregory, allow a surprising overview on this coordination of discourses. Assuming **Vision** and **Modernity** on parallel growing circumstances, J. Crary asserts “the turning point in an historical makeup of the observer and practices of vision”. Moreover, he declares that “visual modernism took shape within an already reconfigured field of techniques and discourses about visuality and an observing subject.” (Crary, 2001: 6). His theories on attention and subjective

¹⁶ The first clue is the Diderot’s scandal. The *Lettre sur les aveugles a l’usage de ceux qui voyent* is more a philosophical treaty on trust in men as a fully independent being, apart from lacks that cease to be fulfilled with the hope on miracles but star to subsist with hope on techniques pointed out as natural and arising from the supplements the brain and body themselves achieve to accomplish on integrity.

bodies are certainly of prime importance to the evaluation of sensorial input alternatives to cognition.

Whether linked to Hoffman's theories on visual fabrication, self-contradiction and, sometimes, inconsistency, one is led to fold some contemporary prejudices on visual dependency and clearly understands that "without exception, everything you see, you construct: color, shading, texture, motion, shape, visual objects, and entire visual scenes." Which lead us to an artificial layout of visual primacy over the other senses and, overall, the brain processing ability: "visual intelligence and its ability to construct" (2000: 3-5).

As to vision and some particularly important issues, which will contribute to some of the conclusions of the present work, the author Richard Gregory also summarizes three very important cornerstones of its studies, as follows and as they will be used further on:

1. "The eye is a simple optical instrument; the brain is the engine of understanding" (1977: 1)
2. "Even in ideal conditions object perception is far richer than any possible image in the eyes." (1977: 2)
3. "The various agnosias of vision, touch, hearing, and so on, confirm that the senses are separately processed by specialized regions of the brain." (1977: 169)

The assumption of brain processing and brain inference over the sensorial acquisition of experiences and knowledge is the fold of thought needed to understand this work's attempt to build a genealogy of cognition dependency on sensorial abilities, such as the one we still face today. It is most interesting to challenge our fears and dependencies, aiming towards a simple but deep fold on our own image and identity both social and utilitarian. Several examples of visual agnosias and, as such, new thoughts on the link of cognition and vision, are still explored in our days by Oliver Sacks¹⁷. As Richard Gregory concludes on

¹⁷ Sacks, O., 1998. *A Ilha sem cor*. Lisboa: Relógio d'Água and Sacks, O., 2007. *Musicophilia. Tales of Music and the Brain*. London: Picador.

his chapter “Learning How to See”: “People with visual agnosia have sight but have forgotten how to see.” And that is exactly the point required to fulfil the first approach of my work on what blindness and vision are concerned and compared onto scholar abilities.

Concluding this piece of writing with the aid of Ian Hacking, Nicolas Rose and Semir Zeki, I retain the thought that although blindness and vision appear systematically as opposite forms of perception, these authors have the ability to lead us into a suspension of this paradigm, allowing contemporary neurology to help a better understanding of the aim of the modern medical gaze. As such, to understand the body as an oneness, besides its specific sensorial abilities, it is the capability to learn, to wish and to be led into a social role that allows the assemblage of its possibilities and paves the way to the hypothesis of an ontological perception of its entirety.

On the words of Nicolas Rose:

“The idea of ‘the self’ has entered a crisis that may well be irreversible. Social theorists have written countless obituaries of the image of the human being that animated our philosophies and our ethics for so long: the universal subject, stable, unified, totalized, individualized, interiorized. (...) humans never existed, never could exist in this coherent and unified form – human ontology is necessary of a creature riven at its very core.” (1998: 169).

But how to combine contemporary Semir Zeki’s statements on the knowledge-acquiring power of synthetic concepts by the brain¹⁸ with Diderot’s observations on the cognitive differences and possibilities of born-blind, blind with visual memories or vision-recovered cases at the *Lettre sur les Aveugles*¹⁹?

¹⁸ S. Zeki, *Splendors and Miseries of the Brain: Love, Creativity and the Quest for Human Happiness* (2011)

¹⁹ D. Diderot (2007) [1749]. *Carta sobre os Cegos para uso daqueles que vêem*. Lisboa: Veja.

How to follow Michel Foucault's footsteps on genealogical procedures while studying a long period of multidisciplinary gaze on manly behavior, self-construction and social projection?

Will these authors be allowed to sit in the same room and talk by means of the power of discourse combined with the eternal research for a direction on man's ability to unfold without the menace of anachronism?

As I choose to study it, the binomial sight/sightless or vision/blindness is nourished with questions and needs this permanent unfolding of concepts. If a sighted child is offered a visual world before the acquisition of verbal discourse, will his life depend on a *self* built by a discourse of otherness²⁰? I propose the reader a choice on this conceptual language of multiplicity: complementarity and creativity, surprising and fulfilling of expectations, stigmatic *selves* created, imagined, feared or wished, always depending on a discursive insight.

Thus is my purpose: neither does my writing appeals for human rights, nor do I essay to prove anything, let alone the tale of human normality: only a particular questioning of the modern possibility of a rise of a regular and permanent difference of processing cognition and the hypothesis of a new wish of identity birth on modern schooling movements.

And this intention becomes my plough from this chapter on.

²⁰ Cf. "La Division du Sujet entre Voir et Regarder. À propos de la Schize de l'Oeil et du Regards chez J. Lacan", par Bernard Vandermersch (*Voir Barré, La Fonction du Regard : II. Freud et Lacan*, 1995: 28–35).

CHAPTER III – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Down the rabbit's hole²¹, falling through words and thoughts and questions so diverse I can hardly express will and coordinate movements to pick my sources and my supports from the shelves that are presented at single opportunities while I fall into my writing room with no keys in sight. At the same time, I have a heavy timeline to work the collected fragments and curiosities, how hard can the burden be of writing from my soul and losing it, inevitably, at the closure of this book.

Like in a dream, there also appears an image from the art world: *The Lady and the Unicorn*²². Six tapestries that produced more writing in the 19th and early 20th centuries than any others from Aubusson's factory production. There, the senses are represented: Sight, Taste, Touch, Hearing, Smell and Heart (should one rename this latter Brain, Will, Desire, or assume it as the Foucaultian *Topos* of all heterotopies²³?)

A third thought occurs: the required cognitive estrangement of suspension of disbelief's exercise²⁴. Starting as eligible for this work's title, it became a condition of nakedness before the unknown and, at the same time, an oneness with the impossibility of the complete man and yet a link with the sometimes called absurd, impossible, stigmatic, out of rule, abnormal subject. Can a boy fly? Can a blind see?

²¹ Title of the first chapter of *Alice in Wonderland*, by Lewis Carroll (1992: 3).

²² Detailed references to the sensorial studies and writings on this subject in Delahaye (2007).

²³ M. Foucault. *Utopies et Hétérotopies* [audio], 1966.

²⁴ Johnatan Crary (2001) used the expression *Suspensions of Perception* for his title, referring, as myself, to Samuel Taylor Coleridge's definition for fantastic possibilities on writing, first mentioned in *Biographia Literaria*, 1817. J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* popularized the concept when first presented on theatre.

My personal literary and artistic conventions, and the love of hearing Art Tatum²⁵ and perceive his happiness in the creation of an alternative wisdom I could never attend, led me to this new world of sensorial studies in history.

The fluency of changes in modernity and its discrete proximity to our unconscious daily steps conducted me to a timeline that starts with the foundation of the Institution Royale des Jeunes Aveugles by Valentin Haüy in 1784 and stops – as writing needs to die in order to proceed – at the end of the 19th century, more precisely in 1888, date of the foundation of the Lisbon School Asilo-escola António Feliciano de Castilho, elected as representative of a new generation of institutions for blind schooling, more reproductive and demanding, albeit less dynamic, in autonomic production, born from the pavement issued from what one could call the first institutional generation in objectives and effort for blind schooling.

My main question consists, thus, on the possibility of merging the global modern school movement and its contemporary blind school projects.

As secondary questions, fragments issued from the archive constituted towards the clearance of the former purpose, arise many others, not necessarily less important, opening research possibilities that do not intend to constitute altogether chaotic fragments issued from a first line of thought. These folding issues arise from the order of writing itself and define its path:

- Were blind schools a self-government discourse proof of concept for general society targets?
- Did the global and coordinated investment in these schools rose from free-mason movements and generic sensorialist speeches?

²⁵ Classic and jazz pianist Art Tatum (1909 – 1956), born-blind, was considered a music virtuoso and constitutes a magnificent example of sensorial moulding, namely through the absolute pitch major incidence on blind musicians, as developed on the paper *Absolute pitch in blind musicians* by Hamilton RH, Pascual-Leone A, Schlaug G..(2004).

- Were body government techniques enlarged to former stigmatic fields, in modernity, both as scientific and political truth patterns?
- Did this potential social inclusive movement produce material issues aware of the ever existing differences towards information production and dissemination?
- Were schools a social inclusive pavement or did they intend to allow the outcome of a diversity of social patterns?
- Was there an immediate awareness of this factor by the blind scholars?

Through these questions I constitute my section's III and IV plot, at the reader's compliance.

In order to clear some ideas on these problems, I had to make options, defined by the doctor's degree established timeline, the financial management of my resources as a scholar, and my private life, as one is never able to quit being oneself. On the contrary, the circumstances of displacement and solitude required by research need human interaction and support as smoothing and encouraging factors. On my introductory acknowledgments speech I mention a huge list of hands writing beside me throughout these last four years, although some are now just soft memories of wisdom and advice...

Three major decisions had to be made since the start of my work, and as soon as the theme and problem were accepted by the Instituto da Educação and by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia: the archives elected to search in for the discourses to analyse and constitute this thesis archive, the school of thought to adopt within this purpose and, last but not least, the language in which to express my writing, as follows.

Regarding the choice of the archives to explore, several hypothesis were available and thus mentioned in my pre-project: from the first schools constituted for blind inmates - and having already partially explored the rise of the first Portuguese school for blind Asilo-escola António Feliciano de Castilho

during my master's degree²⁶ – some particularly interesting case studies constituted five possible examples to explore: the schools of Paris, Milan, London, Boston and Rio de Janeiro. Depending on institutional good-will and archival availability, my contacts succeeded on the first three mentioned institutions, electing as destinies for my queries:

- Paris: INJA and Institut Haüy archives, museums and libraries
- Italy: Istituto dei Ciechi di Milano archive, museum and library and Milano Sormani Archive and Library
- United Kingdom: RNIB's archives, libraries and museum at London and Stockport

The option for Europe was financially achievable and able to coordinate with my private life. As such, in my efforts, I endeavor to establish contacts with, not only local archives, museums and libraries but also with fellow academics working locally on the same theme.

Documental series found being so fruitful I had to make choices. I thus privileged the ink series and processes of discursive analysis, as predicted on the theoretical affiliation by means of the examples of Foucault's and Derrida's exemplary works. On further approaches I intend to gather more information on other writing procedures embossed writing processes and look for series and spare documents that will allow me to analyze the blind students written and – also – hidden discourse, for not everyone could immediately unscramble the several ways of texting by embossed methods.

²⁶ Amado, M.C.T.M.R.C., 2007. *Escritos em Branco. Rupturas da ciência e da pedagogia no Portugal Oitocentista: o ensino para cegos no Asilo-escola António Feliciano de Castilho (1888-1930)*. Tese, (mestrado). Faculdade de Psicologia e Ciências da Educação da Universidade de Lisboa.

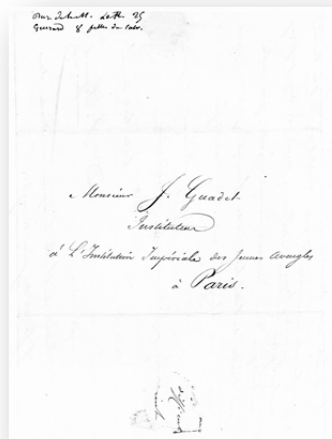


Figure 1 – Example of manuscript document in ink: Paris Archives, Haüy Institute, a letter from Dr. Pierre Sigaud, from Rio de Janeiro IIMC to Joseph Guadet of INJA, Paris.



Figure 2 – Example of a document with both ink and embossed writing, from the Barozzi series of ICM, requiring additional investment on the document analysis and knowledge of several of the 18th and 19th century embossed alphabets.



Figure 3 - Example of an embossed writing matrix, Stockport RNIB Archives, reference 156b.

On my immediate plans I preserve as a priority the essay on three dimension pedagogical and everyday life materials, as on the figures above. But it requires specific software and hardware for registry and a lot more time than I have now to focus on the whole of a major question posed by the current thesis. For this reason, I will use those references parsimoniously and not in a systematic intention of comprehensive study, which I ponder to obtain afterwards.

During the research year, the contacts were rich, and an international group of researchers on disability history, particularly on history of blindness, started to cooperate. Efforts gathered from all over the world, including, as mentioned on the state of the art description, contacts from academic social networks, the production of presentation material for five congresses (Paris, Catania, Paris, Geneva, Cologne) and three informal lectures, besides two other in Lisbon at Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, more methodologically oriented.

During the second year of my PhD, my work was already mainly English oriented, besides the fact that my sources were from British, French and Italian origin. Options had to be made and I sought for advice both from my tutor and from my foreign research groups.

Not only English was elected by this specific group of research in formation as the current international academic Esperanto, but also by me, as a higher disciplinary method of writing, with richer and wider fields of technical neologisms applicable to the current subject and with an additional fluent possibility of knowledge sharing, always present in my purposes.

Continuing on discursive choices, my option for quoting system was the Harvard Style of Referencing, 2010 version²⁷, for the simplicity and efficiency, for the inclusion of on-line and digital supported references, for the global

²⁷ University Library Guide to the Harvard Style of Referencing, 2010, [online] Available at: <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk/referencing/files/Harvard_referencing_2011.pdf> [Accessed 05 April 2003].

actualization with the information world and also for allowing and encouraging quotes with the translation references, seeking a higher precision on academic works without excluding the huge amount of on-line and free-access materials, namely on papers.

As for the work's title: *Hide and Seek: Normality issues and global discourses on Blind school modern projects (late 18th – 19th centuries)*, it refers to a photograph which is its first image. This first source to be quoted on my work is quite complex to be pondered, as it evokes semiotic concepts and a beautiful metaphor on sensorialism.

Hide and Seek is a well-known western children's game, where one child is supposed to look for the others and the first found becomes the pursuer. It is apparently based on vision, body agility and personal strategy for hiding. But the inmates of Overbrook School for Blind hide on a personal space and look for each other with four senses only.

The strong issues evoked by this game's possibility led me to the adoption of that same strategy for my work and for the consideration of the use of inner and personal options (not inabilities) in an apparent unpredictable surrounding.

Thus, on one hand, I apply for a belief on man's moulding to each circumstance and to its possible path of wish and proximity with the other, as unbelievable as it may sound to unfamiliar readers of these lines. On the other hand, I evoke the need for the joining of diverse discourses, whether archival or contemporary studies, sometimes joining on the same observations and conclusions on man's brain structure and on his availability to grow under surveillance disguised as wish.

This title and the following figure are both a metaphor on the parallel of the body as a structure and of architecture and space as a second skin, as another sense, as another communication way of perceiving one's location, by oneself and towards the other, as, certainly, onto the interiorized rules.



Figure 4 - Blind children playing 'hide and seek' among arcade pillars of Overbrook School for the Blind, founded 1832 as The Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind [no date recorded on caption card] - Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Bain Collection - Reproduction number: LC-DIG-ggbain-03972 (digital file from original neg.) - Rights Advisory: No known restrictions on publication.

Its choice from outside the boundaries of European schools intends to be metaphoric both on production and on content, and is certainly most significant in what universalization on modernity is concerned.

The gaze of the photographs, the panoptic capturing and archiving the one that does not see but is seen, the possibility of an archive non available to those there buried and manipulated, the possibility, on the other hand, of unknown paths to hidden discourses and thoughts, all is there.

Semiotics gathering in the same image architecture and body, gaze and perception, all the senses and all the show of the stigmatic, studied and promoted body, by means of the salvific normation institution, the safeguard of an equivalent appearance to children of similar – yet so diverse – schools.

And so we arrive to an exquisite mirror of naturalized impossibilities as departing line, or, in the words of Michel Foucault:

“(…) mon corps, a vrai dire, ne se laisse pas réduire si facilement. Il a, après tout, lui-même, ses ressources propres de fantastique. Il en possède, lui aussi, des lieux sans lieux, et des lieux plus profonds (...) il a ses caves et ses greniers, il a ses séjours obscurs, il a ses plages lumineuses. (...) Mon corps, topie impitoyable. (...) Mon corps, le lieu sans recours auquel je suis condamné »²⁸.

The plot and purposes of my work will thus follow this embodied topology of possibilities and folding discourses on sensorial abilities of cognition and the myths that subsisted and naturalized on normality, difference, abilities and disabilities as far as schooling systems are concerned and still persist in what is believed to be the social balance and control of population by each one of its citizens (Foucault, 2008).

From the richness of the three eligible archives, series of documents had to be privileged: pedagogical correspondence, foundation documents, internal regulations, annual reports, annual prizes, institutional magazines, photographs, architectural plans, purchase orders for pedagogical materials and all possible gathered discourses from blind students themselves were my choice.

This is one more personal option for a possibility of discursive analysis onto the understanding of a system, backed by Derrida's considerations on the power of word as possibility for creation and understanding of the other:

²⁸ M. Foucault. *Utopies et Hétérotopies* [audio], 1966.

“To speak about the thought of others, to try to say what they have said has, by tradition, been to analyse the signified. But must the things said, elsewhere and by others, be treated exclusively in accordance with the play of signifier and signified, as a series of themes present more or less implicitly to one another? Is it not possible to make a structural analysis of discourses that would evade the fate of commentary by supposing no remainder, nothing in excess of what has been said, but only the fact of its historical appearance? The facts of discourse would then have to be treated not as autonomous nuclei of multiple significations, but as events and functional segments gradually coming together to form a system.” (Derrida, 2005: xix)

Within these parameters, methodological options and supporting authors, my writing plot will start from an institutional description of the institutes and their purposes, in section II, proceeding with a deeper focus on the blind inmates and their circumstances, in section III, and opening a fragmentary series of reflections and possibilities on science, society, school and identity, on section IV.

SECTION II – INSTITUTIONAL STANDARDIZATION: THREE CASE STUDIES

This section is intended to be a field of exploration on the different circumstances that led to the foundation of the chosen case studies. As a small introduction, may the suggestion be made of considering this institutional presentation neither as a description of facts, nor as a succession of events – there are extended, detailed monographs on the foundation of the institutes above questioned²⁹ – but prescriptive as a Socratic dialogue, interactive with the characters that took part on their projects and confabulate amongst themselves on societies acceptance or astonishment.

As predicted in the methodological chapters, Michel Foucault's technologies for questioning historical contingencies, instead of being led by evolutionary and progressive compulsory lines of thought, require a genealogy of the subject (both inmate and institution) and of its own displacement on the lighted road to the present is required.

Let therefore the questions arise on the plans of walls and furniture, through the discourses of the promoters, architects, teachers, pedagogues and students, on the ideas and descriptions of materials destined to be compensatory of vision, keeping in mind further questions, deepened after a first contact with a search for analogies and differences with regular modern schools and with the possibility of a generic social intention of inclusion and wish for self-inclusion, issued from the Enlightenment philosophy.

²⁹ E.g. the study of Zina Weygand, 1999, a consistent research on the evolution of French thought towards blindness both as identity under construction and as social phenomenon. Also, the monography *Luce su Luce*, edited by the Milano Istituto dei Ciechi in 2003, as several publications quoted on the bibliography on the diverse British Institutes for Blind Education. As for comparisons, one should regard to the excellent sociological approach on American institutions for disability, the first generic essay on disability history, by the late Paul Longmore, dated 2001. The most recent piece of writing on Disability History, focusing partially on blind history is the thesis of Pieter Verstraete, 2008: *Disability History: a Foucaultian Perspective*.

Discourses will be privileged amongst the sources available for this particular matter. The folding, spreading and threading of ideas and ideals will be called to dialogue and weave the thread of our primary matters. The wide volume of our documental *corpus* allows us the freedom to choose the messages but also demands much acquaintance with the contents and contexts of production.

On the one hand this volume represents an extra effort for the author of these lines to organize a coherent narrative and to choose wisely the examples that should be analysed in particular.

On the other hand, it helps and contributes to broader perspectives on quantitative analysis, complementing the care for discourse over praxis that our theoretical school of thought above mentioned so much cares for. It is a unique opportunity, and also a frustration for its extension; it means for me, as a writer, the assuming of the incapability of attaining a unique path. I shall thus try to gather from each *nucleum* of documents the most prominent characteristics in order to obtain the most clear answers as possible, always keeping in mind the initial questioning of this theme.

As such, and following a chronological – and genealogical – path, as referred in the Introduction of this work, Paris is naturally a chronological point of departure of this trip, from which may be discovered, gathered and unfolded similarities, priorities, technologies and ultimately, diverse paths to a purpose of invention of a new pattern of citizenship.

Should this be questioned as a wish of similarity, thus assuming a social and personal mischaracterization of the blind student's natural abilities?

Should the discourses analysed in order to perceive either the institutionalized pedagogic efficiency of each case-study as also for modern political appetency for inclusion, study, taxonomy and control?

Listening to the institutional speeches from each of the schools presented as examples of these issues will bring to light further questions to add to these preliminary notes, some more thoughts on which to revise the contemporary

social building we inhabit. Listening complementary voices, such as the ones from the student's correspondence, processes and diaries, will for sure complement the data and the wish factor I long to find.

To complement the view on this issue and eventually open up a new perspective on the possibility of a link between a sensorial lack and its myriad of technical replacements, a *corpus* of materiality descriptions, orders and invoices shall be exploited.

Finally, I should state that these three specific school projects for the inclusion of blind students in modern social systems are suggested not to be thought of as far from the regular schooling movement as their blind inmates could suggest on a first glance. The discourses we are going to read together will make light on this particular issue. And this is the reason we will try to highlight, over the documental *corpus* of each one of them, a proposal of different perspectives on the inclusion issue: identification, identity prescription, self-government, new paths.

IV.1. FOUNDATION AND PURPOSES

It all started with a letter³⁰.

Denis Diderot's outbreak on the blindness theme, both as metaphoric and tangible reality, constituted a formal transition for a new thought that would feed Enlightenment's theories on sensorialism, difference and inner potential. Four case studies are presented on the *Lettre*, the Puiseaux blind (self-explorer of life-solutions and philosophical issues); Sauderson, the mathematician, optician and Cambridge teacher, both born-blind; thirdly, the patient who regained sight from an experimental cataract surgery by the well-known Dr. Chelseden and finally, Mlle. de Salignac, a consistently educated and brought up blind girl, perfect example of a powerful and inventive home instruction system associated with will, wish and self-confidence.

The works of Roland Mortier³¹ and Zina Weygand³² on the *Lettre sur Les Aveugles à l'Usage de Ceux qui Voyent* both constitute a deep study on this work of the co-author of the *Encyclopédie*³³. Despite the traditional approach being an atheist and naturalist one, this philosophical writing of Denis Diderot reveals much more strength on pragmatism, due to an attentive observation and

³⁰ Diderot [1749],

³¹ Mortier, 1999 : 6-15.

³² Weygand, 1999 : 16-30.

³³ *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, recueilli des meilleurs auteurs et particulièrement des dictionnaires anglois de Chambers, d'Harris, de Dyche, etc. par une société de gens de lettres, mis en ordre et publié par M. Diderot, et quant à la partie mathématique par M. d'Alembert...* Dix volumes in-folio dont deux de planches... proposés par souscription --1751. [available online in <http://gallica.bnf.fr/Search?ArianeWireIndex=index&p=1&lang=EN&q=encyclopedie+diderot+d%27alembert>, last access in 31-05-2012]

comparison of resources and essays of the daily life of the blind interviewed. Diderot's fascination on the thoughts of the Puisseaux blind, pronounced with an exquisite accuracy about some questions on Descartes' *Dioptrique*³⁴, empowered the writer's knowledge of his particular coping with the world.

At the same time, his readers obtained arguments to refold, as to replace in time, common thinking on the coordination of body and mind and of the senses within the mind. A new epoch was starting with the aid of this text that would be widely disseminated as polemic and creative, withal some Enlightenment's sensorialistic theories were already being used and improved by other writers, philosophers, and even handicapped citizens themselves. This issue will be subject to development in sections III and IV of this work.

The epistolary message from Denis Diderot was clear: the four blind studied believed in themselves as founders of personal solutions onto their expected irregular social performances. Notwithstanding the atheist message that the author was disseminating through their voices, an utter belief in humanism could likewise be heard. Man was due to find the clue to his own problems and quizzes, as further developed in Chapter XIII, opening new thoughts on the modern schooling system balanced with the persistency of former cognitive paths.

Furthermore, a globalized knowledge, perceivable by man's mind beyond senses, was starting to promise a persistent, prescriptive and progressive institutional schooling system, with new taxonomic roots that were already perceptible on Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*.

³⁴ *Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison & chercher la vérité dans les sciences. 2 / . Plus la dioptrique, les météores, la mécanique et la musique, qui sont des essais de cette méthode, par René Descartes. Avec des remarques et des éclaircissements nécessaires* - C. Angot (Paris) - 1668 [available online in <http://gallica.bnf.fr/Search?ArianeWireIndex=index&p=1&lang=EN&q=dioptrique+de+descartes>, last access in 31-05-2012]

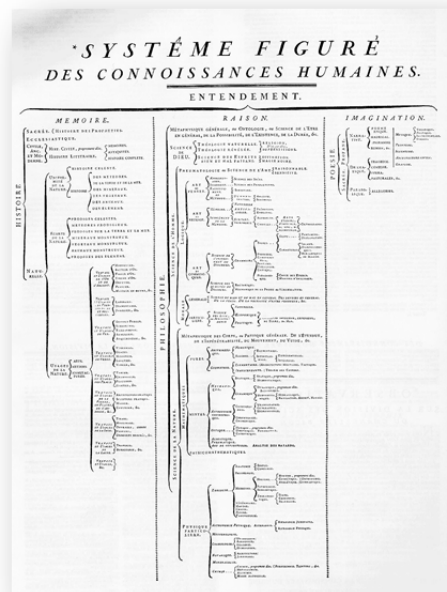


Figure 5 – Table representing human knowledge as perceivable and gathered in the *Encyclopédie* de Diderot and D’Alembert, 1751.

The taxonomic problem brought to modern thinkers all the questionings and practices that Michel Foucault mentions over a text of Luís Borges, in the foreword of *As Palavras e as Coisas*: the impossibility of thinking outside the apologies of our own culture and time, the exotic charm of othernesses and, finally, our plain impossibility to think beyond it³⁵.

On that sense, and in an historical perspective, Diderot’s writing changed 18th century philosophical stand towards blindness:

“Avant d’être les bénéficiaires des bouleversements anthropologiques, politiques et religieux issus de la pensée lockienne relayée par les philosophes des Lumières, les aveugles se sont trouvés placés tout au long du XVIII^e siècle – et ce bien malgré eux – au cœur du débat concernant le statut du sensible dans l’élaboration des processus cognitifs. » (Weygand, 1999 : 16).

³⁵ M. Foucault, 1998: 47-56.

The importance of Diderot's work wasn't acknowledged solely through the dissemination and spread at the salons littéraires as another way of thinking about the Molineaux' issue. Its main importance was the change of perspective that allowed considering, on the sensorialist line, that the most common of the blind could be educated by himself. Hence, what to think of an institutional program with appropriate means? As we can read on the deep study of Zina Weygand on the chapter "Le sensualisme et les deficiencies sensorielles"³⁶:

"Là où ses devanciers ne voyaient qu'un problem théorique, Diderot voit aussi un problem humain, et l'on trouve dans la *Lettre* toutes sortes d'observations et de remarques très pertinentes sur le comportement des aveugles, don't l'auteur compte bien tirer parti pour tenter à son tour de résoudre le problem qui, depuis un demi-siècle, agite le petit monde des Philosophes (...). Avec Diderot, on passe donc d'une experience en forme de spectacle, où l'aveugle était traité en *object*, à un dialogue où il devient le *sujet* d'un entretien d'égal à égal avec le philosophe."³⁷

Diderot's letter and testimonies influenced directly the actions and efforts of Valentin Haüy (1745-1822) on the foundation of the first Parisian institution for the education of blind students (1999b). His observations on blind persons abilities were clear enough to ensure modern pedagogues of their learning skills potential, and his notes on specific materiality and supplementary pedagogic techniques created a common platform, whence Haüy would gather a theoretical basis for the definition of pedagogical adjustments, giving way to a sensorialist line of pedagogues and solutions that would raise and expand on and from the Paris Institute.

To expand on what may be considered the universal birth of the institutional schooling for the blind, I call on the support of my documentary core from the Paris archives and libraries, and also to the help of some edited sources which I consider particularly important to this brief monograph of a

³⁶ Weygand, 2003: 75-102.

³⁷ Weygand, 2003:80.

unique institution, pedagogically specialized on blind discourses of education and social presentation.

Providing the reader with a small institutional introduction, may I recall that France had, since the middle-ages, an institute for beggars and particularly for blind beggars, called Les Quinze-Vingts. Its foundation document is probably lost, but the available data reveals that it most likely dates from the 12th century and had the protection both of the crown of France (King Louis IX) and of the church (Pope Alexandre IV) since its very beginning. It was meant to be what we call a total institution: a strong space for care of non productive subjects within the city of Paris (Weygand, 2003: 28-30). Its persistency and coexistence with several institutions founded later only reinforced its charity purposes. It was the strongest and most persistent assistential structure of France. It still is today a center for studies on vision and still has structure for the living and welfare of 200 blind persons.

It should also be mentioned, much closer to our timeline of study, the instruction movement and care for the deaf by l'Abée l'Épée, another sensorialist based on Condillac, as Haüy did on Diderot's approach on the blindness issues. He also triggered a parallel movement on the modernity study of alternative approaches on sensorial disabilities other than a life of begging or of institutional dependency.

Specifically on the subject of blind education and instruction, and following Diderot's philosophical considerations on the issue, many writings were produced, at the time, probably published on the sensorial studies and interest of its epoch. From our printed sources, we recall, dated from 1837, the edition of a book from Madame Eugénie Niboyet, *Des Aveugles et de leur Éducation*, which we also had the pleasure to read at the library of INJA.

This is a typical book opposing Diderot's ideas. The commentaries are pertinent on behalf of the ending of begging on the streets and of the social inutility of social subjects. Nevertheless, phrases like "Les idées des aveugles ne ressemblent en rien à celles des clarvoyants." (Niboyet, 1837: 52) it's quite a strong statement for one who is basing much of her writing on the observations

and stands of Diderot. So we are aware of Catholicism and Masonry opening counter-spaces of discursive action on what were until then social voids for this new kind of interaction and human management.

Nevertheless the unacquaintance of some observations, this is a work we consider a wonderful printed source for a gathering of efforts and comparisons between European and American asylums. Most of the monographies we read had the preoccupation of gathering information, which is only natural in a taxonomization time surcharged with wholeness of knowledge and statistics as precious values for the accuracy of the conclusions of any writing. In due time, it would be another specific question we would like to explore.

However contemporary of a set of encyclopedic knowledge presented to our eyes, the author's own judgment is all over the text, based on a discourse of truth, itself based on pages of information gathered as a private archive. In pages 80 and 81, for example, the Spanish situation of instruction and management of the blind citizens is deeply criticized and classified as vicious, based on the testimony given from the Spanish ambassador in Paris:

“À côté de l'insouciance du gouvernement, on est heureux de citer quelques privilèges particuliers, réservés aux aveugles en Espagne. Par exemple, il est permis à eux seuls, de vendre et crier dans les rues les écrits imprimés autorisés. En outre, ils peuvent mendier en chantant ou jouant des instruments, chose sévèrement défendue et punie.”

But there were different approaches to the same issue. When his turn came, Valentin Haüy, on the contrary, used creatively the Puiseux and Saunderson's testimonies quoted by Diderot and profited from their experience and methods as examples and inspirations to some of the procedures required for the project of founding a new school intended to produce autonomous citizens from blind subjects, not because of moral causes or aesthetic preoccupations but instead searching means to provide a path of dignity and independency for those who were required to act as such without equivalent chances to the sighted persons.

Regarding INJA's purposes, we will call upon a very interesting source, from our research *corpus*, which particularly reveals the objectives of the institution some years after its founding and universal growth: a government speech on behalf of a prize distribution occasion, at the main building of INJA. There, at the year 1856, a representative of the Minister of Internal Affairs, praises the essence of the INJA project, mission and successes:

“Pour la seconde fois Son Excellence M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur m'a délégué ses pouvoirs pour présider la solennité qui couronne l'année scolaire à l'Institution des Jeunes Aveugles. Je m'en applaudis; car, depuis longtemps, cette institution, si justement célèbre, a mes plus tendres sympathies. Eh! Comment pourrait-il être autrement? **Existe-t-il un sujet plus digne d'intérêt que celui de l'éducation de nos chers enfants?**

N'est-ce-pas une des gloires de notre pays que d'avoir le premier institué l'enseignement des Jeunes Aveugles? Si l'honneur de la création appartient au siècle dernier, le nôtre peut, du moins, s'enorgueillir d'avoir continué, en la fécondant, l'oeuvre commencé par **l'illustre Valentin Haüy**. L'exemple donnée par la France a été suivi par **les autres peuples et les grandes villes de l'ancien et du nouveau monde se sont dotées à l'envi d'établissements semblables à celui que Paris avait fondé.**” (Guadet, 1856: 21-22)³⁸

So we gather an imperial liking on the Institute's state of the art. Furthermore, the praise of France on other countries, their dependency towards techniques and materials already tested, corrected, well-known as far as the humanity social policy of the project itself seems to be politically correct for its time and to be a motive of rejoice to politicians. Not only, as we have been calling the reader's attention, the beggary and dependency were on its way of ending but also the extraordinary fame arised and helped by the communications of the new century allowed France to brag on other countries.

The highlighted quotes refer to particularly important issues, from our perspective: at the beginning of the speech, the representative of the

³⁸ Highlights of the text are of the responsibility of this work's author.

government of France speaks for the students and for the guests of the celebration *as of a school and as of education by itself*. Only afterwards does he mention the fact that the students are blind. Education is spoken of as the most important purpose of an institution and as the pride of France. And then it is mentioned that it is a particular situation on education.

The second highlight contributes to our interrogations on the linking of modern school projects and the government of societies as a generic purpose of modernity and is perceivable by the joy of the political words towards other countries, elevating a pedagogic project as a solution discovered and spread by means of an experiment supported and praised by the French Empire. And further on, one can find other missing link of our work, on the words of the same politician:

“Aujourd’hui, chaque profession, chaque art, chaque metier meme, réclame impérieusement, de celui qui veut l’exercer, des connaissances, et, par consequent, des études préparatoires plus nombreuses et plus complètes. Chaque jour voit naître un perfectionnement, une méthode meilleure, un procédé plus ingénieux; qu’il s’agisse de l’enseignement supérieur ou élémentaire, d’un art ou d’un métier manuel, **le cercle des études doit être agrandi**. C’est surtout dans une **école spéciale**, comme celle-ci, qu’il importe de **ne pas rester étranger à ce progress quotidien**.” (Guadet, 1856: 22-23)³⁹

Once more, this piece of discourse is extremely rich on what concerns the mixing of education systems on a wholeness meant by modernity governments. First the praise is devoted to education and instruction, to specialization of life within a new network of knowledge and specialization than requires constant self-surveillance and self-control. Only then, does the speaker mention the particular case of a special education center which requires probably a larger effort to stay close to the wideness of progress brought by education into modern societies.

³⁹ Highlights marked on the text are from the responsibility of the author of this work.

As we perceived from the first quoted institutional words, long after his disappearance from stage, Haüy's memory was recovered and kept in its entirety. Although a politically and intellectually convulsed France expelled him shortly after the INJA's founding, he did not lose his pedagogical aims and, after the founding of the Paris Institute for Blind in 1784, during a decade of political extradition in Russia, founded a similar institute in Saint Petersburg. Far from judging this political and regional circumstance as a *faux pas* at the evolving of the studies on blind pedagogy, one can affect it to some variables: the travel of sensorialist beliefs to Imperial Russia and far beyond its borders and the possibility to unfold a similar work on another regional reality; therefore, the expansion of the Parisian experience onto other European situations and the subsistence of its effectiveness were a highlight on Haüy's pedagogical essay.

The philosophical approach of Valentin Haüy's must not be disconnected from his personal episode at Saint Ovide's fair, in 1771, from whence the pedagogue and founder of INJA recalls his shock at seeing an exhibition and consequent public mockery of a group of blind inmates from the *Quinze-vints'* institution. This episode fulfilled moral grounds for the project: the need and wish for the possibility of a dignified life that would not depend on a lacking sense.

On his writing to the King of France⁴⁰, Valentin Haüy stands for its ideals, clear from the start of the text:

"It is our intention to leave no impressions on the minds of the public with respect to our establishment, but such real and just ideas as they ought to entertain: to teach the blind reading, by the assistance of books, where the letters are rendered palpable by their elevation above the surface of the paper, and by means of this reading to instruct them in the art of printing, of writing, of arithmetic, the languages, history, geography, mathematics, music, &c., to put in the hands of these unfortunate people such arts and occupations as are merely mechanical; spinning, for instance, knitting, bookbinding,

⁴⁰ Haüy, V. and Blacklock, T, 1793. *Poems by the late reverend Dr. Thomas Blacklock; together with an essay on the education of the blind by M. Haüy to which is prefixed a new account of the life and writings of the author, by Mr. Mackenzie, author of the Man of Feeling, &c.* Edinburgh: Alexander Chapman and Company.

&c.. From such an institution two objects are in view, both of which benevolent men will own to be of importance. **First, to employ** those among them who are in easy circumstances in an agreeable manner. **Secondly, to rescue** from the miseries of beggary those to whom fortune has been parsimonious of her favours, **by putting the means of subsistence in their own power**; and, in short, **to render useful to society their hands, as well as those of their guides**. Such is the end pursued by our institutions.” (Haüy, 1793: 10)⁴¹

How diverse from the first quotes on this chapter are these reflexions of Haüy, presenting his project to the King and to society. We would like to ponder on the material adequacy he presents as first statement. It is an argument of evolution, of fitting on a premonition of industrialization’s first steps, allowing materiality to be a weapon. As such, there is no excuse, as long as there are means to improve instruction and stop beggary. It is presented as a humanity purpose, also as a security and civilizational improvement of its time.

Secondly, Valentin Haüy presents two arguments that are the lead of its new institute, as will be of the Russian institute of Saint Petersburg and of the second institute for the blind in Paris, his second and third projects, in their proper time. The arguments, as written on his essay, share a dual nature: to employ and to rescue may not be considered antagonic purposes. What we would like to analyse is the reinforcement of the second argument: the rescue of the blind man has a social intention of self-government and belongs also to the field of a moving power that is no longer interdict to the ones that are not responsible for a difference of approach on information.

The social utility argument comes later, as a way of satisfying the oppositors of such new ideas and ideals. Also, this later argument worked as a prevention of too much identification of a philosophical sensorialist approach on human rights to citizenship, although the French revolution was already on the move.

⁴¹ Highlights of the author of this work’s responsibility.

Considering that France was in a convulsive political and ideological state where humanitarianism was a particularly appreciated value, especially when kept apart from religious trends, one can treat this episode as the natural inspiration Valentin Haüy needed to take social action. Thereby, human and progressive values of a convulsive nation were safeguarded on the argument's field and the schooling project for blind citizens was created, first on temporary buildings, then, a few years later on its final construction at Boulevard des Invalides, where it remains until today.

Shared with blind and deaf inmates, at first, soon the space and resources were diverted only to the former addressees. The discursive impact assumed itself as the prominent factor of communication and similitude for the inmates understanding of the rules that would allow them to be easily captured socially. As such, the utilitarian theories were, once again, omnipresent as cornerstones of an accurate definition of purposes for Haüy and as elements of seduction for the first pupils and their families. The specialist Pierre Henri also defends the influence of Locke and Rousseau on INJA's founder writings and experiences, as well as refers the gap of time that would not have allowed Haüy's contact nor with Pestalozzi nor with Fröebel, albeit the occurrence of theoretical coincidences on pedagogical argumentation.

Thus, this was a project consisting mainly on the enablement of blind students to work and produce as any sighted citizen would do, gathering the material and pedagogical requirements do proceed as such. And as discourse was on the order of the day to proceed with political and social projects, as the documents consulted showed in a clear way, the spotlight of this chapter is chosen: the Paris school was built and grew pedagogical and political discourses on the blind social integration and identity issue. If at this point a bracket should be opened concerning the narrative on discourse, Derrida's considerations on the empowerment of discourse and its relationship to action are of the utmost importance to recall:

“The event I call a rupture, the disruption I alluded to at the beginning of this paper, presumably would have come about when the structurality of structure had to begin to be thought, that is to say, repeated, and this is why I said that this disruption was

repetition in every sense of the word. Henceforth, it became necessary to think both the law which somehow governed the desire for a center in the constitution of structure, and the process of signification which orders the displacements and substitutions for this law of central presence – but a central presence which has never been itself, has always already been exiled from itself into its own substitute. The substitute does not substitute itself for anything which has somehow existed before it. Henceforth it was necessary to begin thinking that there was no center, that the center could not be thought in the form of a present-being, that the center had no natural site, that it was not a fixed locus but a function, a sort of non-locus in which an infinite number of sign-substitutions came into play. This was the moment when language invaded the universal problematic, the moment when, in the absence of a center or origin, everything became discourse (...) that is to say, a system in which the central signified, the original or transcendental signified, is never absolutely present outside a system of differences. The absence of the transcendental signified extends the domain and the play of signification infinitely.” (Derrida, 2006:353-354)

That was how the first philosophical inspiration enriched the arguments of this project. The epistolary look on the possible movements created possibilities and differences, allowed agility of thought amongst concepts based on old taxonomies and views of man’s abilities and made way to new places of language and of action, both productive and ground-breaking.

Diderot’s atheism and pragmatism revealed on the talking evolved with his fellow citizens deprived of vision are the first manifestations of this perspective on language and action effects: the elder phenomenon of monstrosity was turning into a thorough scientific aim of interest (Stiker, 1997:106-107). Helped by their particularly good characteristics on communication and spirit, suitable to new social presentation of the group, the eligibility of blind onto education and productivity would attract great investment and attention throughout all the 19th century.

In fact, not only did the monstrosity concept withdraw by means of the essays on education, taxonomy and bio-power practices, but also did this latter foucaultian concept help to clarify the role and the government overlay on differently abled bodies management:

“In his works and interviews Foucault has attempted to outline the innumerable transformations that power underwent in modern societies from the seventeenth century onwards in order to perceive the active subject as a starting-point for power-strategies rather than something that had to be suppressed.” (Verstraete, 2008: 33).

From a strategic point of view, and referring to considerations of Henri-Jacques Stiker and Pieter Verstraete on Foucault’s theories of biopolitics pondered from his works *History of Madness* and *History of Sexuality*, man’s bodies had been taken over by governments from the new-born or remodelled states. So did their abilities enter the possession of the categorized, wishful and needy identities sculpted by the hands of Modern Pedagogy, walking already on a different path from Puisseaux or Saunderson, letting go their differences for a redemptive social inclusion that would turn out to be more crippling than the option of a natural and different pattern of life. The noun *blind* wished a new definition, if not a new social circumstance. It is most clear the definition Pieter Verstraete shares on this subject:

“From this point of view it is possible to see a handicap as a crystallization of what Michel Foucault (1926-1984) has described as bio-power. (...) Foucault understood this notion as a kind of rationalization of political government. Life itself, considered as a biological entity, became a political object that had great impact on the strength of a nation.” (Verstraete, 2008: 63).

Valentim Haüy’s training and knowledge on several languages, his interest on philosophy and pedagogy and the personal links he maintained with the most prominent Parisian societies and journals helped to develop and disseminate by writing consistent reports on his program for education of test-students, like François Le Sueur. With this first student and with the support of free-mason philanthropic societies - as well as government funds, later on - several experiments were developed on what concerned pedagogical materials and discourses (Weygand, 2003: 115-118). Caring for the presentation of results and sharing of success with academic and philanthropic societies, Haüy

managed to gather philosophical and financial support to start, in 1785, the inauguration of L'École gratuite des aveugles-nés.

Following this first effort and caring for social and academic acceptance, the founder of INJA would work throughout political issues and moral biases, proving the effectiveness of his developing methods on the journals and public exhibitions (Weygand, 2003: 124). Thereby, his popularity and knowledge led to the difficult role of assuming the Établissement des Sourds-Mouets et des Aveugles-Nés, since the death of l'Abée L'Épée and the beginning of the fall of *Les Quinze-Vints* charity instituted by Saint Louis. Alas, what was considered a utopic project fell quickly in disgrace, and the French government, through the law of 10 Thermidor, year III (29th July 1795) assumed the Institution for the education of blind citizens as a national project, patronized by public interests (Weygand, 2003: 175-177), thus taking care of its course.

But the project had already been launched as a spreading idea. Once politically stepped aside from the Institute, Valentin Haüy created the *Musée des Aveugles*, a private school for foreigners, a project that led him through fame to Saint-Petersburg, in the year 1806, where he also founded a school for blinds, which he personally directed during eleven years. At the end of his life, after the Consulate (1799-1814), he returned to Paris, whence the national project for blind education continued under the name of Institution Impériale des Jeunes Aveugles, and was since 1820 under the pedagogic direction of Alexandre-René Pignier, succeeding on Sebastian Guillié and forwarded by the great pedagogue Joseph Guadet, perhaps the most prominent writer on pedagogic intervention the Paris Institute had as a pedagogical headmaster. On the latter's rule, the institution was finally established as the most prominent western role model for blind education and instruction and would assertively be spreading its pedagogical direction throughout the world for the first half of the 19th century.

As far as the permanent linkage from INJA to similar institutions is concerned, we found on its archives, growing in parallel movements and spreading throughout the early 19th century western modernity, a huge

movement of regular correspondence, deeply contributing to the evolving and self-correction of the global scholar system. Referring to Eric Hobsbawm on its analysis of *The Age of Revolution* (2001:18-20) there are no surprises on a world unfolding its dimensions: wider than the already geographically familiar, but in a sense, a new household due to the proximity technique brought to both discourse and presence.

Therefore, after the process of definite installation and rise of INJA as first discourse and experiment on adapted pedagogy on the field of vision issues, the exponential increase of ideas and the crossing of materials, students, teachers and experiences is widely registered on the correspondence series, not only inside Paris and France, but worldwide. Of course, there is no possible recovery of wholeness when studying sources, as Jacques Derrida allowed us to predict in our methodological statement: INJA and Häy's archives preserved correspondence received and the translations of some answers.

Huge was the effort to shorten the world of adapted pedagogy and linked sociological interests on what we pretend to be clear graphic presentations. Nevertheless, data is clear by itself on what concerns diversity, even worked for weeks from a random gathering of messages, letters, reports, books, manuals, lists, invoices, translations and copies:

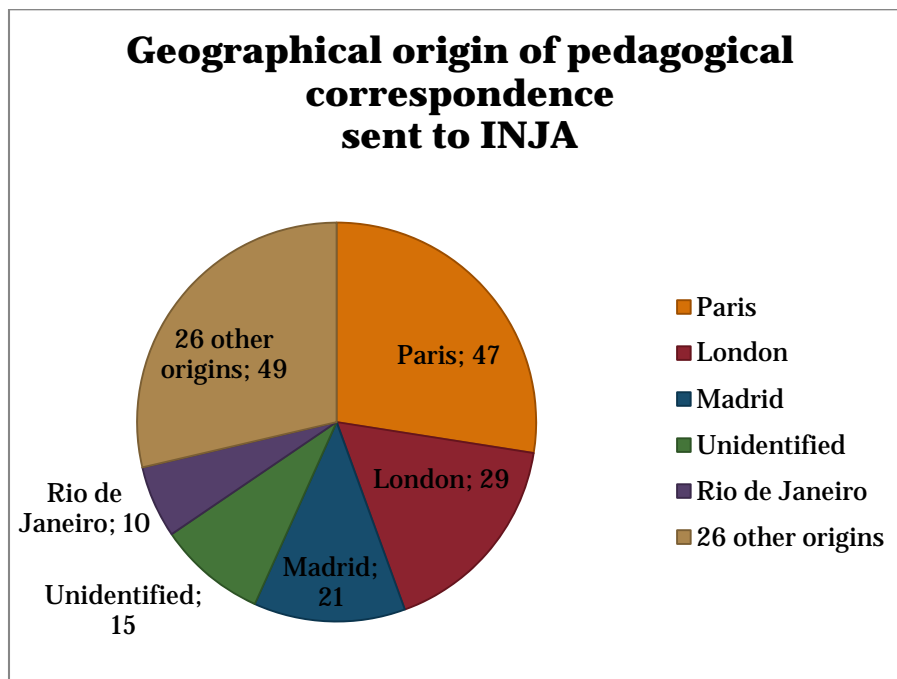


Figure 6 - Chart on the geographical origin of pedagogical correspondence sent to INJA, based on 171 manuscripts from the Haüy Archive.

To begin with, the above chart refers to the correspondence exchanged between several institutions, countries and individuals with the Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles, either on their interest in adapted pedagogy, medicine or on personal matters concerning the education and study of the blind inmates.

Posts and transportations of both persons and materials made the modern world shorter and communication of ideas was, at the time, faster than ever before⁴². It was easy to exchange doubts and spread ideas. Correspondence represents a considerable percentage of the content of the three archives consulted, namely of the INJA and Institut Haüy, raising discursive standards on pedagogic issues as never before, allowing nouns to grow accurate, taxonomies to become precise and epistemological techniques to develop at its higher standards.

⁴² Darrigrand, 1997.

Also, as far as Jürgen Schriewer concludes on what concerns his particular vision on comparative history, the link between regional activism and the spread of universal movements of thought is not only compatible as it is necessary to a dynamic folding space to growing and developing of ideas. This phenomena appears on transnational development as “(...) a ‘filter’ for selecting, channeling, and transforming non-national knowledge into national meaning structures” (Schriewer, 2003:35).

Hence can be concluded that this large spread of correspondence and exchange of theories from Paris to other countries, and the subsequent adaptations, are constellations of case studies, ideas and technical supplies; they are based on experiences successfully tested on a first institute, but ought to be interpreted as expert political transactions on the management of bodies, depending on national structures and contexts, but forever part of a world-sized laboratory for the observation of the other.

That is the externalization concept we are about to link with Michel Foucault and Nikolas Rose inferences on other sociological orders of magnitude: the citizen and the modern state, as a parallel to the national and the transnational. In our point of view, there seems to be a growth dynamic flowing between these two relations, not as different as it may seem on a first analysis.

Still, there is the need to overcome the appeal from the outside at this wellspring of information and to compare the interaction between both sides of the pedagogical dynamic, far beside the gear ratio we stand on. To and from Paris, correspondence flew continuously from several countries, exchanging ideas and techniques to deal with the insertion of blind on the national schooling projects:

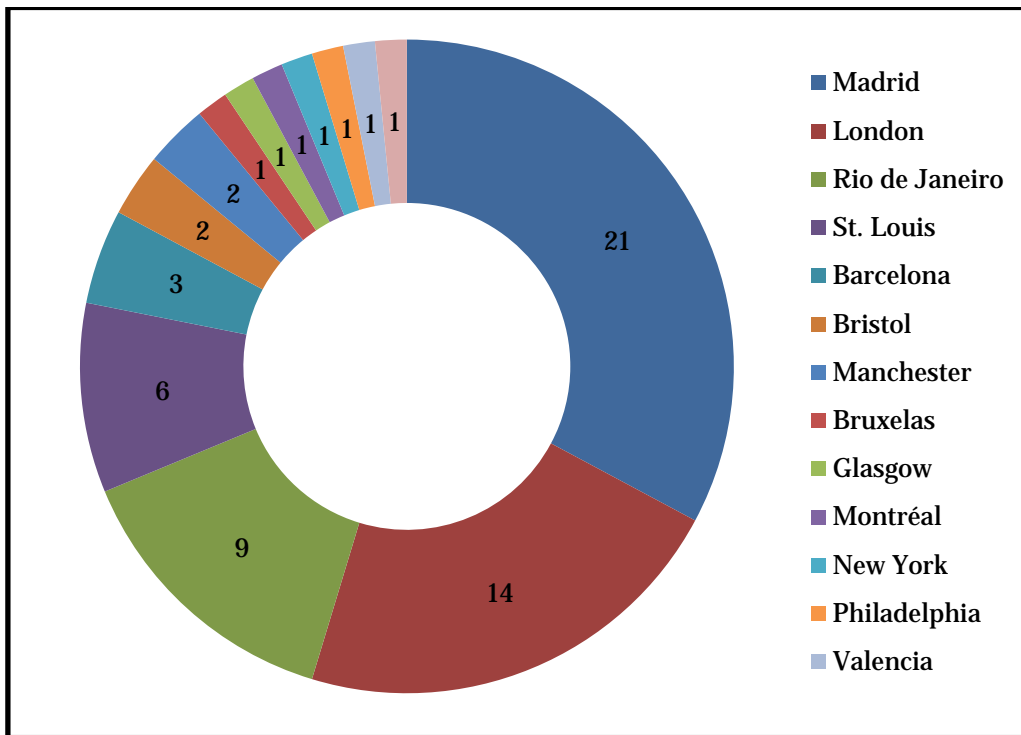


Figure 7 - Correspondence sent to Paris, graphic elaborated from a universe of 171 manuscripts kept at the Haüy Archive in Paris.

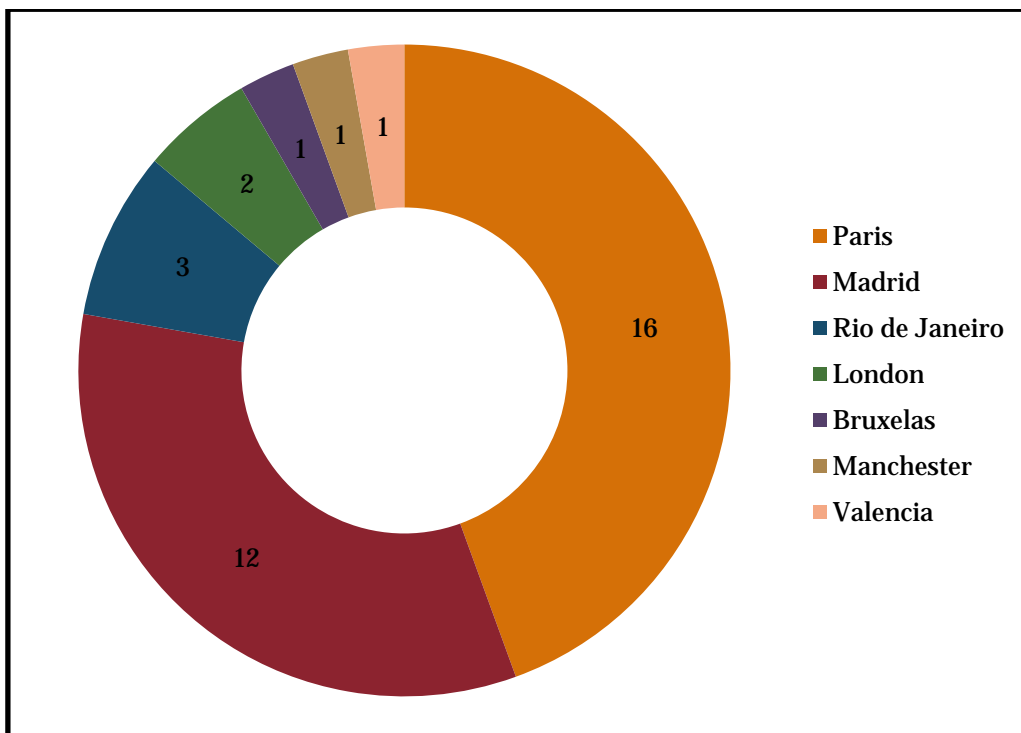


Figure 8 - Correspondence sent from INJA, Paris, to other Institutes for Blind Education or pedagogues working on the field, graphic elaborated from a universe of 171 manuscripts kept at the Haüy Archive in Paris.

Or, in another way of looking at the same interchange of information:

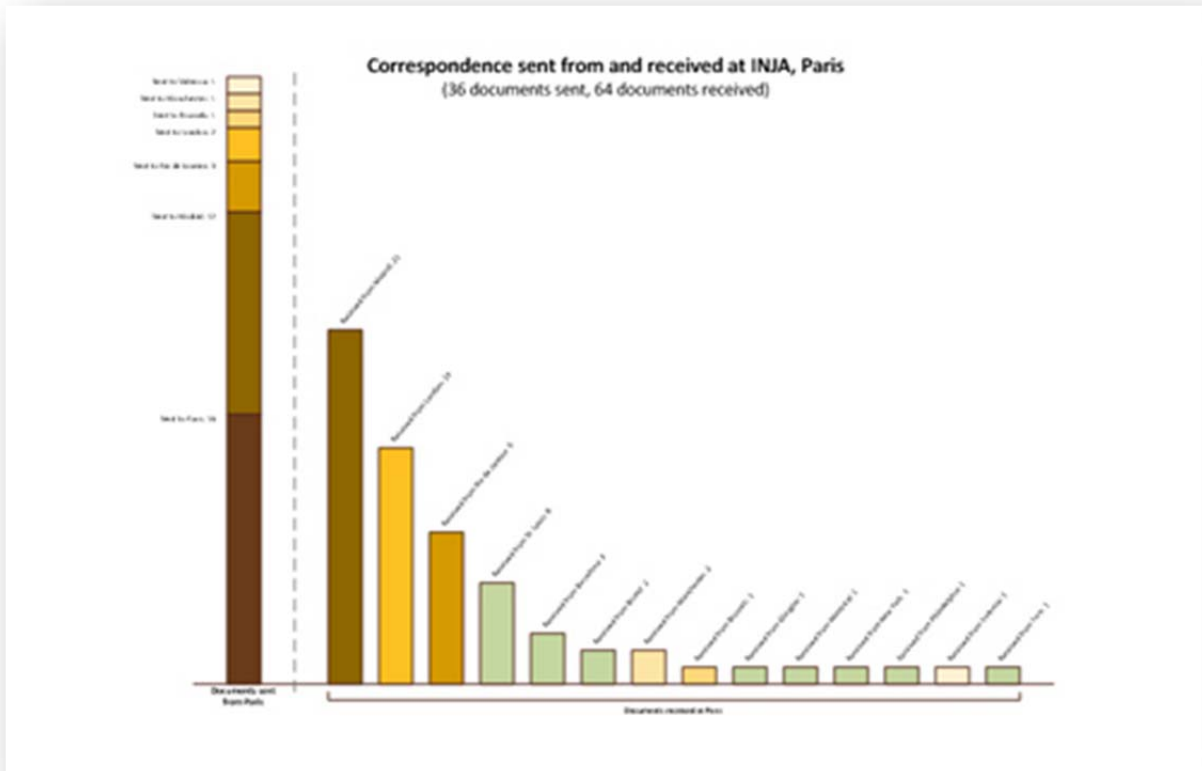


Figure 9 - Correspondence sent to and from INJA, Paris, to other Institutes for Blind Education or pedagogues working on the field, graphic elaborated from a universe of 171 manuscripts kept at the Haüy Archive in Paris.

Discourse was definitely privileged both as source of information and of strategy, either from Paris - with the intention of promoting the pioneer work of INJA– as well as from Spain, United Kingdom, Brazil, United States of America, Belgium and Canada in order to perceive new technical developments, clear doubts, order materials and promote students exchange.

Not included on these graphics, which only show the correspondence series of the Paris archives, were several printed and embossed publications offered from diverse Institutes throughout the western world, particularly during the 19th century, exchanged to and from Portugal, United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, United States of America and other countries, producers and readers

assuming themselves as regular sources of annual reports and magazines, apart from the above mentioned regular correspondence and exchange of students, teachers and materials, some of them still available today at the archives of the Haüy Institute and of INJA, as well as on the Bibliothèque National de France. Attached to this work, the ones analysed for the writing of the current thesis can be found as part of a never ending discourse and ponder on a subject very dear to us, hoping they will be useful on new approaches.

However, there is a missing link, concerning student's discourses, seldom found. On the French case study we worked on a diary: *Une Jeune Aveugle dans la France du XIX siècle* (Weygand; Kudlick, 2004) and of course, on the former interviews of Diderot. Also on the correspondence of Louis Braille recently edited both in French and in Italian⁴³.

But the gap between the reading possibility and the start of autonomous ways of registering personal information may explain the situation. Only a letter, a message, in Spanish, embossed on the equivalent of ink characters and decorated with embossed drawings, mostly flowers and geometrical patterns, probably from an exchange student, was found on Parisian archives. Probably only a few of the produced messages and writings were kept, giving an erroneous impression of scarcity. But the personal show on writing is going to be analysed on section IV.4 as we assume it is an utterly important part of the personal growth required onto a self-government ability and the expansion and knowledge coming to and from instruction and information.

Discourse was the inner circle inside a deeper inner circle. Inmates in a Total Institution were meant to be closed inside a convulsive society and as such would certainly not be given the freedom to correspond without control.

⁴³ Edited by Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles in 1999 and by the Ardizzone-Gioeni Istituto di Catania in 2010, with commentaries from Emmanuele Rapisarda.

The Italian case presents some differences, pragmatically checked by the institution and kept as examples of good intentions and good perception of epistemological production, as shall be demonstrated in chapter VI, regarding the process of the student Antonio Ascenso.

Security justified the differences of voice reach maintained between the keepers and the kept at the modern total institutions, namely schools. And blind schools were not different within the walls of normation and the kind of autonomy pretended for their inmates, as we shall continue to explore as a possibility.

IV.2. ARCHITECTURE, MATERIALITY AND OTHER DISCOURSES

This section intends to explore the importance of architecture on the moulding of the inmate's bodies by means of space management, daily routines, time-tables and scheduled routes. Furthermore, it intends to sensitize the reader to the possible relations of architecture and body, on the one hand through the abiding presence of conditioning physical barriers on the inmates daily life, and on the other hand through the embedding and normalizing of this concept of barrier on the inmates routines, causing a forearm reflex for behavior permanently surveyed by other kind of walls.

Thus, the expression « esthétique raisonnable de la peine » (Foucault, 2004:108) defines the modern institutional architecture application as much on built structure as on the ruling of its inmates. Bentham and Beccaria, body and soul. Were there expectations of some kind towards the particular institutions whose inmates had sensorial particularities and unknown resources?

INJA's architect, Philippon, was not at ease with the concept of blindness, exception made for some obvious care with furniture and eventual inner-decoration sharp ends to avoid, as some other minor details at some spots of the building's interior. But, on a general approach, pedagogues and pupils would have to deal with the school model as it was already defined. Although some asylums adapted several of its characteristics towards specific physic situations, blindness was still being explored, particularly when taken into account what was proposed to M. Philippon: a school space meant to integrate and control bodies meant to lead an outside normal life. In other words, a softened transition space.

Being assumed quickly that INJA's provisory installations did not predict neither hygienist precautions nor an adequate structure for the implementation of disciplinary models of education other than those of the pure management of bodies, this project was too much convenient.

Hygienist rules would prevent diseases, specific spaces – such as the ones for music teaching – would be designed from scratch, and it would become a role model for blind school headquarters throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Of course, the adaptation of the traditional disciplinary models based on Bentham's panoptical theories later studied by Michel Foucault, Erving Goffman and Ian Hacking as total institutions was not easy and suffered several corrections on INJA's headquarters, as later on other buildings. Some adjustments were predictable from the architectural descriptive memoirs: gender segregation, limited social contact, preserving children from family and external social influences, thus preparing them, by their own molded wish and will, to a correct, productive and ordered social role:

« Ce serait commettre une grave erreur que de comparer des établissements qui n'ont aucune analogie entre eux, de juger de l'institution des jeunes aveugles par les collèges ordinaires, les hospices et les prisons, soit quant à l'étendue du terrain, soit quant à l'ordonnance et au chiffre de la dépense. Il n'y a que l'institution des sourds-muets qui puisse servir de terme de comparaison, et encore faut-il plus de local aux aveugles. »
(Phillippon, 1846)

As such, and following the description of M. Phillippon on his architect's *mémoire* document, the first move was to conceive a general plan, designed from scratch, a huge double gendered school for blind pupils, with music making extra demands on space, furniture prepared to avoid physical damages and prepared to lodge extra-large embossed and printed material and three-dimensional objects due for daily use and pedagogical procedures. Following M. Phillippon's own words:

“L'institution, fondée en 1784 par Valentin Haüy, et réunie en 1791 à celle des sourds-muets, dans le couvent des Célestins, occupa en 1795 celui des Catherinettes, rue des Lombards ; puis, en 1801, une partie des bâtiments dépendants de l'hospice des Quinze-Vingts; et en 1815, l'ancien collège de Saint-Firmin, rue Saint-Victor, où elle est restée jusqu'en 1843, époque à laquelle elle a été transférée dans les nouveaux bâtiments, sur le boulevard des Invalides. Le terrain forme un trapèze rectangle allongé de 157 mètres,

sur le boulevard des Invalides, et de 73 mètres 53 centimètres sur la rue de Sèvres ; sa superficie est de 11,800 mètres. Il est entièrement isolé, entre le boulevard et les trois rues de Sèvres, des Acacias et Masséran. Le voisinage de belles et solitaires promenades et le bon air qu'on y respire sont favorables à la santé. (...) La séparation des deux sexes nécessite pour l'institution des aveugles, comme pour celle des sourds-mouets, une bien plus grande étendue de terrain que pour les collèges ; de plus, outre l'enseignement intellectuel, il y a dans les deux établissements l'enseignement industriel qui réclame des vastes ateliers. (...) La musique, qui est pour les aveugles une si grande ressource, exige de nombreuses pièces et cabinets d'étude. » (Phillippon, 1846)

Gender issues were, of course, disseminated from Paris to the next wave of schools for blind founded all over modern Europe. At first, without any more precautions than those of daily movements control. The concept of inner panoptic I am developing while I write this work is found to be particularly useful to deal with this gender mixing issue, as with other disciplinary surprises.

On the chapter fourth of Erving Goffman's *Stigma* (1988) the study of unpredictable behaviors from inside stigmatized communities is deepened, considering that someone with a characteristic liable to be noticed by an external community will probably use sarcasm on itself or its pairs. Otherwise, the reaction can also be both assertive and defensive in relation to new behaviors unknown and weird on that side of the human wall.

How to determine who was different from whom? Maybe some teacher thought some blind student to have a terrible appearance from his weird eye look or behavior, but maybe the student would also think the hand of teacher or assistant that guide him through the new space was greasy and hot and unpleasant to touch and to smell. Maybe for the student some voices were too much aggressive. Maybe we are all really different and the management of a relation between physical and/or sensorial extremes is indeed far more difficult to accomplish than the instruction and communication of daily rules. But the underlying and utmost concept was the utter gating of the soul, so this problem had to be thought and solved. Quoting *Surveiller et Punir* (Foucault, 2004: 151), the use of Bentham's principles was clear, especially when considering the wall

and routine as having the round effect of surveillance for the body, whether or not sight was implied on the process:

« Alors que la taxinomie naturelle se situe sur l'axe qui va du caractère à la catégorie, la tactique disciplinaire se situe sur l'axe qui lie le singulier et le multiple. Elle permet à la fois la caractérisation de l'individu comme individu, et la mise en ordre d'une multiplicité donnée. Elle est la condition première pour le contrôle et l'usage d'un ensemble d'éléments distincts: la base pour une microphysique d'un pouvoir qu'on pourrait appeler a cellulaire. »

Thus, the construction of the building grew side by side with the build of the disciplinary discourses. The architect's memoir of INJA reflects on his writings his preoccupations on gathering all activities, the requirement for archive's space, for music classes, for the keeping of specific pedagogical material, the closure of private rooms for boys and girls, the mobility inside the building, all was considered and pondered in detail.

Of course, at the basis of the project were the 19th century norms on construction of schools, with all the hygienist principles and health preoccupations, all the cabinets for medical and psychological observation, added to ophthalmological cabinets, proper of the institution's objectives.

Comparing the general draw of the building with most later built institutions for blind instruction, particularly on the 19th century: Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, Milan, Catania and many others, we find a pattern based on this cherished experience and the same justifications for adapting spaces and pathways. Even the surrounding gardens are alike and the high walls with a fence gate seem to protect the blind inmates from the looks of the outside while keeping them apart of unwanted talks and contacts, especially from their families, who were, as we know from the study of modern schooling principles, undesired on the same space and sometimes guilty of the state of physical and

moral degradation of the students as can be read in several school reports on sighted students institutions all over Europe during the 19th century. ⁴⁴

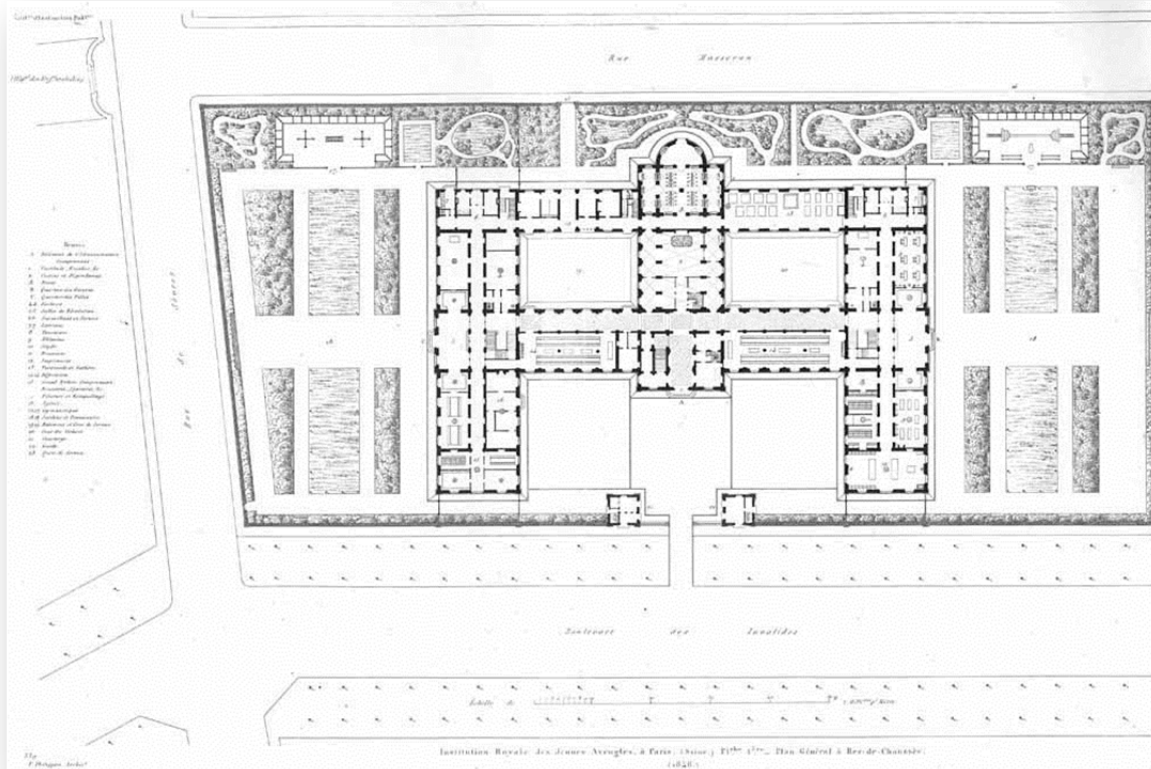


Figure 10 - Phillippon, F., 1836, Plan Général de l'Institut Royal des Jeunes Aveugles. Planche 1^{ère}, Plan Général à Rez-de-Chaussée, [architectural plan], in Phillippon, F., 1846. *Notice sur l'Institut Royal des Jeunes Aveugles*, 1846, Archive de l'INJA, Paris.

The general concern on this huge investment anticipated a notion of disciplinary movement and time regulations that would expand onto general

⁴⁴ A good example is the discourse study made by Ramos do Ó on teachers and medical reports of the Portuguese Liceu Pedro Nunes (2004).

schools through pedagogical magazines, institutional reports and social exhibitions⁴⁵.

For instance, not only did the new school provide a good structure for permanent residence, it also meant to be desired and, as such, coordinated as a privileged daily path.

According to a persistent time-table and an efficient space management, the inmates were meant to steer themselves into the disciplinary grid of routines. Time, action, body control, routines and gestures, all were part of the mind's gates. Movement should be permanently controlled and established as one's will. Every exception should be registered.

The appealing discourse can be read beneath the lines, both for inmates and families. Nothing to fear and everything to wish for, even the most daring social changes:

« Le nombre des élèves dans les bâtiments de la rua Saint-Victor était de 120, dont 90 garçons et 30 filles : d'après le programme il devait être porté dans les nouveaux bâtiments à 200. Déjà le nombre des demoiselles s'est accru dans une proportion qui du tiers est arrivé à la moitié de celui des garçons : il est donc raisonnable de prévoir qu'un jour la différence n'existera plus ; (...) La grande différence entre le nombre des filles et celui des garçons semblait être un obstacle à donner à deux quartiers symétriques la même importance : je la leur ai donnée, dans l'espérance que l'administration fera disparaître un jour cette inégalité, et que les mères ne seront plus éloignées d'envoyer leurs filles dans un établissement qui n'aura plus l'air d'un hospice. » (Phillippon, 1846)

Security and surveillance also assured the reorientation of eventual daring pupils. Thus, the familiar and social segregation of the blind students

⁴⁵ For the Paris school several documents can be of help on this quest for cooperation on modern pedagogy, whether adapted or not. The documents quoted were not referenced by series, but constituted two institutional archives being remodeled on April 2010, when consulted both at Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles and Association Valentin Haüy, in Paris.

was not only common but part of the generic pedagogic orientation for modern schooling. Genetic redemption was attempted through isolation, whence passed the gate, whence assumed a border. Flexibility, movement and agility from the predictable familiar behavior and influences, and segregation from society where common allegiances on pedagogical theories and certainly on Bentham's structure of security for prescriptive buildings such as the presented one. Its requirements regarding the disciplinary codes would establish:

« En résumé, on peut dire que la discipline fabrique à partir des corps qu'elle contrôle quatre types d'individualité, ou plutôt une individualité qui est dotée de quatre caractères: elle est cellulaire (par le jeu de la répartition spatiale), elle est organique (par le codage des activités), elle est génétique (par le cumul du temps), elle est combinatoire (par la composition des forces) » (Foucault, 2004, 46).

and teachers. A specific agility had to be maintained as to keep track of efficiency on all compensatory measures and material investments made by the promoters of the institutions. The porosity of the school to external influences from sighted pupil's schools was also applicable to the materials. And it should be considered that the material objects of a school were not all for pedagogic purpose: there were also needed keys, fences, spoons, sponges, clothes (Lawn, 2003: 11-15). And towards all of them had to be pondered a regular use from blind children and adults.

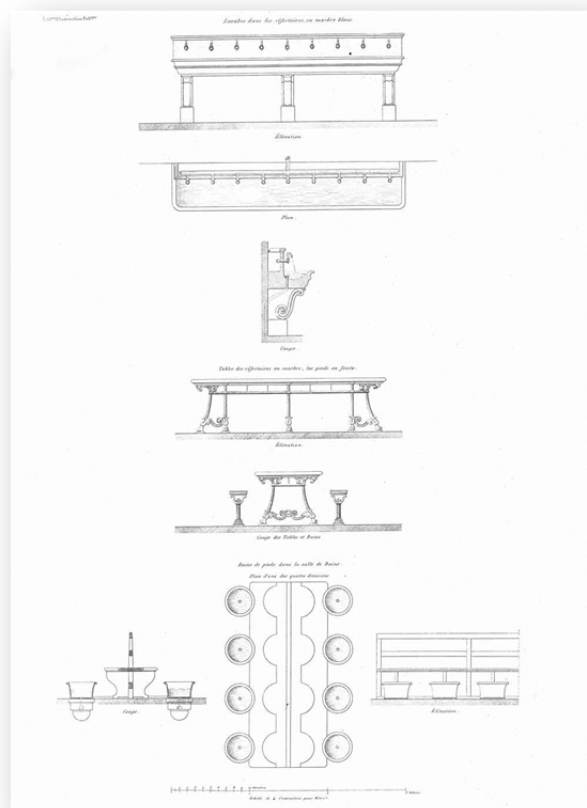


Figure 12 - Phillippon, F., 1836, Plan Général de l'Institut Royal des Jeunes Aveugles. Planche 4eme, Mobilier, [architectural plan], in Phillippon, F., 1846. *Notice sur l'Institution Royale des Jeunes Aveugles*, 1846, Archive de l'INJA, Paris.

Another remark, from so many that could be read on the architectonic issues: bodies should adapt to space and to each other, respecting hierarchy,

time and physical barriers. Even though, on this first essay of schooling for blind children, the classrooms were already adjusted to a much closer physical relation, new procedures of teaching and working were necessary so that the internal routine would not proceed without adjustments and choreographies of touching that prevented autonomous contacts and free-willing actions from the inmate's side.

Finally we take notice of the inhabitants of these walls just described and the users of these objects so carefully conceived. They are the subjects, the characters, the population that lived inside the walls and inside the project there contained: teachers, pupils, families, doctors, social and political visitors, foreign visitors.

A population partly sighted and partly blind that should live daily routines as if nothing existed apart from the existence of a school project designed for them as any other, as if they were the only subjects requiring proper discourses and technologies for personal evolvment and survival on the pursuit of a wishful identity.

IV.3. TEACHERS, PROMOTORS AND INMATES



Figure 13 – Statue of Valentin Haüy and François le Sueur at the court-yard entrance of the Institut National Des Jeunes Aveugles.

The builders take the action on this part of the institutional analyses. Not only the builders of the walls but also the builders of the ideas, the builders of thoughts, the builders of techniques and technologies, and, in particular, the builders of themselves, the utmost achievement of INJA's project.

Starting with the analysis of the work developed by the founders of this huge institutional structure and their relevance, one could assert that INJA was metaphorically built into stone with a coherent pedagogic and disciplinary plan, on the purpose of teaching and educating blind citizens, which would be a task soon assured by state investment, beyond charity support:

“L’institution est administrée, sous l’autorité du ministre de l’intérieur, par un directeur responsable, assisté d’une commission consultative. L’instruction est donnée aux élèves, par un instituteur, assisté de dix maîtres aveugles pour les garçons, et par une institutrice, assistée de cinq maîtresses aveugles pour les filles. L’instruction intellectuelle est primaire et supérieure. – L’instruction primaire comprend la lecture, l’écriture en points saillants, l’arithmétique, la grammaire française et l’orthographe, des notions élémentaires d’histoire, de géographie et des sciences naturelles.- l’instruction supérieure comprends l’étude des langues, la littérature, les mathématiques, la cosmographie, la géographie politique, et des notions de droit. L’instruction musicale comprend le solfège, la vocalisation, l’harmonie et la composition, l’étude de tous les instruments.” (Phillippon, 1846: 2)

Jean Guadet was a methodical and outstanding INJA pedagogue from 1840 to 1871. He deeply justified the foundation and existence of special institutes for schooling on his several writings and actions and shall, thus, claim for particular attention on our speech. We will use most of his writings and speeches on this section because his production on special pedagogy was wide and very thorough, as can be noticed from the sources gathered that are of his authorship.

From the start, he understood the need of a specialization. He thus had the care to separate the blind from the deaf pupils, creating a justified wall between different methods and approaches on social insertion and justifying the project of INJA only for blind pupils, as follows:

“On pourrait donc se résumer ainsi: l’aveugle illettré est comme étranger dans le monde physique, le sourd-muet dans le monde moral; le sourd-muet face à face avec les difficultés matérielles, les surmontera beaucoup mieux que l’aveugle; en présence de difficultés morales, l’aveugle saura prendre un parti bien mieux que le sourd-muet. L’un tranchera le nœud gordien à la manière d’Alexandre, l’autre, comme Œdipe, domptera le Sphinx en expliquant l’énigme. Cette différence radicale entre les aveugles et les sourds-muets montre, il nous semble, combien c’est une idée malheureuse que de vouloir réunir ces deux classes d’êtres dans une même institution. » (Gaudet, 1846, 7-8)

Once defined the cognition and communication aim skills for the inmates of the new institute, a draft of their expected identities was also meant to be defined. Autonomy had to be based on a huge psychological effort on challenging and changing one's identity into a whole new world of requirements that were known not to be possible to fulfil entirely from the start. There came the role of desire, found and explored on the souls of the inmates, as commented by Foucault (2004b) and Hacking (1998), as a motto for their volunteer assignment on their new intended social identity.

It is certain that the use of the personal wish of achievement was an obvious step onto self-government through pedagogical techniques, and this phenomenon is perceivable in each of the amazing discourses of M. Guadet, directed to the students, glorifying their efforts, erasing some minor disciplinary occurrences, heading proudly towards the society outside the gates of the Boulevard des Invalides surrogate home. The learning effort and the success were always referred to as personal efforts and personal glories; the annual prize ceremony was one the most important journeys of the Institute and Guadet's speeches were, for years, the echo of a personal achievement to each one of the blind inmates, as can be checked on both graphics bellow.

A foreword is needed for their proper analysis. The available correspondence starts on 1833 and ends at 1899, but for this purpose we restrained the data only to the first half of 19th century, corresponding to 171 documents from the correspondence series at the Haüy Archive. Considering the documentary content it is quite obvious the need and preoccupation of the promoters and teachers with the adequate ways of transposition from two to three dimensional teaching.

Diverse pedagogical materiality meant a new thought on senses abilities and compensations and a huge investment of time, money and pedagogic research and experiments: the experiences described by Diderot were just a start.

A school intended to be similar to generic schooling, sheltering blind inmates intended to be provided, by the first time, with similar social weapons

of independency to take part on a full citizenship meant a giant step towards an information void. Of course, there were several notices of medical interest and the traditional 19th century observations and taxonomies, perhaps more intense or inclusive of new observation patterns on these specific pupils and their needs still unknown.

As it was, at the time of INJA's foundations and during the first 6 decades, it is our point of view that the effort towards a material balance of the body lacking features was assumed and the correspondence main theme certainly reveals it:

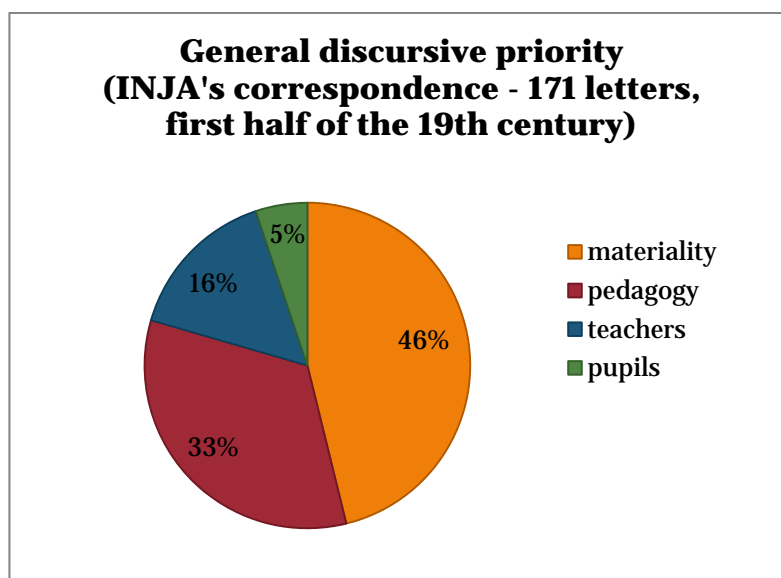


Figure 14 - Chart on 171 correspondence documents from Haüy Archive, sorted on its purport discursive priorities, mostly of technical issues nature.

The appropriated materiality needed for such a school, able to convert a disabled sense into a deep profitable academic life through the intense recovery of the others and of neurologic abilities above quoted and omnipresent in Haüy and Guadet's writings, was to be a new-born field of commerce and exchange that would help promote and disseminate this particular pedagogic path on a trans-national rising world.

If the sense of touch was to be the door to knowledge and the sensorialist proof of concept for bringing up the inner brilliance of these new students, so should the materials predicted for their use: as Phillippon has regarded with care the inner architecture and the furniture design so did Valentin Haüy and the following pedagogues performed their searches for the most appropriate materials concerning the academic and technical disciplines to teach, whether bought, adapted or even created from scratch. For calculus, Saunderson's machine was used:

“c'était une planche partagée en petits carrés rangés horizontalement et à des distances égales ; chaque carré était percé de neuf trous, et c'était par les différentes positions de chevilles placées dans ces trous qu'il exprimait toute espèce de nombre ; cette machine servait également pour la géométrie au moyen de fils qui, passés autour des chevilles, représentaient au tact les figures que les lignes tracées à l'encre ou au crayon représentent à notre vue » (Guadet, 1846, 13).

As for writing, the references are based on the *Lettre's* inferences on the sense of touch (Diderot, 2007):

“l'aveugle de Puyseaux avait appris à lire à son fils avec des caractères en relief mobiles.- Mademoiselle De Salignac faisait usage aussi de caractères en relief mobiles.- (...) Mademoiselle Paradis enfin, avait appris à épeler sur des cartes avec des épingles. Elle possédait une petite presse et des caractères mobiles au moyen desquels elle imprimait sur un papier des phrases qu'elle composait à la manière des imprimeurs, et elle entretenait ainsi correspondance avec ses amis » (Guadet, 1846, 13).

Further developments of reading, writing and musical register techniques, including the development of Braille system, are not part of this first institutional approach that is pretended to be a gathering of intentions and wishes, more of a reading of the technologies and less of the techniques. But, nevertheless, the modifications, study, tests and final adoption of the Braille system for reading and writing need to be highlighted as part of the success of the Paris School.

This embossed six-dot code, generated by the French INJA student Louis Braille over a military twelve dot code developed by Captain Charles Barbier de la Serre for night communication purposes, was a natural solution not only for reading but for a double system of reading and writing. Braille was – as still is - a logical, ergonomic and simplified communication system for both reading and writing by *tactus*. The Paris Institute being the first to teach and to have a reading and writing technique, pedagogically supported, within the best conditions to be tested, developed and diffused, became the natural centre to a worldwide spreading of this ergonomic type. The neurologic easiness of our body's adaptation to a tactile ergonomic solution is, as was, one of the conditions for its success. Braille cells standard size is structured for a human standard index finger and the six dot structure is arranged to be perceived by a moving finger with its *tactus* connectors. It is, thus, large enough to be perceived and to avoid identification problems and small enough to fit our finger tips, with a very good psychophysiological adequacy. In fact, the economy and logic of what would become a universal system, albeit some small variations, was to adequate mass-production printing centres and to easily provide all the needed materials to blind students or workers throughout the world, by the use of a slate and stylus or of the first embossed typing machines (e.g. Foucault, Barozzi or Perkins) thus attaining the pedagogic resources of printed communication of the sighted schools. It was a worthwhile battle.

Concluding the present issue, the relevance of adapted materiality in a school intended for blind students could be as much challenging as a juxtaposition of incompatible spaces, as mentioned by Michel Foucault (1966). Touch and space reading, ear and touch and cognition, were both confined to the gaze of a Panopticon other than predicted by Bentham, but as efficient (Foucault, 2000, 187 and following).

Returning to the graphic's analysis and, as such, to the pedagogic priorities of INJA's first decades, it is of course clear that the second most important category is pedagogy – mainly because of the need to implement techniques and technologies of dealing both with blind students and teachers as with three-dimensional pedagogical material and a whole new set of

communications skills; teachers represent 16% of the issues cared for on INJA's letters series and pupils 5%. It should be noted that these later 21% of importance meant for human resources, givers or recipients of knowledge and social techniques, are consistent on the matters: exchange or hiring of pedagogues, evaluation of blind teachers, evaluation of music teachers, discipline, communication and evaluation of blind inmates, in a word, problems that regular schools did not predict at the time and represent an extra effort to this pedagogic project.

The 5% due to student's issues are of utmost importance for the exclusiveness of the subject on the letters. Every student was a unique situation, foreign students could mean a new look on French pedagogical development and point towards future profitable relationships abroad. Still, this graphic is just a quick reading of a sample and only intends to show that all main subjects of preoccupation, writing, translating and archiving of information are all, in fact, in close relation with the students and their particular needs for special naturalization to learning and training ambiance.

On a second reading of the same correspondence series, and keeping the path of methodological orientation mentioned on the forewords of this work⁴⁶, one finds a second layer of information highly devoted to pedagogic orientation, either on the sense of its search or for the sake of experience's exchange in and outside the Institute.

This priority surpasses two thirds of the documents. On a very distant second rank comes the autonomous future of the inmates, the financial survival of the project and the importance of an effective social moulding of the future citizens, as follows:

⁴⁶ Not only I refer to Michel Foucault's concept of personal archive's drawing, from the series of documents studied towards a particular question (Foucault, 1998) but also to the importance of maintaining the presentation of huge amounts of data very clear for the reader's profit (Tufte, 1983, 1990 and 1997)

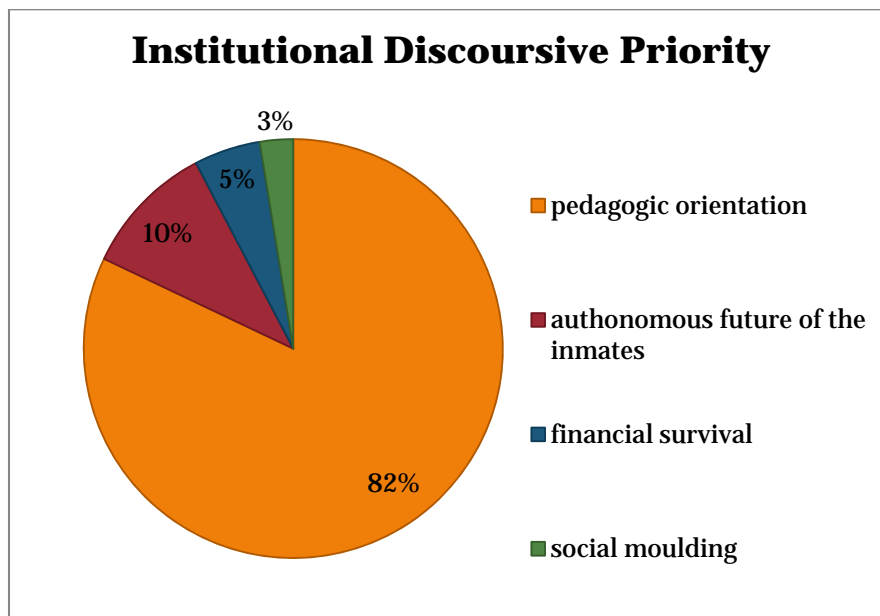


Figure 15 - Chart on 171 correspondence documents from the Haiüy Archive, sorted on its second purport discursive priorities, of institutional contact nature.

One can add that not only do these pie charts allow the reader to assume priorities for a first and second phase of INJA, but they also represent two main lines of pedagogical intervention: praxis and reflection. Pedagogy and social path assumed as cornerstones of possible success from this new institutional ground-breaking approach, go hand-in-hand with the inmate's reaction, ability and initiative. When referring to Diderot's examples of born-blinds that succeeded on adapting daily life to their sensorial requirements, Joseph Guadet pointed out the importance of personal motivation on the process to assume citizenship, such as modernity was drawing it:

“A ce désir de savoir, le ciel a proportionné, je crois, chez l'aveugle, la faculté d'apprendre; à côté du besoin, il a placé les moyens de le satisfaire.” (Guadet, 1846: 10).

So, provided the wish to adapt, only more practical issues were to be assumed as impeachments to overcome. Mobility was one of the main preoccupations, as it could condition autonomy of the students on the institute

and outside its walls. It was the most discrete enemy of a blind person's autonomous life and career, particularly for inexperienced bodies under gaze.

Although the modern assumption of blind person's ability to have a rich, cognitive and autonomous life, concept undertaken from pragmatism and sensorialism, as already suggested, some dependency still encircled personal mobility, in particular on what street pathways were concerned. Few were the theories for improving spatial perception abilities and consequently, the aimed objective of complete autonomy for an independent living.

In what regarded self-sustenance and personal satisfaction, Guadet quoted the example of persistency of Tereza von Paradis:

“Une jeune fille allemande qui, bien qu'aveugle dès l'âge de deux ans, n'en avait pas moins reçu d'instruction, était meme devenue excellente musicienne; (...) ce n'était donc pas une illusion les Aveugles pouvaient recevoir une education libérale; ils pouvaient être, pour ainsi dire, rendus à la société.” (Guadet, 1846: 12).

Nevertheless, opportunities given to its pupils by a specialized institution that predicted mobility factors, working resources, enriched and accepted academic and social skills, plus a new social presentation onto traditional stigmatic characteristics meant a world of difference for blinds at the end of the 18th century. It clearly designed the path to a similar way of mirroring as much as possible the sighted world. Chapters VIII and XV will complete this first approach with further references to normation and identity, as precious outcomes of the pedagogue's investment on their subject's gaze and social adequacy.

Regarding the student's coherent observation and inclusion on this complex gathering of procedures and aims, a last observation must be made on what concerns archives. In fact, panoptical views could also be found in the student's archives, the everlasting gaze of their daily behaviour, a characteristic also common with the regular pedagogic modern institutes. On school, as on justice, the family, the origin, the outside factors were kept as disciplinary

weapons to justify eventual school failures or misguidance of the pupils, no matter the quality of the project. School archives had, therefore, a huge importance on the admittance, regulation of behaviour and assumed a public role of information whence success was achieved.

Architectural projects mentioned them and predicted space for their functioning, which meant observation from teachers and doctors, interviews with the families, regular disciplinary meetings with the students and the register of all the data on personal files. These personal processes grew with academic data, such as grades or prizes, since the admission process.

Monthly bulletins were produced for each student, with two sections. On the first one, one should register the issues on the body and soul, this being the personal and intimate record:

- Health
- Behaviour
- Order
- Gymnastics achievements

On the second section, the students were cared for within their soul by the keepers of costumes, moral and self-control. The two sections being obviously deeply linked; this was certainly the definite gaze that produced the self-panoptic birth, as it was so intense that it produced an inner time-table of constant lessons and studying, surrounded by the first section requirements:

- Catechism
- Reading
- Embossed writing (writing in dots system as it is mentioned on this specific bulletin, notwithstanding the pre-existence of other systems for embossed writing of for voluntary writing perceivable by the sighted)
- Memory exercises (the medical gaze associated with the soul and with the wonders of the unknown brain of the blind and all its mystical surroundings)
- Grammar
- Orthography

- French composition (regarding the inner but also the foreign students inclusion)
- Literature
- Geography
- History
- Mathematics
- Natural History

For each item, four sections for notes from the teachers and/or doctors: the class or division of the student (taxonomy), the grade he had obtained (classification within a group), exams and competitions classifications and achievements (production of minor quality groups within the initial groups for better identification of the self towards the others: more or less productive, more or less competitive, more or less able, more or less bright; in fact, this was the section where patterns of identity could be easily established and used to agilize the student towards an ever mobile quality); finally, a huge space preserved for observations: all that had not been predicted had a space to be registered, nothing escaped to the intensity of the archival gaze.

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	Classe ou Division	Notes	Examens et Concours	Observations
1 ^{re} Section	Santé.....			
	Conduite.....			
	Édification Propre.....			
	Gymnastique.....			
2 ^{me} Section	Catechisme.....			
	Lectures.....			
	Écriture en points.....			
	Exercices de mémoire.....			
	Grammaire.....			
	Orthographe.....			
	Comp. en Française.....			
	Littérature.....			
	Géographie.....			
	Histoire.....			
	Mathématiques.....			
Histoire Naturelle.....				

Figure 16 - Pupil's archival system of control at Institution Royale des Jeunes Aveugles.

In what instruction and human strategy is concerned, there were also several elements on the pedagogic production that could be used randomly to verify the students control and daily procedures, particularly the prize distribution registry, a series wide open to the study of students interchange, gender and ability studies, specialized curricula and normalization of the possible achievements with regular schools. Section III will approach this network of cognition growth. As expressed in the research methodology chapter, these elements are precious to be used not only to define each case study by itself, but also in comparison within a panoramic glance on the three case studies chosen, admirable tales of pedagogical and social development with the help of both mail and travelling of ideas and characters.

Idiomatic differences did not interfere on this exchange of ideas, as exchange programs made easy the translation of correspondence or books. On a letter from the Catalan pedagogue Pedro Llorens y Llatchós, teacher at the Escuela Municipal de Ciegos de Barcelona, to Guadet, in 1862, we get also the second way out of the regional differences and, if not a beginning of universalization of a pedagogic Esperanto, at least, a common understanding of both ways of communication and available resources:

“Querido amigo, oi escribo en español/ porque sè que lo compreendeis bien y por el mucho trabajo que me cuesta es/cribir en francès, pues leo este idioma perfectamente, lo comprendo bien, pero/ lo escribo com pena por la poca práctica (...)”⁴⁷

Another example, trusting on translation, is the letter from the United Kingdom to M. Guadet⁴⁸, exchanging compliments on letters and advises received and also sending painted portraits of British pedagogues. This letter is sent in English and has been kept on the Haüy archives next to a French translation made by a student or teacher of INJA. From Portuguese to French, there is another example, from later on, as long as Pierre Sigaud wrote from Rio de Janeiro in native French. This is an example of cooperation from a Portuguese native in Paris with INJA’s teachers:

“Monsieur,/J’ai l’honneur de vous envoyer/cicontre la traduction de deux/[pa]pages indiques tant dans votre livre/que dans celle de Mme Fournier. Toutes /deux manquent dans la copie les Principes/Elementaires de phisique [sic] que l’on m’a envoyé et dans la traduction desquels/ je n’ai omis que tout ce qui y est / dit au sujet du Criolet, mot dont je n’ai pu trouver l’équivalent portugais (...)”⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Llorenz, P., 1862. *Letter from 24 July 1862, sent by Pedro Llorens to Jean Guadet (Barcelona » Paris)*. [manuscript]. Manuscript collection, 129. Paris: Institut Valentin Haüy. [PHAUYM129]

⁴⁸ Johnson, E., 1863. *Letter from 6 February 1863, sent by Edmund Johnson to Jean Guadet (London » Paris) (translated to French from the original n. 039)*. [manuscript]. Manuscript collection, 036. Paris: Institut Valentin Haüy. [PHAUYM036]

⁴⁹ Moura, C.S., 1856. *Letter from 11 November 1856 (Paris » Paris)*. [manuscript]. Manuscript collection, 010. Paris: Institut Valentin Haüy. [PHAUYM010]

Likewise, and following a letter from 24th June 1857, a hasty correction from Dr. Moura on a music manual⁵⁰, dated 22nd July 1857, seems to give us a assurance of the need for his work, not only considering the brasilian students at INJA but also the books needed to be sent to the Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos, at Rio de Janeiro, particularly considering the death of the pupil Álvares de Azevedo mentioned a the letter of Dr. Sigaud to M. Guadet just after the founding of the Brazilian Institute⁵¹.

The latter examples are utterly relevant as they belong to a specific kind of translation: manuals for learning circulating between schools, already prepared with non visual descriptions, broading several disciplines, and whose essays were innumeros.

On the reverse of the document we found notes written in Portuguese on musical technical issues and therminology, which lead us to think of a resource to professional translators whenever the matter was too specific, as it seems on the text. This also proofs the will for quality and precision on learning of several disciplines, as were teached on sighted children schools, adapting the methology and approach through more accurate descriptions and conceptualization of each subject of knowledge.

The teacher's role and its link towards the blind student subjectivity and conceptualization were indeed taken very seriously and was the core of a quality on a high level instruction. The existence of these and of several other series of documents with their own translations on the reverse, lead us to conclude that once achieved a good work of description of a discipline's manual, it was eagerly

⁵⁰ Moura, C.S., 1857. *Letter from 24 June 1857 (Paris » Paris)*. [manuscript]. Manuscript collection, 144. Paris: Institut Valentin Haüy. [PHAUYM144] and Moura, C.S., 1857. *Letter from 25 July 1857 (Paris » Paris)*. [manuscript]. Manuscript collection, 073. Paris: Institut Valentin Haüy. [PHAUYM073]

⁵¹ Sigaud, P., 1854. *Letter from 15 May 1854, sent by Pedro Sigaud to Jean Guadet (Rio de Janeiro » Paris)*. [manuscript]. Manuscript collection, 001. Paris: Institut Valentin Haüy. [PHAUYM001]

disseminated from school to school, considering that, much more difficult than the idiomatic translation of the work, or even its embossed printing, was the accessible content towards an education that meant reception of information conceptually and thus needed a wider accuracy of discursive description, as shall be studied on the chapter IV of this work.

IV.4. SOCIAL PRESENTATION AND SOCIAL AUTHONOMY

Within the following section, I intend to comment on written and iconographic discourses, and to analyze the new pavement established between blind inmates and their social expectation.

Moulding a blind student with cognitive abilities as a live example of his project's availability was an experiment tried by Valentin Haüy with the born-blind François le Sueur. Young Sueur tested his cognition abilities on four senses, some new adapted pedagogical materials and, mostly, on social presentation concepts. The preparation of a blind student as a successful proof of concept of the potential of sensorial complementarity onto a regular cognitive apprehension of the world, as modern school would want its inmates to perceive it, intended to be a social and academic show of results and gather of supports:

“Haüy lut bientôt dans une société académique un mémoire sur l'éducation des Aveugles, et montra, à l'appui de sa lecture, les résultats obtenus dans la personne du jeune Le Sueur. Le président de la société, le fameux lieutenant de police Lenoir, fut frappé et du mémoire et des exercices de l'aveugle ; il communiqua ses impressions aux ministres, et le comte de Vergennes, le baron de Breteuil, MM. De Calonne et de Miromesnil voulurent être témoins à leur tour des exercices de Le Sueur» (Guadet, 1864).

In fact, Haüy was following the traditional and objective line of sensorialist studies that called so much attention onto itself by philosophers and doctors throughout the late 18th and all the 19th century. It had been clear for long that:

“cette Indépendance radicale des séries perceptuelle les unes par rapport aux autres fait qu'elles peuvent se rapporter les unes aux autres et s'articuler selon des schèmes symboliques ou linguistiques » (Cléro, 2003 :10).

Both the discursive factor and the powerful and accurate kinesthetic characteristics would produce new intellectual models able to assemble different subjects in its relation with the other: study and control of the subject, register and communication of its reactions, abilities and unexpected reactions produced wide archives and consequently writings, exhibitions and conferences, widening the pedagogical and medical gaze on the new blind inmates.

Contributing to our considerations on this issue, the thorough work of Paul Rabinow (2005) on anthropological assemblage of subjects, as well as its link to Michel Foucault and Georges Canguilhem references to normality, wish, need and possibility, opens a new possibility field for broadest empiric analysis.

The core word *problematization* constitutes a perspective of multiple answers to an issue historically presented by means of a result (e.g. blindness or disability). Referring to the theoretical affiliation of this work, one is easily seduced by a path of reconstruction, recurrent in foucaultian methodology, rather than by a one-way track cause-effect positively evolving solutions. This particular method of interpretation of sources is highly dynamic and proceeds, according to Paul Rabinow “from the necessary to the contingent” (2005: 44).

By producing permanent reports on a detailed evaluation of students and the subsequent presentation of results from their social issues (e.g. Le Sueur as representative of the educable blind community) onto social institutions and associations able to manage a coherent social discourse of acceptance of the presented methods and results, Valentin Haüy gathered the main conditions to promote and develop its idea of institute.

Subsequently, the use of Guadet’s speeches as a detached view on the expected pedagogical results was also a broader glance to a project inherited from a similar spirit and will. Guadet’s insertion on the visual culture of the 19th century Paris (e.g. the study of Vaillant, 2001 on the synesthetic ideal and panoptic practices of the French romanticism), filled with literary, philosophical and artistic conventions on sensorial effectiveness and complementarity, became the heir and motive of INJA’s development, effectiveness and fame.

The eight year period whence the French government invested on the blind inmates' education was evaluated through a detailed and positive written report:

“A la fin des huit années accordées pour l'éducation des Jeunes Aveugles, l'administration devait examiner la capacité et les progrès de chaque élève, et constater ses moyens d'existence; l'instituteur devrait rendre un compte détaillé de sa moralité et de sa bonne conduite en consultant les notes semestrielles dont il vient d'être parlé, et un ministre décider si l'élève devait être admis à une des places vacantes parmi les Quinze-Vingts ou s'il devait d'une autre manière être pourvu à son sort. Dans le cas contraire il était tenu de se retirer chez ses parents. » (Guadet, 1864 : 49)

The pedagogical orientation was not as important for social expectancies as the disciplinary and normative ones. As far as Ian Hacking (1998) approaches the construction of what were designed as pathologies or social dependencies, or furthermore, scientific constructions of personal destiny, one was still far from identity recognitions that would allow the inmates to reign over their own social destiny. It was unthinkable to consider an approach to the design of a new being, without any academic requirement on the age of birth of the scientific discourses of truth.

The detachment from an imaginary over-valued representation of the blind subject had to be conciliated with a non-questionable principle of citizenship (i.e. participation of all citizens abled to consume and produce on the new modern nations); this politic endowment was based on man's ability to self-govern himself and his destiny within economic and social parameters and remained inevitably crowded with classic imageries of brilliant inner visions on each case of blind citizen's personal success.

In a way, it can be concluded that Goffman's approach on the stigmatic (1988: 142) or Canguilhem clarification on normality, are deeply present in the strategy for social presentation of a non-normated body on modernity as on contemporary societies. And so, the naturalization of differences and the highlight on the new-born sensorial moulding abilities – developed through the

proper pedagogic stimulus – drew the horizon of the medical and pedagogical intervention on each one of INJA’s inmates preparing them to a renewed social presentation, with their specific and surprising abilities.

When glancing at the three photographs that follow, details of the engraved mural at the front of INJA’s headquarters, teachers and students are meant to be presented as blind (eyes closed but unveiled, position of the body assuming priority towards hearing and touch) on a brave new world of proper clothing, proper attitude and proper learning ambiance.

All three images reflect the ideal of the inside of the wall they so beautifully enclose: teachers and students in harmony, bodies in touch, communication perceivable from afar, pedagogical materials similar but not equal to the sighted students ones. High concentration can be found on their expressions: heads up haughtily, focused faces, pacified postures. Every detail in these statues reveals the perfection of inner knowledge and inner light as pretended. They constitute a permanent standard to the outside society, a glimpse of the inner harmony of Haüy’s project.



Figure 17 – Statue of Blind teacher and pupil studying a Globe, part of the front of INJA’s headquarters in Paris.



Figure 18 – Statue of Blind Music Teacher and two pupils near an organ, reading an embossed score.



Figure 19 – Statue of Blind Teacher and three pupils near using embossed books and calculus apparatus, detail of the front decoration of INJA, Paris.

This new building, so deeply described by his architect, was built after the deep crisis of the 40's, and was also built under new regulations. This institutional rebirth gathered new disciplinary conditions to be exercised, due to the experience of the first decades of functioning and of a new and deeper knowledge on procedures tested in and out of France's borders.

The expert Pierre Henri, considering the differences of teaching at the new INJA building, remarks that the discussion and disproportion between sighted and blind teachers had, at the time, disappeared. All the new rooms had partially glassed doors, allowing a more efficient panoptic control, meaning the possibility of being supervised without notice from the outside of the room (1984:174-176). These new architectural facilities met easily the power dissymmetry and unbalance that Foucault remarks over Bentham's writings: the lust for knowledge, not only cognitive but social, branched out on a new power possibility of social balance, unexpected and fruitful (Foucault, 1987: 166-167).

The inmates display, whether in or out the institution, would no longer be unpredictable, even though part of a project that, on a first approach, would not gather sensorial conditions to apply the Panopticon principles as they were understood by total institutions and this statement was definitely written in stone on the statue of Valentin Haüy and Le Sueur and on the building's frontispiece high reliefs, whose details can be observed on the three photographs above.

Allowing architects and pedagogues to be the flag holders of this institutional discourse, one may identify the search for self-government possibility and social identification, beyond sensorial differences, through an haptic relationship established both on body and building, as the requested purpose of this first institutional essay. Accordingly, the question presented on the periodic *L'Instituteur des Aveugles*, in its 6th issue, dated mars 1857, page 7:

“quand la société a donné l'éducation à un enfant aveugle, quand elle a fait de lui un homme éclairé, un bon musicien, un ouvrier habile, elle a rempli sa tâche au point de vue philosophique ; mais au point de vue de l'économie sociale, elle n'a rien fait encore, et elle n'aura rien fait tant qu'on pourra lui dire : Cet homme, que va-t-il devenir ? ».

These words regain sense on Guadet's discourse on the student's prize distribution ceremony, the same year, as the government overlay on the project stands on his purpose of gathering the students on the first range of international institutions intended for blind citizen's assemblage.

Whence the internationalization of blind education was already such a reality and scientific interest that the prizes mention a high percentage of foreign exchange students and Guadet's speech warns the children into the shame of losing the first rank on blind education dynamical international institutes (Guadet, 1856).

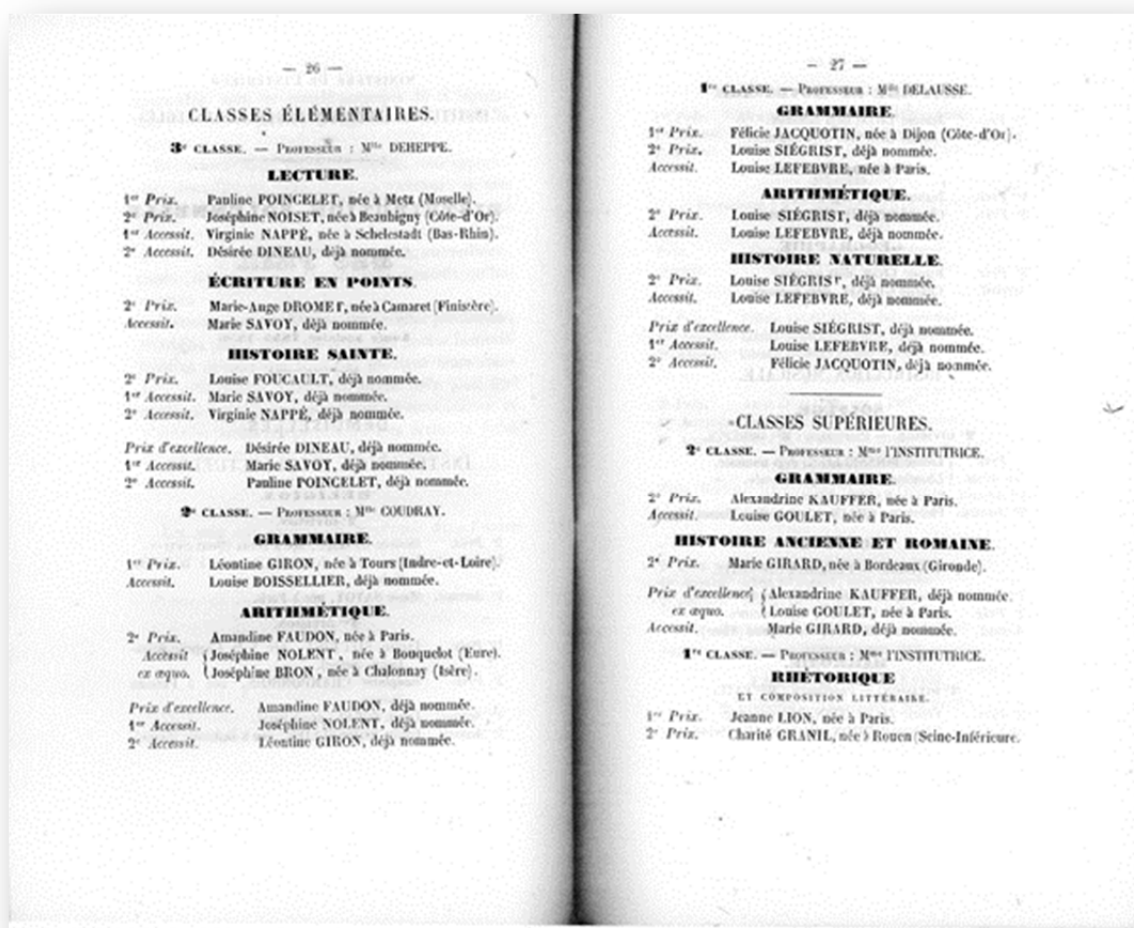


Figure 20 - Prizes delivered at the year 1856 by M. Guadet, INJA, Paris.

Referring to Erving Goffman on total institutions, this implication of inmates towards the tutoring institution was and is considered common:

“Institutional display, whatever its audience, can also convey to inmates that they are connected with what is the best institution of its kind. Inmates seem surprisingly ready to believe this of their institutions. Through such a belief, of course, they can feel they have a status in the wider world, even though the very condition that exiles them from it.” (1961: 104).

From the outside world also came the inspiration on some independent writings of blind citizens. Scarce, since issued from a France in social convulsion, they had the chance of being preserved until our days, and their reading should be a window for new possibilities of perception on the socially expected by the authors.

The *mémoires* and considerations on education of Thérèse-Adèle Husson (1825), the commentaries of Alexandre Rodenbach to Diderot’s *Lettre* (1828) and Louis Braille’s letters (1831-1851) are rare testimonies of first person speeches from blind persons contemporary to our case studies. They are not our main issue of analysis, but we retain their reference for future comparative discourse studies, new windows on the inner thoughts on development in and outside total institutions.

The first source quoted is a diary, a blind woman’s diary, a girl living at the Quinze-Vingt’s Institution that managed to dictate and print a very common literary style of books on her time – a manual of behavior for girls – but with the astonishment of coming from the perception of someone locked in an institution, from whom we have no perception of what kind of information and readings and socialization were permitted.

Thérèse-Adèle Husson questions the role of the women on society, marriage, knowledge, disability and even the issue/possibility of self-government. Although the text has been probably subject of discussions on each

and every theme, as far as it went from the heart of the author to the writer's minds⁵², it has a lot of personal investment and deep personal reflexions on a disabled woman of the 19th century France. For us and our study, it interests in particular the possible access of a French woman, in a 19th century asylum, over magazines and books recently published, as there were several at the time, in Paris.

Was the pedagogical and sociological production of authors such as Haüy and later on, Guadet, spread and read by the blind themselves outside INJA's institutional womb? At the time of this writing, the Quinze-Vingts institution was already producing alternatives for self-sustenance to its inmates. For sure, work was a socially accepted alternative from begging or even from dependency for life. But the real interest of this diary is the ponder, as we quoted above from other blind person's testimonies, life alternatives and a well brought system of thought and evaluation of the outside, without any kind of contamination from a prescriptive upbringing such would be the one of the INJA's blind inmates and every other student of modernity.

This rare diary and its study by the specialists on disability studies Zina Weygand and Catherine Kudlick led us more close to a changing world and to an essay of independent life, as much possible as the surrounding conditions allowed it, and particularly, to the wish of registering and sharing ideas on a self under construction⁵³.

⁵² "Plusieurs facteurs relatifs au fond comme à la forme du document nous incitent à penser que le rôle des individus qui aidèrent Husson dans sa rédaction ne fut pas limité à un simple travail de transcription. Le style est par exemple souvent calqué sur la langue parlée, ce qui permet de penser que le texte a pu naître de nombreuses discussions." Weygand, 2004:70.

⁵³ "Nous pouvons seulement constater combien il était alors difficile pour des aveugles pauvres – fussent-ils instruits et particulièrement entreprenants – de vivre de leur travail et d'échapper ainsi au contrôle social exercé sur les aveugles indigents par les responsables des institutions d'assistance. Désespérés et vivant constamment dans la peur du lendemain, la plupart des aveugles pauvres acceptaient de mener une existence sans bruit et sans se poser trop de questions. Parmi eux se trouvait néanmoins une Thérèse-Adèle Husson, qui paya très cher le désir d'être reconnue par la société, l'audace d'écrire sur sa propre expérience (...)" Weygand, 2004: 122.

Of Louis Braille's letters, whose originals are at the INJA's archives and library, and were recently published in French and in Italian, we perceive a different sense of writing. Dated from 1831 (the year before the death of Husson) and 1851 (the year before his own death), this correspondence gathering is not as personal as it may seem on a first approach. All the letters have a purpose, institutional, social or pedagogic. They are mostly directed to his personal friend and INJA's director, Pignier, and they aim to keep a link to the institution that allowed him to grow intellectually and to develop pedagogical projects such as the Braille system itself, as also music notations studies. His interest for his masters and colleagues is permanent, his writing style very cared for and elegant, and his humanity deep towards the house whose link is deeply highlighted by his writing. This is a more personal approach on a subject as long as most of his letters were written by himself.

The young man that used a military code from the authorship of Captain Barbier de la Serre and adapted it into a double feature code: both for reading and writing had for himself communication as a living art. His epistemology has come to prove this, although the *corpus* is not very wide nor diversified on matters, but the style and systemacy of his link to the institution from whence he has reborn after his accidental blindness, is already a sign of the new times. School was turning into a definite path of possibility both for sighted and for blind students and Louis Braille's letters are cornerstones to this hypothesis. Either the letters handwritten, either the rapigraphed letters, or the dictated few ones, are all part of the mind of a preoccupied young man on his working life as a teacher, a musician, a pedagogue, a friend and grateful to the house that represented his personal link to knowledge, to society recognition and to his own identity as human being and professional.

Quoting the first of Louis Braille letters, to INJA's directeur M. Pignier: "en vous écrivant moi-même je m'expose à ne pas être compris ». And certainly that was the missing step, the assumption of oneself as a producer of thought and of knowledge.

Other letters, like the correspondence to Johann Wilhelm Klein, of the Vienna Institute, that would so much influence the future Institute of Milan, tend to be technical and practice, spreading his six dot reading and writing embossed method.

Through class privileges and its possibilities of private education or assuming the new movement of schooling for which they were now invited, the blind were, by means of the revolution of writing, able to express themselves and be part of a system of production and dissemination of ideas without any dependency. The dice had been rolled.

Comparison of details on the following chapters between the French and the other two case-study institutions, such as the spreading of this first pedagogical project and the destiny of those intended to be classified, informed, normated and socialized, will be presented to the reader on section III, which follows.

CHAPTER V – THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN SOCIETY FOR IMPROVING EMBOSSED LITERATURE FOR THE BLIND, UNITED KINGDOM, 1868

V.1. FOUNDATION AND PURPOSES

“The first asylum and school of instruction for the blind in this country was established at Liverpool in 1790. It was set on foot by Rev. Henry Dunnet, the Rev. John Smyth, and others, the object set forth being, ‘to render the blind happy in themselves and useful to society’. Three years later the Edinburgh Blind Asylum was founded by Dr. Johnstone, a minister of North Leith, and by Mr. David Miller, a teacher in Edinburgh. The chief object of the founders was to teach a blind a trade, so that they might, if possible, maintain themselves by their own industry. At first the house was an asylum; then there was added a school for young blind persons (...).” (Illingworth, 1910: 71)

As can be inferred from the above quoted text, all realities are constructed; they can be different and similar at the same time, not only in dimensions of time and space, but also accordingly to the perspective of the observer. The unusual perspective of an asylum with authonomic purposes over its inmates and the daring aim of proceeding first with the experiments and only afterwards institutionalizing them lead our reflections onto a diverse reality from that we were analysing until now. Of course, in a way, it is the researcher, the narrator – as long as he cannot help to be also a reader of texts, images and actions – which creates the illusion of geographic, political, educational, utopic or heterotopic paths. But wouldn't it be too plain to just write something expected, unfolded, as a life without death in sight?

Universal as were the Modernity purposes on education and instruction, they did not surpass regionalities. All realities differ precisely because only fragments constitute them. As such, Illingworth's quote above is a precious foreword to this chapter, supporting the pretended withdrawal movement from an apparent coherent reality that I, as the writer, and the possible readers, were

sharing until now. Minds should open at this turn of the narrative to a new approach on the same question. How many times are we able to exercise this power on ourselves until a subject is composed and decomposed and deepened enough? How many essays spring from an issue, one after the other, expanding our thoughts to unknown borders? The choice of these archives was not made at random; it had the purpose of reaching diverse contents and to work them methodologically as fragments of a whole.

To call upon this new fold of an apparent similar reality, one should start by understanding the first difference of this new window over modern blind schools: geographically speaking, the current map for this chapter corresponds to the actual United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, founded by a parliamentary act from 1927. Since the 1707 Act of Union, which defined England and Scotland as the Kingdom of Great Britain, until the Act of Union of 1800 which included the Kingdom of Ireland, United Kingdom was a dated common use expression with a different political meaning from the one it carries today⁵⁴. For the sake of simplicity, we are assuming it, following the habit of the 18th century common designation. Our fragments of a rich archival *corpus* on the blind schools of another place, at the same time, are also defined by cultural and political regionalisms, as we have been safeguarding on behalf of the comparisons required to answer one question through three windows.

As we did when studying the first French school for the blind, we will not try to write institutional history but only to analyse the second of three perspectives on the same issue called institutional schooling, whose crib was Modernity. Also, the call upon the United Kingdom does not follow a specific order of study, but leads to a closer and richer notion of disparity towards our thoughts on the French initiative and discursive production, as this second case study has some discursive surprises and particular pragmatism towards materiality that deserve a closer look. It will also be our intention, on the following pages, to compare, to read and to exhort similarities and differences

⁵⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_kingdom [2012-09-08]

from the former situation and to prepare the comparison to the last of the three case studies: the city of Milan.

Due to a specific and broad evolving of the charities and asylums throughout its territory, it is only natural that less generic essays on this theme of blind scholarization are found over the United Kingdom's situation, nevertheless, that is not our path nor do we have the ability with the current series of documents, to proceed into such a huge project. It is however our intention to explain this non priority effect of historicization over such industry and investment on blind education since the end of the 18th century through cultural regional specificities, recurring once more to Jürgen Schriewer's considerations on comparative history and regional sustenance on universal systems⁵⁵.

Regarding the United Kingdom, and attempting to establish as priority a look on the way blinds were considered at the end of the 17th century and onwards and also what kind of social, political and institutional reactions this vision raised within modern times with the advent of the institutional schooling movement, it is notorious that the pedagogical discourse is a lot more disseminated on our sources, and also a lot more more focused both on materiality and on autonomy of the studied subject outside the school or of any other institutional establishment, as we read on Illingworth's words quoted above.

Our first references on what may be designated as the pre-history of the blind authonomy movement in the United Kingdom, and safeguarding individual situations of individual achievement – such as the Sauderson case⁵⁶ – find several discourses produced either by asylums or home assistencial associations, which predicted the importance of authonomy, work and

⁵⁵ Schriewer, J., Martinez, C., 2003. *World-Level Ideology or Nation-Specific System-Reflection?*. Lisboa: Educa.

⁵⁶ For details on Nicolas Sauderson's (1682-1739) life and work, Cambridge University has a specific homepage rich in biographic and academic details on his management of the Lucasian Chair since 1711. Cf. <http://www.lucasianchair.org/18/saunderson.html> [30.09.2012]

production from every human being as the leitmotif of technical instruction, starting with the reading and writing issues as definite priorities. Each one of those discourses and the praxis surrounding the blind person's subsistence assumed, in Britain, that specific preoccupation: a practical knowledge forwarding situations of less institutional dependency, aiming particularly towards reading and working, both treasured as the cornerstones of autonomy at the 18th century Britain.

Such was the purpose of the third edition of John Alston's⁵⁷ book *Statements of the Education, Employment and Internal Arrangements adopted at the Asylum for the Blind, Glasgow, with a short account of its founder and general observations applicable to similar institutions*, dated from 1836, as follows, both for the school of industry and for the general school, with regulations differing as to the necessary managements should differ on age and teaching, but leading the whole of the inmates on a same purpose of self-sustenance:

“School of industry:

All blind persons capable of working, who have a residence permanently or occasionally in Glasgow, or its immediate neighbourhood, so as to sleep and take their meals in their own or their relations' houses and whose character and circumstances shall be approved of by the Directors, may be admitted into this branch of the Institution. (...) All Persons admitted into the school of industry, shall behave orderly and peaceably, observe the hours and comply with the regulations of the Asylum.” (Alston, 1836: 36-37)

⁵⁷ John Alston (1778-1846), merchant and manufacturer of printings, justice of peace in Glasgow and honorary treasurer of the Blind Asylum founded by John Leitch. The work on several sets of embossed characters was his greatest achievement, having been adopted in Paris for a while, before the definitive adoption of the Braille alphabet. Alston's experiments were of the Illyrian or Slavonian alphabet modified, later on, in 1836, on Roman characters, on the system of movable letters, placed in small tablets of wood that slid in grooves. Essays with the string system were soon discarded as too complex. His target was the production of embossed books at a low cost. For more details on the life and on the work of John Alston, we suggest cf. <http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/airgli/airgli0401.htm> at Glasgow Digital Library [2012.09.30].

“School of General Instruction:

Boys

1. No boy shall be admitted under Ten or above Sixteen years of age
2. Besides Religious Instruction and Elementary Education, each boy shall be taught such Branches of Trade, carried on in the House, as may be suited to his capacity, and inclination.

Girls

1. Girls shall be admitted into the House appropriated for their reception, in the same manner as Boys (...)
2. Girls shall receive Board, Washing and Lodging, at the same rate as Boys, and be instructed in the various branches of female industry, and in the principles of religion and the elements of general knowledge.” (Alston, 1836: 37-38)

The admission of two kinds of inmates, elder for technical education and youngsters for general learning and working purposes, meant two different pedagogical approaches, and also some previous independence of the elder inmates regarding spatial autonomy. On the regular meetings for social presentation purposes, the most autonomous were kindly encouraged as examples of persistency and the path between home and school or school and work were considered as indispensable to their knowledge and easiness to accomplish daily without further help.

Regulations and disciplinary measures were very similar as to the ones of the general modern school on what concerned behaviour, punctuality, obedience and self-government:

“Terms of admission:

1. No person shall be admitted to work, nor any Boy or Girl received to reside in the Asylum, till the Directors be satisfied as to the health, character and qualifications of the applicant (...)” (Alston, 1836:38)

Also, on the General Rules, gender interaction was predicted and set both on time and occasion:

“No intercourse shall be permitted between the Male and the Female branches of the Asylum; nor shall the Boys and Girls enter the Buildings appropriated to each others’ use, except when they are assembled for Family Worship, or Religious Instruction.”

And further on, over disciplinary conditions, surveillance and punishments, the writing – and repeated listening by the blind inmates – of the forbidden behaviours, were expected to create, by means of cutting on allowances or on opportunity of an autonomous life, a constant self-control, as in other schools:

“Every instance of inattention to hours, improper language, disorderly conduct, indecency or immorality, shall be reported to the Treasurer, who shall report the same to the Committee of Directors, if necessary; and punished by admonition, forfeiture of earnings or in cases of gross delinquency or repeated misconduct, expulsion from the Asylum.” (Alston, 1836: 39)

On the preliminary remarks, Alston had studied in detail the sensorial options of human bodies and its rules and aims for this asylum-school were based on a personal theory, perhaps influenced by its own low-vision condition, that a lack of a sense, particularly the sense of sight, should not be an argument for withdrawing anyone from education nor from the achievement of a regular and autonomous working life. These first remarks and rules are followed by general statistics on blindness, and then the historical and civilizational argument of the France School as a leading example for his own project.

In the same introductory chapter, Alston describes the essays on writing, which was of his most treasured projects: Gall’s alphabet, his own essays, and the string alphabet difficulties, details which we will cover on chapter V.4.

The title of the work, the most ancient we have found in the archives and libraries we had the pleasure to work in the United Kingdom during our research year, highlights three features that are meant to be the aim of this revised third

edition: education, employment and internal arrangements. As far as we perceive John Alston's intentions and context the title manages to reunite the care, the discipline and the production intentions. And that was the aim of the majority of the British Institutions: to produce a useful citizen, not just to avoid beggary, nor to worship sensorialist theories, but pragmatically to add working forces to an industrial Britain leading to prosperity and human achievement. Considering the priorities of an industrialising United Kingdom as human resources, materiality and production, it would only be natural a movement of inclusion and profiting of population that included the utmost of its population able for working purposes. To produce was an established rule and a citizenship privilege. Therefore, we find another level of priorities either on personal inclusion wishes as on economical requirements of management, as stated on John Alston's work, as on other which followed, marking a very regional transtition from the asylum to the scholar system of the blind inmates in the United Kingdom:

“The Blind can be taught to earn an independent livelihood for themselves, without much expense to the public; and at the same time, they are susceptible of receiving a share of the intellectual, moral and religious information which is at the present time diffused among all classes of the community.” (Alston, 1836:9)

Furthermore, outlining these priorities through a search on the literary references of blind people until the end of the 19th century helps the understanding of their outcome from the social border to which they were bound: the first allusions to this issue come from a glimpse at the immense database of the British Library, and are not only tales of blind mendicants but also data on education and information documenting medical and pedagogical interventions, as follows:

- *History of J. Mitchell, a boy born blind and deaf, with an account of the operation performed for the recovery of his sight*, James WARDROP, London, 1813.

- *The extraordinary and singular history of Sir Simon Montfort, the blind beggar of Bethnal Green and his affectionate daughter Besse, etc.*, Simon MONTFORD Sir, London, [1830?]
- *Outlines of Natural History. Quadrupeds, embossed for the use of the blind*, Glasgow, 1842.
- *Light for the Blind: a history of the origin and success of Moon's system of reading ... for the blind*. William Moon 1819-1894. London: Longmans & Co., 1873.
- *On Spectacles: their history and uses. By Professor Horner. Society for the Prevention of Blindness and the Improvement of the Physique of the Blind*, Baillière, Tindall & Cox: London, 1887.
- *The Yorkshire School for the Blind* (Wilberforce memorial.) Reprinted from "The history of York: its men and its institutions" (as published in the "Yorkshire Weekly Herald"), by Wm. Wallace Hargrove, J.P. with an introduction by the very Rev. Arthur P. Purey-Cust ... Nine illustrations. William Hargrove 1788-1862

This incidence of publications on pragmatic issues of blindness and the existence of numerous institutes and societies pondering and acting on the blind social inclusion as a reinforcement of workforces both autonomous and useful, brand new possibilities on a industrializing United Kingdom, leading to several considerations on the role of pedagogy *versus* industrial teaching.

So, asylums and schools that included the management of blind persons, at the late 18th and during the first half of the 19th century, in the United Kingdom had mostly work and teaching plans for its inmates, and these intended to leave or to proceed with useful and productive work, following a social logic for human resources. Another example of regulation from the beginning of the 19th century:

“Whereas a Charitable Institution was formed in the City of Bristol by diverse benevolent Persons of **both sexes**, and hath ever since been continued: and whereas the Objets of the said Charity are **taught and employed in several useful Trades and Occupations and formed to habits of industry and Good Order (...)**”⁵⁸

The care on the blind subjects was already following a pattern of Modernity Panoptic, considering the most important values were allways highlighted as the education for authonomous working life and the prescribed good social procedures issued from the several regulations analysed.

These intitutions were geographically widespread but had a deep relation between themselves as to medical progress, pedagogic materials and particularly onto reading and writing techniques, the main link of body and thought by the preservation and spreading of knowledge and by the possibility of its autonomous register.

As to higher social classes, and besides the home education systems that persisted all through the western world side by syde with schooling integration, at the last quarter of the 19th century, we read another british pedagogical report, from the Head Master of the College for the Blind Sons of Gentlemen, within the same concern for authonomy, with more assertiveness on the possible achievments of his inmates:

“Not to take up further time in preliminary remarks let us say at once, allowance being made for his circunstances, the blind man’s mental constitution, his perception, capacities, argumentative and memorial powers *are exactly the same of those of the seeing*⁵⁹. Experience which had pointed this out to be the case in a few instances, now shews it to be true generally, that if the required oppportunity be given to the blind, they will use it as successfully as the seeing. To claim would be more arrogant: the facts shew

⁵⁸ Anon., 1832. *An Act for Better Governing and Regulating an Institution, in the City of Bristol, called and known by the Name of “The Bristol Asylum, or School of Industry for the Blind”*. Royal Assent, 23 May 1832. s.l.: s.n. [BSTOCKPORTP004] (Highlights from the author of this work).

⁵⁹ Highlight from the original text.

that we can not claim less. (...) Whatever standards of excellence are adopted among the seeing, the blind boy can reach and surpass (...). What he wants is opportunity, books, teachers and the means of getting within reach of them." (Foster, 1879: 10-12)

The United Kingdom, such as our sources revealed, created a consensual net of belief on the abilities of the blind. With few or more financial means, institutionally or home educated, the blind were considered part of a useful population, creative, hard-working and with several examples of personal success. We could call it the *Saunderson effect*, due to the strong precedent that this Cambridge optic and mathematician opened on the early 18th century, leaving its mark on all posterior pedagogical speeches, and being mentioned in Diderot's writings, as a proof of concept that the blind were intellectually as able as the sighted and that the University was for sure one of the possible fields of dream to every man, no matter the lack of a sense.

As such, and in despite of the regional strength of the quoted independent movements for inclusion of citizens considered available for work, intellectual life and personal autonomy, the United Kingdom as a whole was concerned with the enlargement of the concept of charity and willing to focus on the production of practical solutions to learn and improve other countries' experiments on this particular issue. The sparse disabled education systems essayed were now involved on a different standard situation, communicating between them, developing a country policy and although respecting the existence of asylums, charity societies and experimental schools, the efforts on medical and pedagogical research were to be centralised and normalised as much as possible, with the support of the King.

On the advantage of British pedagogues being quite up to date as to other countries proceedings on education, their judgment was particular and their attitude critical enough in order to obtain efficient solutions to severe social and political issues. Besides the traditional European asylum management of blind inmates, there could now be found an assertive questioning on this proofed possibility of the blind intellectual ability which served as a motto for medical

and pedagogical development of personal control solutions, rendering possible to the government a form of control inexistent until that unity was performed.

Whether British asylums and pedagogical experiments on blind students, were bearers of a different structure from non-Anglo-Saxon countries, as can be perceived on the strength of arguments associated to embossed writing systems, which persists until current times, whether british pedagogues believed on the blind's abilities to authonomy, whether the discourses of the British asylums were quite particular on their gazing over the blind inmates, predicting a possibility of new resources on general education, based on the sensorial potency of mankind, once a lack was detected and all the nervous system cooperated onto new folds, surprising and empowering, the study, classification and centralization of the statistical information on its success became a need for the statal management of the people as far as the sighted students were being led to the same process.

“It seems strange that there should be a doubt in the mind of any one of the expediency of educating the blind” was the first statement of John Alston, founder of the Glasgow Asylum.

As far as discourse efficiency is concerned, and regarding sensorial specificities, Alston was quite assertive: “Should it be objected to that they are incapable of receiving instruction through the same means by which it is communicated to others, the objection only proves the necessity of endeavouring to devise such methods of conveying instruction as may be best suited to their particular circumstances.” (Alston, 1836: 1)

All over Britain, asylums as total institutions were regarded as improving fenders for the help of the non-profitable, dependable, members of society, such as the blind, in a particular way that distinguished this sociological territory from others. As such, the initial inquiry on our institutional sources took in account some methodological precautions, such as regional specificities (Nóvoa, 1995: 20; Schriewer, 2000: 109).

Whether or not most monographs on this particular issue considered Glasgow and Liverpool Schools as the pioneer institutes for education of the non-sighted, their discourses and methodologies would soon be taken into account as schooling systems in development.

Deepening the analysis on this pedagogic specificity of the United Kingdom adapted teaching towards blind inclusion, it is perceivable that not only the above mentioned institutions but also several civic movements clearly meant a reproductive yet meaningful process of technical education both of children and adults; despite their theoretical approach to social inclusion through charity purposes, they created a good technical and material basis for mostly of blind's subsistence.

The means required by the blind themselves, by their families and by their teachers were soon developed in Britain and the Glasgow Asylum we started to identify had already several resources for teaching, exemplified in John Alston's works, as can be seen on the following set of figures, 21, 22 and 23, requiring long pondering on pedagogic and material issues and years of students observation, on the pursuit of their hypothesis for following the technical careers or the academical means for learning without the sense of sight available. But then, we are dealing with examples from the country that published thirteen volumes on algebra and optics by a blind teacher born in the late 17th century.

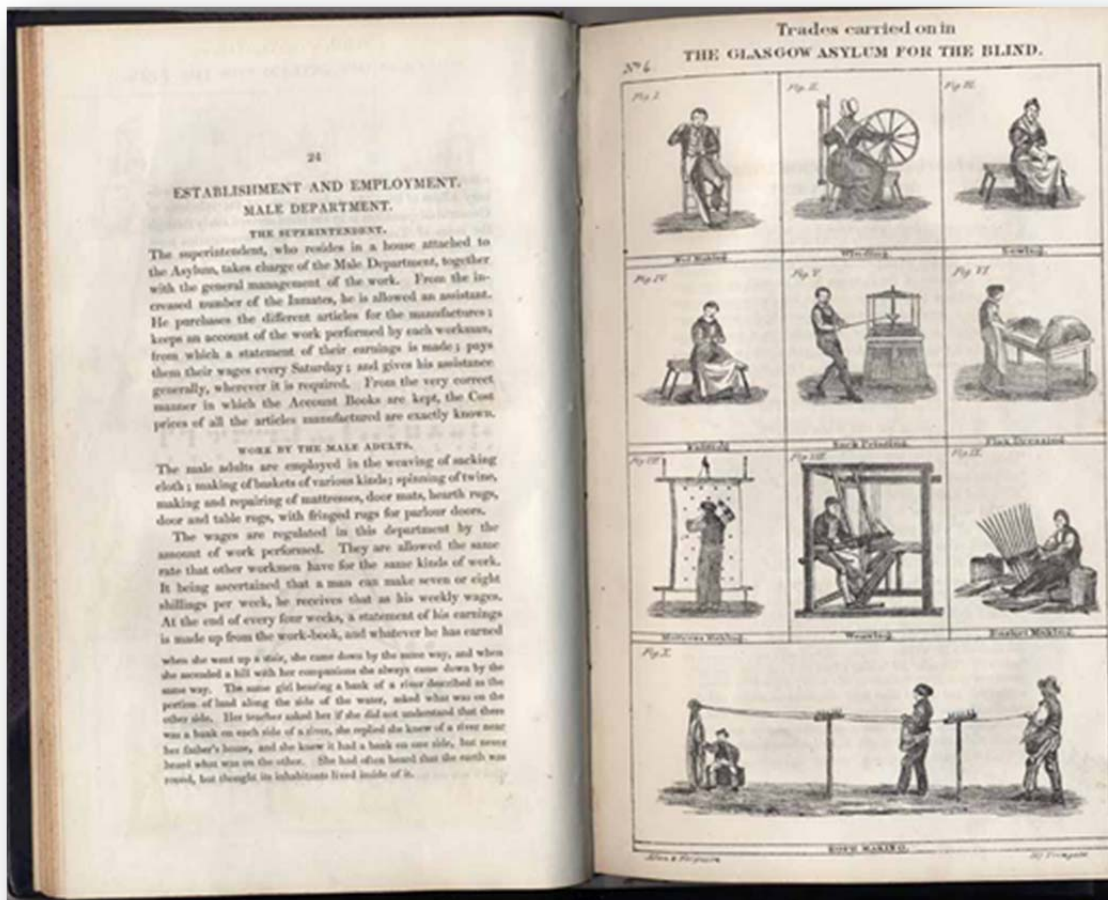


Figure 21 – Sketches with examples of technical and academical education abilities provided by the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind (Alston, 1836).

The Glasgow Arithmetic Board.



The Terrestrial Globe.



Figure 22 – Arithmetic Board of the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind (Alston, 1836).

Geography and Astronomy for the Blind.

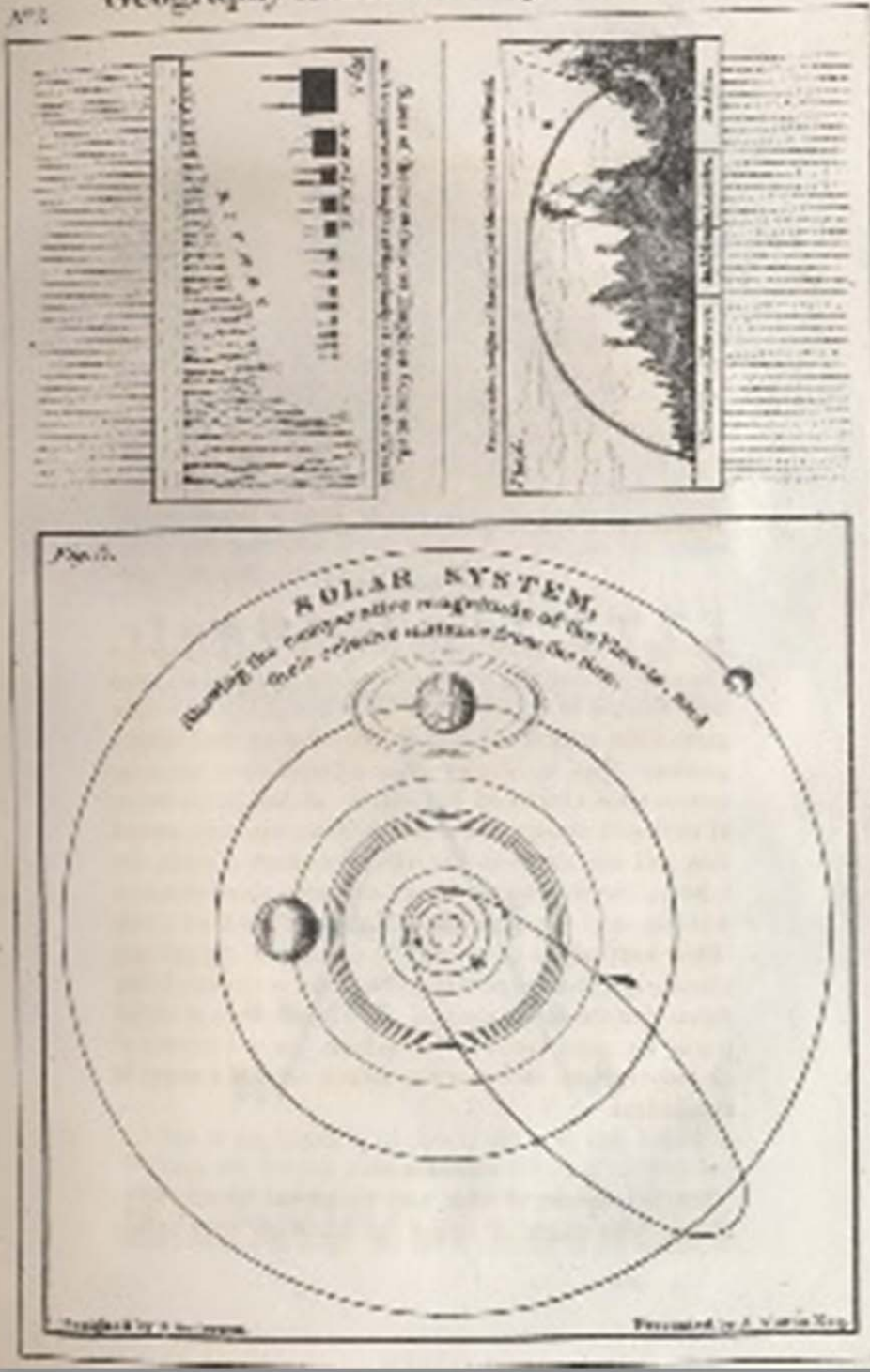


Figure 23 – Page from a Manual of Geography and Astronomy for the Blind, from the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind (Alston, 1836).

Age and wish being meaningful factors for distinguishing institutional subsistence systems from institutional schooling systems, they should not however be considered as priorities on creating outwards paths. The British schooling movement for blind is dated from the end of the 18th century, when modern schooling purposes link to the pragmatic materiality resources thence developed. What can be inferred by this example of a different praxis? What can be read between the lines on the founding documents and reports of asylums and special schools all over United Kingdom? A certainty appeal, for sure:

“If the Governors should think proper to order an abstract of these returns to be published, together with a statement of the expenditure of the Institution, and a list of the donations and subscriptions, the Committee cannot but hope that this would prove a very effectual appeal to the feelings of human and charitable persons: they would then distinctly see that there are numerous sufferers under the deprivation of sight in their own neighbourhood, excluded from the school of industry and instruction which has been established for their benefit, by no other obstacle than the inadequacy of the subscriptions by which it is supported, and on applying these elements of calculation to the rest of the country, they would find that the institutions existing among us for the relief of the blind, are by no means commensurate to their object and that nothing but the limitation of the funds subscribed to this Institution disables it from filling with pupils the whole range of buildings which it has at his command (...)” (Alston, 1836)

A dive into the sources gathered at the London and Stockport Library, Museum and Archives of RNIB, aids to cross-exam this problematic and its specificities, particularly through the comparative and external relations developed along with the pattern unification of thought from the modern western world.

On what our questions are concerned, the need for a pedagogic theory besides material richness and resourceful centres for technical ability was fundamental to establish the comparison between regular and adapted schools. On the following graphic the diversity of intentions of the twenty-six institutions whence our references come is quite clear.

The five mentioned examples are the most ancient found on the archives consulted and also represent five orientations for the autonomy of blind citizens on the UK during the 19th century. Whether or not the inmate was located at the centre of the pedagogic discourse and had a purpose onto which he should make himself capable of, as any educated and productive citizen, these institutions should be considered modern schools (Schriewer, 2000: 107).

Furthermore, sustaining Nóvoa's (1995) and Schriewer's (2001; 2003) reflexions on the importance of being mindful on what concerns local systems whenever a generalizing glance is intended, a bracket should be open on the comparison of pedagogical systems. On the same paper, António Nóvoa highlights that what education historians usually call comparison should be carefully used as an intelligibility tool more than a gloss weapon.

This conceptual approach stands for a pondered study of singularities, not at all inconsistent with the modern world wide glance of the new-born nations. Jürgen Schriewer also remarks that “externalizations ‘filter’ the reception and description of an international environment according to the changing problem configurations and reflection situations internal to a given system.” (Schriewer, 2003: 13).

That's what we intend to demonstrate with these three so dissimilar cases. It is most clear on the example of the United Kingdom, because it has a unity and stability during our time-line of study, plus an industrial development that provides means and purposes to every single project that relates to human resources. The empowerment of human forces to the economic development of the nation is, thus, of utmost importance and the explanation we find, analysing the spreading of solutions towards the needs of useful population all over the country comes not only from a different charity concept and a different religious kind of link to everyday life, but also, to regional priorities of subsistence united by a major national plan.

School/instruction/government represented power in motion, agility on development and a powerful weapon of comparison with other countries, namely France. The contacts between these projects are, as such, of material

interest, as any other: commercial, editorial, material. But there was a link with the shared language at the United States that would keep strong for decades on what concerns special education.

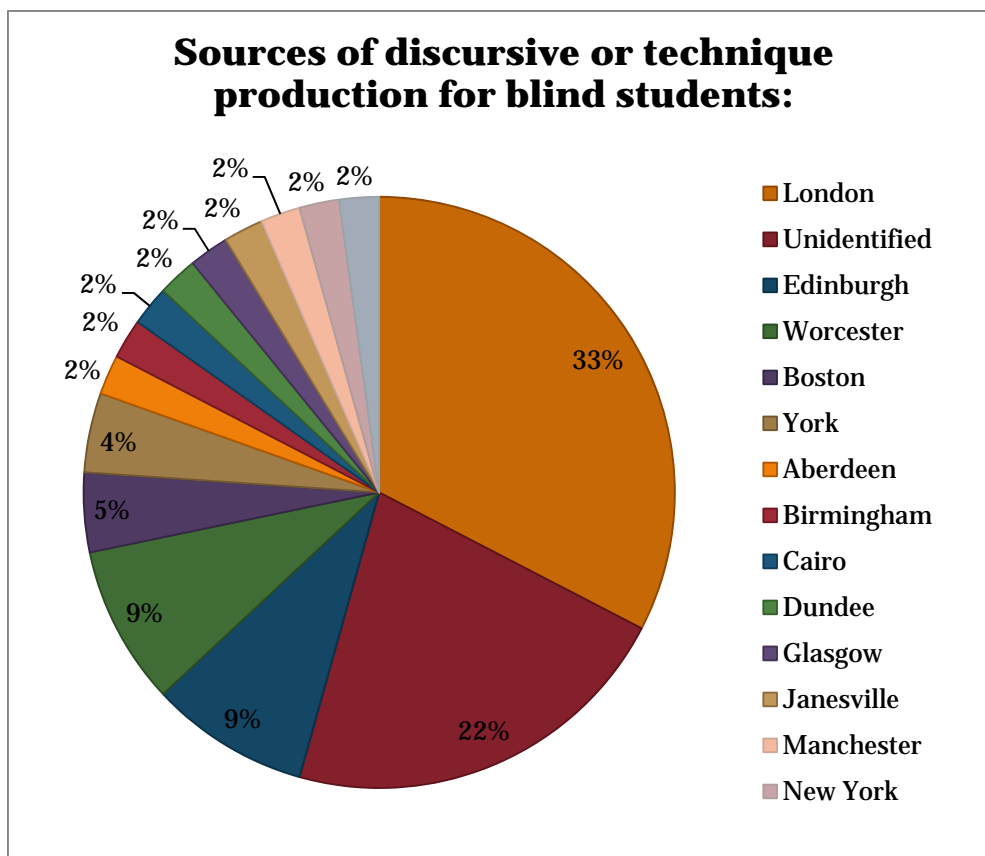


Figure 24 – Graphic with representation of geographical provenience of the sources of intellectual production, either books publication, correspondence, magazines and pamphlets, at the 19th century UK (1830-1898).

After these considerations, it is important to analyse, in the UK, the spread of pedagogic production from 1830 to 1898, as we work on the several documents, letters, pamphlets and books that were produced on several institutes, associations and private researchers on medicine and pedagogy. As the graphic above shows, London had a higher percentage on the production and printing of this universe of thought. But the geographic spread all over the kingdom and colonies is also remarkable. This graphic shape has been produced

to help an immediate understanding of the coherent system of coexistence of regional and central production of knowledge on such a complex issue as policies towards different bodies management, such as we have been stating based on Jürgen Schriewer and António Nóvoa above mentioned works.

On the gathering of discipline and security issues, it is important to recall the words of Michel Foucault:

“Sovereignty and discipline, as well as security, can only be concerned with multiplicities. On the other hand, problems of space are equally common to all three. It goes without saying for sovereignty, since sovereignty is first of all exercised within the territory. But discipline involves a spatial division, and I think security does too, and the different treatment of space by sovereignty, discipline, and security, is precisely what I want to talk about” (Foucault, 1978:12)

Moreover, the preoccupation with unknown bodies and the will to include them in a development process grounded on analysis and control of its labour forces are also part of this methodology of political survival, and profiting the new communication, observation and methodological taxonomization of subjects, part of a new grid of effective discipline and higher production:

“You can see that we again encounter the problem of the sovereign here, but the sovereign is no longer someone who exercises his power over a territory on the basis of a geographical localization of his political sovereignty. The sovereign deals with a nature, or rather with the perpetual conjunction, the perpetual interaction of a geographical, climatic, and physical milieu with the human species insofar as it has a body and a soul, a physical and a moral existence; and the sovereign will be someone who will have to exercise power at that point of connection where nature, in the sense of physical elements, interferes with nature in the sense of the nature of the human species, at that point of articulation where the milieu becomes the determining factor of nature.” (Foucault, 1978: 23)

To understand this reality on the field, and as we are dealing with an extreme example of unknown and unpredictable bodies, it is of utmost importance to be aware of the care and precision of the institute’s and society’s intentions towards their study during a process of social and economic

rehabilitation developed simultaneously with medical studies on the blind's abilities and empowerments. It was fundamental to know what was to be ruled. On all speeches, education seems to have been referred to as utilitarian, part of a wider wish for productive identity's moulding. Some schools or institutions admitted both genders, others didn't. Some had clear age limits. But mostly, technical and industrial instructions were found as clear priorities.

As also may be remarked on other writings, as on Alston's book on the Glasgow School for Blind, the United Kingdom had a remarkably different approach on several singularities as those found in the late 18th century Paris. If most asylums were destined, as can be found in Portugal, France and Italy, to the management of social situations in need of self-sustenance, the untimely industrialization of the United Kingdom and the deep pragmatic mentality of Protestantism led to this proficient education of inmates onto craftwork and techniques that would enable them to subsist on their own. Furthermore, as in most countries with huge regional differences, the United Kingdom had areas with a deep incidence of social isolation – and therefore, endogamic tendencies – as well as poverty stricken areas with severe hygiene and nourishment problems and also regions of high incidences of light, likely to boost vision injuries.

All these factors, also found on Mediterranean countries and in some islands or continental highlands (Sacks, 1998; Amado, 2007), were combined and highlighted the existence of a blind and low vision population, thus requiring an early care of a recognition and management of an “other” who should not be a weight on already small and isolated populations.

Thus, from five of the first institutions and societies caring for blind people to change from a passive and dependent way of living to achieve the utter academic and intellectual possibilities already perceived from specific cases, such as Saunderson's, we tried to construe the importance of those projects and the objectives purposed on the foundation documents and first reports, as follows:

	Foundation	Gender integration	Age requirement	Technical and industrial instruction	Academic education and discipline	Social purposes and observation interests
Edinburgh Asylum for the Blind	1830	yes	unmentioned	mattress work, feather bedding, female industrial school;	unmentioned	“support and education of about one hundred individuals, a great number of whom have families dependent on them”
British Asylum or School of Bristol for the Blind	1832	yes	unmentioned	industry	“good order, religious instruction”	“the Objects of the said Charity are taught and employed in several useful Trades and Occupations”
Yorkshire School for the Blind	1837	yes	8 to 16	manufacture of raw materials	school	“the blind child could not be let pining in penury, untaught and unemployed”
Indigent Blind Visiting Society	1849	yes	unmentioned	no	Religious instruction	“to assist and ameliorate the condition of the aged and destitute BLIND POOR, resident in London and its vicinity”
The British and Foreign Society for improving embossed literature for Blind	1868	Unmentioned	Unmentioned	Unmentioned	Literary instruction	“1. To take into consideration the various embossed systems used by the blind; 2. To draw up and forward a report”

Figure 25 - Table with British charities, schools and asylum institution’s discursive intentions during the 19th century, in Britain.

Gathering the individual and regional initiatives which anticipated the modern movements towards population management, these first movements for survival and management of local populations are nothing but the start of a high development of a rationalization for bio-management and efficiency of the new modern states economy:

“l’objectif principal d’une politique sociale n’était certainement pas de reprendre en compte tous les aléas qui peuvent arriver à la masse globale de la population, mais qu’une vraie politique sociale devait être telle que, sans rien toucher au jeu économique et en laissant, par conséquent, la société se développer comme une société d’entreprise, on mettrait en place un certain nombre de mécanismes d’intervention pour assister ceux qui en ont besoin au moment, et au moment seulement, où ils en ont besoin »⁶⁰

Set out the purposes and the timing of this slightly different approach to a rational management of difference on the United Kingdom, the second purpose of this presentation text was the identification, for further coherence and comparison, of the time line and formal transition from the occupational projects and huge material development to pedagogic discourses and institutional projects *per se*.

The already mentioned early proliferation of asylum systems of management and employment consisted in houses with inmates with diverse physical, sensorial or cognitive injuries, but since the late 18th century the blind started to have a qualification for technical work. It is relevant to establish that we do not consider for the United Kingdom the same kind of standard division between asylums and schools, as it is a task of great difficulty to identify adequately the time when the self-government purpose arose on the first institutions of care for blind persons.

⁶⁰ M. Foucault, 1979. *Naissance de la biopolitique*, leçon du 7 mars 1979. <http://www.catharsis-prod.eu/spip.php?article80>. 12 de 19 20-01-2009 22:54

Specificities of the UK economy and its government of resources lead us to assume, through discourses and practice, that most asylums had a mid-term management and then were assumed as schools, on the modern assertion of the term. As such, even when the beginning of a total institution seemed to be meant for keeping and managing particular cases of social estrangement, it is our interpretation that the importance given to formal instruction either on reading and writing, or on an occupation both useful and productive, led the inmates to a forethought of rules that only would become official by the third decade of the 19th century.

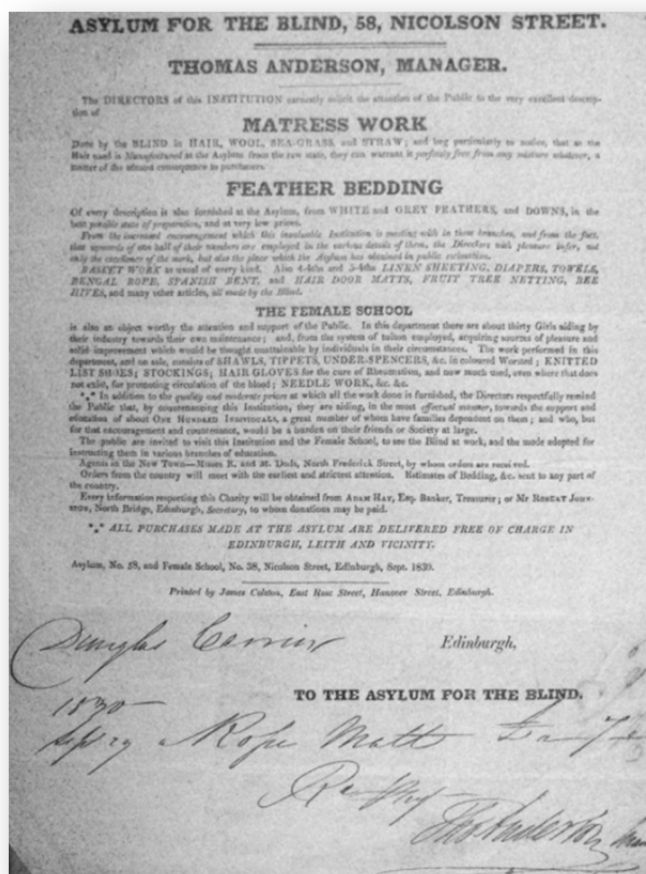


Figure 26 - Pamphlet giving notice of the services of the Edinburgh Asylum for the Blind, with the peculiarity of having a section named Female School endowed to technical activities. No mentions of academic purposes, only of the quality of sensorial activities on the production of materiality destined to sell and provide autonomy to the institution and its inmates. RNIB Library, London.

Of course, the above image shows the need for self-sustainability as omnipresent, and the blind inmates soon took advantage over other dependency situations, such as deafness, cognitive problems or motor handicaps. The discourse was centred, both by pedagogues and promoters on sensorialism and the advantages of memory and ear improvement, as on the fluency of speech perception and control.

Furthermore, blind pupils were able to learn spatial orientation and overcome their sightless condition onto written or schematic information, which was a perfect condition to develop schooling techniques and new materiality. As far as the 19th century culture was concerned, and restraining our thoughts to the conclusions of Jonathan Crary as to the special numbers 21 and 22 of the magazine *Voir Barré* (2000, 2001) dedicated to modern visual culture⁶¹, it is clear that sight was an overwhelming power not only onto technological development but also towards new body empowerments, those factors being not mutually exclusive.

Indeed, it was in Ireland that the problem of Molineux⁶² was thought and stated to John Locke. On Saturday 7 July 1688 William Molineux wrote a letter to John Locke setting out for the first time a problem concerning born blinds:

⁶¹ “Au XVIII^e siècle nous l’avons vu grâce aux numéros 18 et 19 consacrés à la Lettre sur les aveugles de Diderot, la question de Molineux renvoie au triomphe du modèle classique de la vision. La perspective renaissante, l’invention képlérienne de l’image rétinienne, la constitution du sujet cartésien, la chambre obscure comme instrument de compréhension et comme métaphore, l’analyse géométrique du visible, l’optique newtonienne, sont autant de repères essentiels qui coordonnent en la matière l’ordre du pensable et du figurable. » (Havelange, 2000)

⁶² In <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/molyneux-problem/> consulted on 2012.07.16 at 17:28.

“Dublin July. 7. 88

*A Problem Proposed to the Author of the Essai Philosophique concernant
L'Entendement*

*A Man, being born blind, and having a Globe and a Cube, nigh of the same
bignes, Committed into his Hands, and being taught or Told, which is Called
the Globe, and which the Cube, so as easily to distinguish them by his Touch or
Feeling; Then both being taken from Him, and Laid on a Table, Let us Suppose
his Sight Restored to Him; Whether he Could, by his Sight, and before he touch
them, know which is the Globe and which the Cube? Or Whether he Could
know by his Sight, before he stretch'd out his Hand, whether he Could not
Reach them, tho they were Removed 20 or 1000 feet from Him? If the Learned
and Ingenious Author of the Forementioned Treatise think this Problem Worth
his Consideration and Answer, He may at any time Direct it to One that Much
Esteems him, and is,*

*His Humble Servant
William Molyneux
High Ormonds Gate in Dublin. Ireland”*

The philosophical approach and the sociological pragmatism of the dissemination of this question for the next two hundred years – at the least – are in harmony with Jürgen Schriewer’s theories on externalization of knowledge: whether or not the United Kingdom was a singular case on what concerns the management and projects for the blind on modernity, should it be considered a plain spatial or political issue? As the author develops his theories on the modernity spread and share of knowledge, there are neither economic priorities nor even a hierarchy of development, but plainly different management models flowing as they are required by dissimilar growing nations.

Hence we shall not consider these specificities on blind education models nor the coordination and exchange – and choice – between state investments and options as unique and try to create a map of geographical comparisons. Instead, it is our intention to show that specificities were profited, variants were developed and externalized as far as the outsider models required or were open and prepared to incorporate them. Schriewer (2000: 113) defines them as the educational models of modernity which were more of sociological than of economic birth, thus leading to specific discourses of reflection meant to be disseminated and incorporated as far as references turned clear and

manageable to different growing regional realities. It should be clear that the contact between the three case-studies proposed on this work is born from this externalization process, with regional adaptations and with no purpose of *globalization* or imposition whereas mankind communication and development could always be selected from political intention.

The United Kingdom first asylums, societies and schools for blind citizens were a good proof of concept of this particular theory and their centralization of efforts would be made by the pedagogue and blind doctor Thomas Rodes Armitage, founder of the first centralized institution of the United Kingdom.

Uniting the regional efforts and class empowerments, as much as their efficiency had already been proved, there was the need of a national movement, considering the materiality expenses, and the mantainance of the several houses and schools all over the country; also, pretending to emphazise a unique posture on the communication with other countries through the universal exhibitions and medical congresses, thus persisting as the central schooling and working organization for the United Kingdom's blind and low-visioned citizens and more deeply founded on modernity schooling principles. This institution was The British and Foreign Society for Improving Embossed Literature for the Blind, whose fundaments, growth and priorities can be perceived from the chronology bellow⁶³:

⁶³ Data compiled from:
<http://www.rnib.org.uk/aboutus/who/historyofrnib/Pages/rnibhistory.aspx> [on 09-09-2012],
also from Illingworth, 1910 and from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/RNIB> [on 07-09-2012].

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
1868	Thomas Rhodes Armitage, M. D. with eyesight problems founds The British and Foreign Society for Improving Embossed Literature for the Blind. By his side, Mr Daniel Connolly, blind, Mr W.W. Fenn, blind, and Dr. James Gale, also blind.
1869	The name was changed to the British and Foreign Blind Association for Improving the Embossed Literature of the Blind and Promoting their Employment.
1870	Braille assumed as unifying writing code, after a series of evaluations, considered the most suitable to read by touch and the most adaptable to education purposes.
1871	Unification and printing of UK's Braille and Music Notation Keys, persistent until the middle of the 20th century.
1871	Thomas Rhodes Armitage and Francis Joseph Campbell, an anti-slavery campaigner, blind from early age, both found the Royal National College for the Blind, or, as also called, the Royal Normal College and Academy for the Blind, with a considerable collaboration with the United States of America and the personal patronage of Queen Victoria. Music and Physical activities were the natural pedagogical complement of the basic learning curriculum. This college had 200 students at the end of the 19th century.
1881	Beginning of publication of the magazine <i>Progress</i> , still being published.
1889	First essays on Arabic Braille and beginning of Koran's print for Egyptian's blind students (Zeitoun School for Blind Boys, Cairo, founded by Mrs. Armitage in 1901).

Figure 27 – Chronological table of the creation and development of the British and Foreign Society for Improving Embossed Literature for the Blind.

As a last detail on our institutional focus in the United Kingdom specificities on blind schooling, and still comparing the regionalities and habits, we recall INJA's prizes distribution series of publications⁶⁴ where the lists of exchange students were perceivable through the personal record of each inmate on the classification lists and prizes. Some students came from the French colonies. Also, some girl students were destined to work as nuns in the French colonies.

On the contrary, in the United Kingdom, material and teachers were sent to the outside territories, where new schools were established, as much as we can perceive, not always with success, as the mentioned school of Cairo, opened and closed several times on cultural issues:

"I felt more sorry than ever that you had had to leave / Cairo without having seen Aly Pasha Monbarek; / for without a long conversation with him on the / subject I think it hardly possible for any one / to realize how characteristic is his mode of / pulverizing such proposals as those I urged / upon him. The substance of his rejoinders to / my recommendations was this: - /It was only / after / after very long and mature deliberation that the / **Special School for the Blind was abolished** last / year. We have far too much to do for and / with our seeing pupils being able to spare time at / present to think of getting specialists trained in /order to educate the Blind. (...) / Then, **what after all is the good of giving the / Blind any thorough instruction** in Arithmetic / and Writing? Such knowledge can not be / utilized by the Blind when dealing with the / seeing but only when dealing with the others that are Blind"

Political and economic relations on the matter are also linked to these differences of interaction on education issues, as well as culture and religion. Thus, the differences of spread of the scholarization of the blind outside the United Kingdom, unlike the perspective we have from France. We sustain,

⁶⁴ Guadet, J., 1856. *Deux Discours prononcés à l'Institution Impériale des Jeunes Aveugles de Paris lors des distributions des prix de 1855 et 1856*. Paris: s.n. [PHAUYP002] and Institution Impériale des Jeunes Aveugles de Paris, 1856. *Distribution Solennelle des Prix – Année scolaire 1855-1856*. Paris: Imprimerie de Mme. Ve. Dondey-Dupre. [PHAUYP003]

however, that this is only a first approach towards this issue, one that would require much more information and the knowledge of other writings to be duly explored.

That is how far we can differ from European and American perspectives; Japan has a rich culture on what concerns blindness⁶⁵, but most of the East is unknown to a western historian their sources being as different in writing as difficult in access.

A more serious lack is that we found on the western historiography, as we have to adapt and read within lines many works that are bound to a concept of perfection on man or too specialized to spread it. This is also the main reason for not ever having been produced a world history of disability, and to a generic transparency of the disabled in historical studies, as the late Paul Longmore stands on its masterpiece on national and international views on human differences:

“Thus, in two major fields of historical inquiry in which disability was significant, as lived experience and social phenomenon, **historians have largely ignored it**. Their accounts have rendered people with disabilities invisible and have neglected disability themes that were of central concern to their subjects.”

Further on, Paul Longmore adds:

“The long-term impact of public policies and the similarities in the experiences of various disability groups suggest **the need for a comparative historical approach**. Those features also warrant us in **speaking of a general disability history that encompasses the particular histories of those groups**. (...) That relations involving disability entail similar dynamics requires a new way of thinking. The new disability history scrutinizes struggles not just over identities and discourses but over **power and access to material resources**.” (Longmore; Umansky: 2001: 5-6)

⁶⁵ As patent on the works of Professor Kojiro Hirose, from Osaka University on the Middle Ages of Japan and Blind Culture, written in English, one of the few papers I gathered on the East.

To conclude on this chapter within the spirit of these reflections it is due to mention once more the concerns of Michel Foucault on the weird taxonomy of the world's content described by Borges on the introduction of *As Palavras e as Coisas* (1998). So similar to our innocent intention of bringing a slice of a contextual and mutant fragment of events into a different planet.

The intelligibility grid attempted on France and the United Kingdom examples of scholarization for the blind in the 18th and 19th century was not the same nor could it be. Questions of identity and belonging, of culture and utilitarianism, grew in different ways (Wagner, 2001: 65), as far as our archives let us perceive reality. Modernity was not a unique grid for the new political concern on man's inclusion on the economy of the wholeness. And that is why we've decided to add a third gaze to these two former examples.

V.2. ARCHITECTURE, MATERIALITY AND OTHER DISCOURSES



Figure 28 - Glasgow Asylum for the Blind, drawing of the building and surrounding garden.

Assuming architecture as a fundamental piece of discursive orientation for the blind students of modernity, this is a chapter which is rather different from the IV.2. Drawing a parallel with the variations on pedagogic discourses and autonomic solutions explored at the United Kingdom onto the blind citizen's instruction and their purpose of autonomy and instruction, it is only natural that the relation with space and, therefore, with themselves and the surrounding world tracks, as other people, compulsory school paths, the keeping of memories as the challenge of the omnipresent unknown, also remained different from the other European schools.

As can be seen on the above image of a 19th century British blind asylum, the difference onto autonomy and self-ruling did not consist on an urgent accuracy of the inmate's surrounding space, but on the inner walls. On persistency, on knowledge, on time-tables much more overloaded both with

work and learning, and also with a disciplinary discourse founded on religion, much more imposing than the non Anglo-Saxon one.

This is the reason why we find a different path of dealing with a person's management: the huge investment on materials for learning, particularly on printing resources for the aid of the existing asylums, new founded schools for the blind and aiding charity societies was not meant necessarily for architectural improvements. The architecture was heteropic and surrounded the hearts of the inmates, wherever they were found, even at home. Inmates they assumed to be, of a well driven plan to polite and instruct both blind children and grown-ups onto citizens and participant members of church and society, although part of the promoters were of mason orientation, as we have found them in France.

In Bentham's words: "The object of the inspection principle is directly the reverse: it is to make them not only *suspect*, but be *assured*, that whatever they do is known, even though that should not be the case. (...)." ⁶⁶ Of course, this reassurance was crossed with the extremely effective rules of every institution intended to participate on this citizenship's modeling. Wish was a very strong factor, a cultural need to be accepted and, most of all, useful.

On assuming modern school projects as social casting processes, why and how were scenarios created for different physical and sensorial skills to be part of an efficient and economic social grid? Furthermore, is this particular incidence on institutional structures for citizens deprived of vision found to be a role model for normal pattern students?

The *Panopticon* became a major technology of control for school projects, adapted further more than on architectural plans, into the body and soul of inmates, dynamic enough to provide needs intended for different users, as long as their inner self would be coherent to the modern civilization goals. It aimed and provided an adequate and controllable speech, as discursive and material

⁶⁶ J. Bentham, *The Panopticon Writings* (London: Verso, 1995).

solutions for a model of personal control, albeit its application to particular sensorial information references.

Consequently, the binomial kept/keeper was omnipresent within institutional educational systems and the sense of vision was not a requirement for its success, but a proof of concept of its efficiency:

“What would you say, if by the gradual adoption and diversified application of this single principle, you should see a new scene of things spread itself over the face of civilized society? - morals reformed, health preserved, industry invigorated, instruction diffused, public burthens lightened, economy seated as it were upon a rock, the gordian knot of the poor-laws not cut but untied - all by a simple idea in architecture?”
(Bentham, 1786)

Concerning modern development, several questions can be theorized hither: was globalization directly linked to economic development, to the evolution of communication systems, to the free market and to the beginning of the industrialization? Did it politically constituted itself into ordered nations and structured classes that required social normation? Were these phenomena sufficient to explain the need for school as institution to spread social or state control-based taxonomy and self-ruled order?

All these normative technologies and discourses were mainly developed to enforce social desires, besides the body ability, social skills and productive potential of each system inmate. To normate citizens by classes, ages and aptitudes is far more than a detail of a global project, as they constituted themselves as subjects of a productive, controlled and plural social frame and as a token of inescapability and attainability⁶⁷.

Above all, this structure also implied the construction of a new set of values such as social equality, market economy and social identity through self-rule. Its boundaries extended and institutionalized themselves in pragmatically

⁶⁷ P. Wagner, *Theorizing Modernity: Inescapability and Attainability in Social Theory*, p. 9.

conceived projects, providing the institutionalized inmates a way to attain the desire of a regular individuality within a self-balanced society by means of an enlarged, normative and inclusive system.

This new long-term system of (re)education was constituted as a three branch structure of desire, submitted, recursive and innovative. In fact, it also provided modern society with a bipolar quest for autonomy or self-government, the utopia to rule and the longing to be cared for.

As such, modernity self-government technology was mainly implemented through total institutions⁶⁸, sociologically linked to walls and rules of establishments, as prisons, hospitals and schools, where common purposes were spread throughout the inmates, besides their specific characteristics. In this case study, the school buildings were also places of residence or long stay where the dependent inmates and future autonomous citizens were cut off from family and society in general; they had their institutional rules as a frame of hierarchic relations with all those that were not students; they also had timetables and routines, aiming to efficiently develop internal miniature societies with a scientific seal of truth based on medical and pedagogical gaze, taxonomy and archive.

This happened with particular incidence at the institutions where the students were not as independent and able for daily-life functioning as regular students on regular schools. United Kingdom had the stability and the mentality to achieve this process by this particular path. In fact, all total institutions functioned as psychological grids, with its inner punishments and distant aimed goals. They constituted a permanent movement of thought, experiment and renewal from their theorization and diffusion from the late 18h century onwards. Agility, transmutation and research were their cornerstones:

⁶⁸ E. Goffman, *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (New York: Anchor Books, 1961), p. 25-119.

“Social institutions are here understood as relatively durable sets of rules and resources, which human beings draw on in their actions. (...) However, human beings are in principle capable of giving reasons for their actions and of altering them.” (Wagner, 1994:19)

All the difference on the efficiency of this system was in the fact that it had formal education as a guarantee for social success, and, on model schools, as the ones for blind and visual impaired, its efficiency was even more accurate as long as it was their only possibility of independent survival and social consistency as productive human beings, as part of the modern world, beyond their eventual body or sensorial limitations. This fact can be easily perceived by the analysis of some of the founding documents of institutions for education of blind and low-vision citizens. And this can be found easily on the United Kingdom’s intentions on the keeping of their blind inmates, sparing resources, unfolding Bentham’s theories, using social transparency as the most precious process of evaluation and, above all, treasuring local progresses and disseminating them on publications, exhibitions and trans-national publicity of several kinds.

Assuming as national example John Alston, the institution promoter, on the founding document of the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind he mentions the social obligation on the education of the blind and refuses theories of their incapability of learning. His particularly significant work is illustrated with diverse images of materiality adapted to touch for geography, mathematics, and several technical professions, besides the traditional and basic reading, writing and counting.

His arguments were well structured and hardly refutable: after an exhaustive analyses of the importance of the sense of hearing, classified as the door to the soul, he provided the reader with a statistical study of the blind population throughout the world, using modernity’s weapons such as data treatment and communication easiness to persuade society of the absolute sin of neglecting such a wide and useful slice of society.

Alston also exemplifies the logic of the improvement of his project, using progress as argument on what I consider a panoptic technique over the civilized world at the time: using progress as an argument, he links the development of some countries and its investment on the regulation, education and production of able men from the borders of incapability: Paris, 1784, Liverpool, 1791, Edinburgh, 1792, Bristol, 1793, Dublin, 1799, London, 1800, Norwich, 1805, Glasgow, 1828 and York, 1835. By the time of the first edition of his book, institutions for blind education were also known to have been created on Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Russia and the United States.

All over the modern new world, written speeches and theoretical essays talked of the “merit, perseverance and diligence” of the inmates, without whose will, nothing could triumph in such projects. Besides, on the words of John Alston: “the advantages arising from an institution of this kind accrue not only to its inmates, but to the community at large.”⁶⁹ New speeches were rising both from the institute’s libraries and from literature societies:

⁶⁹ J. Alston, *Statements of the education, employment, and internal arrangements, adopted at the Asylum for the Blind, Glasgow*, p. 30.

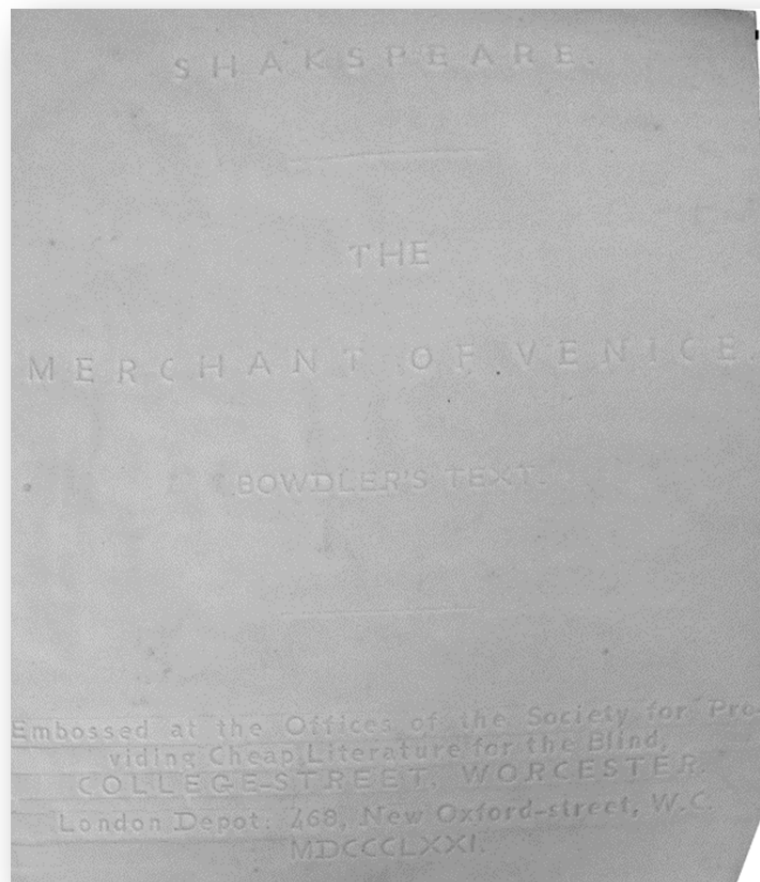


Figure 29 - Shakespeare's work *The Merchant of Venice* embossed version, provided by the Society for Providing Cheap Literature for the Blind, Worcester, 1871.

Architecture was being lived as a metaphor. On these institutions, bodies were already divided between rules and wishes, creating a new self-will. And if the United Kingdom had no hurry on what concerned the buildings for the blind inmates but on the disciplinary regulations and on the materials production, profiting from the existing houses for Asylums or Associations, perhaps that was the most clear evidence of their deep belief on the inner assumption of duties and plain intelligibility of the demanded self-regulation.

V.3. TEACHERS, DOCTORS, PROMOTORS AND INMATES

In this particular point of discourse, the focus will be the characters, and diversely from what arise from French documentation, Britain documents show another approach on social interaction towards a membership change. To work for a (re)assemblage of a person on a given time, space and cultural scenario, is like a game of filling in an unexpected square of society's' grid, to add a new role to the ones considered necessary or predictable. Furthermore, the built or reveal of a new identity, the redemption of one's ability towards its social comparison, is a task for several contributors and its wish arises from a multiplicity of circumstances found together.

We claim, on this study, that the United Kingdom's case is certainly a good example of the discursive power, as found on our series of writings, and notwithstanding the pragmatism of the investment on materiality, it shows a regional characteristic: a way of leading words through essays and very clear aims. On this particular case, how to draw a leading path onto the institute's doors or the housing education systems where leading circumstances were far from the unknown side of this new and undeniable citizenship's legitimacy and open them to a new role of instruction, education, self-government and utilitarianism?

Discourses and publications from initial projects of modelling blind citizens as examples and role models of good production and good participation on the social wholeness of industrialization reveal not only their authors but the standard look on a disability that, in the United Kingdom, had the easiness of not evoking cognitive injuries.

The following figure shows the cover of the thirty-second annual report of the Indigent Blind Visiting Society, printed in 1872.

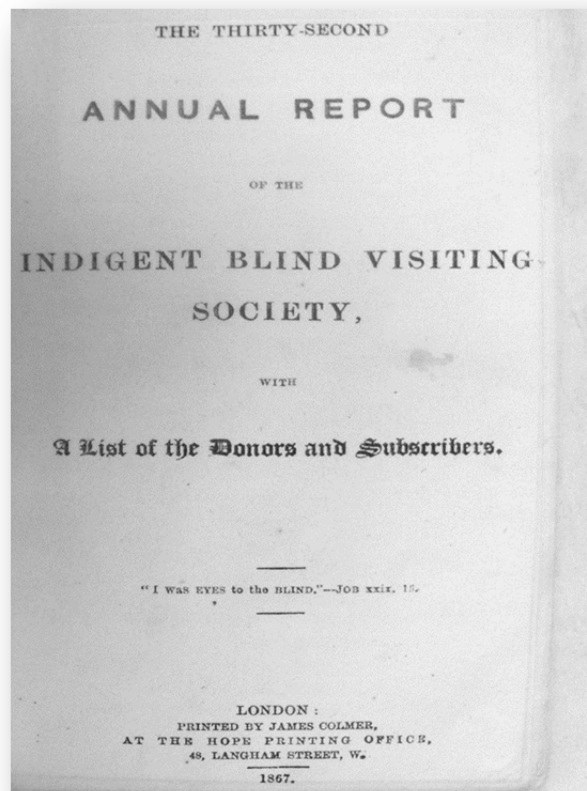


Figure 30 - Thirty-second annual report of the Indigent Blind Visiting Society, 1857.

The Indigent Blind Visiting Society, as many similar others, was working aside total institutions and supporting home residency situations answering both for needs of religious comfort and for autonomy from care-recipients situation. The economic and social effort developed throughout the United Kingdom was huge and this civil movement has an appeal to proper social presentation through religious patterns but also to a progressive independency through an acquired independency on reading and working.

There were for sure several ways to mold a person into a wish of someone else or into a wish that someone else made one adopt as its own aim. Appealing to Nikolas Rose's work on the subject of the possibility of invention of ourselves (1998), I recall a particularly important issue one should have in mind when studying this complex social role relationships:

“The invention in question is a historical rather than an individual phenomenon. Hence this work is underpinned by the belief that historical investigation can open up our contemporary regime of the self to critical thought, that is to say, to a kind of thought that can work on the limits of what is unthinkable, extend those limits and hence enhance the contestability of what we take to be natural and inevitable about our current ways of relating to ourselves.” (Rose, 1998: 2)

In the wake of this idea, others unfold. The challenged self that awakes the wish of otherness is the second step for this series of efforts and for this social dynamic. The definition of the self:

“The self: coherent, bounded, individualized, intentional, the locus of thought, action and belief, the origin of its own actions, the beneficiary of a unique biography.” (Rose, 1998: 3)

And the following step: the self-willing move on the board:

“As selves, we are characterized by a profound inwardness: conduct, belief, value, and speech were to be interrogated and rendered explicable in terms of an understanding of an inner space that gave them form, within which they were, literally, embodied within us as corporeal beings. This internal universe of the self, this profound ‘psychology’, lay at the core of those ways of conducting ourselves that are considered normal and providing the norm for thinking and judging the abnormal – whether in the realm of gender, sexuality, vice, illegality, or insanity. And our lives were meaningful, to the extent that we could discover our self, be our self, express our self, love our self, and be loved for the self we really are.” (Rose, 1998: 4)

The final assemblage needed more intervention and resources, besides the request from the nation that would justify the effort and investment on the ever moving social grid. Economy and ethics would determine the way of acting towards blind inclusion on the social working force on industrial United Kingdom. So, in October the 16th, 1868, a meeting was held at a low-visioned doctor’s house named Thomas Rodes Armitage. By his side, several highly prepared and interventionist blind citizens, most of them with academic and political background. That meeting would mean the centralization of efforts in

the United Kingdom towards a major intervention movement, coming from within the injured community.

The Council main decisions would change the schooling projects for the blind and low-vision citizens of the United Kingdom, such as can be read on the following document:

October 16th 1868

At a Meeting held at Dr. Armitage's
33 Cambridge Square Hyde Park the
following gentlemen organized
themselves into a Council.

T. R. Armitage M.D. (whose sight is defective)
33 Cambridge Square
Daniel Conolly B.A. (blind)
83 Walworth Road. S.
W. W. Fern (blind) (a Mr. Waterhouse)
15 Great Marlborough Street.
James Gale M.D. F.R.S. F.L.S. (blind)
1 Blackland Crescent - Belsize Park. N.W.

It was proposed by Dr. Gale, and seconded
by Dr. Armitage, that a Society be formed
under the name of The British and
Foreign Society for improving the embossed
literature of the Blind.

Figure 31 – Manuscript with the register of the formal proceedings for the constitution of The British and Foreign Society for Improving the Embossed Literature for the Blind, the 16th October 1868, at Dr. Thomas Armitage's house, Hyde Park.

For the easiness of this purpose, the effort of teams of pedagogues, doctors and political forces working transnationally and with definite purposes intended social harmony clear, neat and useful. And the role of the transition characters should be duly highlighted during the process of change: not everyone had social belief or individual wish hard enough to attempt to let go an identity and rewrite his soul from scratch. At Dr. Armitage's meetings, the social moves were too many, too rich and too powerful.

They constituted a social movement with direction and purposes willing to be recognized and aiming to grow. And they were speaking from a different point of view, the blind founders of the major project of schooling for blind in the United Kingdom, far from the normation and acceptance intended for the beneficiaries we know will be their own inmates:

“Mr. Bozes reported that he had commenced writing out the French exercises and undertook to adapt ‘sun, moon, stars’ to the Braille character. Mr. Yann brought a copy of the Boudoir Shakespeare containing eight plays and promised to arrange others for printing. It was proposed by Mr. Yann and seconded by Mr. Conally unanimously ‘that a General Council of the Association be formed for purposes of advice and deliberation in matters connected with the Education and Employment of the Blind (...)’⁷⁰

Hence we arrive once more, following Derrida's above mentioned considerations, on the power of discourse, on the possible intentions found in our British documental series: the actors, the social and the political scenario of a developing Britain with a severe social pragmatism and a powerful technical efficiency contributing immensely to the expansion of the schooling system onto these new social participants.

⁷⁰ British and Foreign Society for improving the embossed literature of the Blind, 1868. *Minute Book*. [manuscrito]. Stockport: Royal National Institute for the Blind Archives. [BSTOCKPORTM001]

V.4. SOCIAL PRESENTATION AND SOCIAL AUTHONOMY

Following the intentions of the former quoted meeting of the British and Foreign Society for Improving the Embossed Literature for the Blind, we step onto the last gaze on the United Kingdom modern evolving on blind education: the inner sense of presentation.

Dr. Armitage took the initiative of theorizing and publishing on a subject he knew he would be part of. The awareness of a social situation that could be avoided caused the conscience of its power of action through discourse and institutional initiatives. So, priorities such as education and employment, as above said, kept detached from more detailed issues, nevertheless turning to be the cornerstones of desire of the blind population aware of the message.

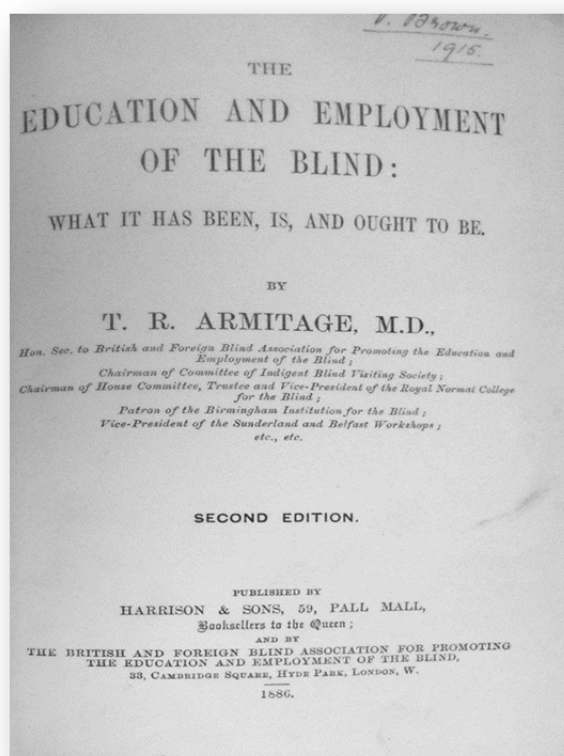


Figure 32 – Book cover of one of Dr. Armitage’s published works on considerations on The Education and Employment of the Blind, printed on 1886.

The recursive problem of needing to read to be aware of the utility of reading was minimized in Britain as far as several societies charged themselves with the role of readers for the blind. Therefore, British blind were pretty much aware of the urge to instruct themselves and the new generations in order to obtain some autonomy on what concerned basic choices of information and also to add more capacities to their own work and thinking abilities. This awareness sustained a much higher concept of the self whence the modern movement of schooling started to include blind inmates on its plans. My hypothesis is that this does not mean the results would necessarily be better than those of the Paris School, but, nevertheless, would improve the diversity of social outputs after the schooling period. This would be one of the issues I would very much like to develop on future research, as it differs a lot from printed books, as we are about to see.

The following figure is a table of equivalences for music Braille notation purposes, quoted on the book *Light in Dark Paths*, from the end of the 19th century. It shows the systematic importance of instruction and normation of writing several kinds of discourses, in this case, a possible professional one: music.

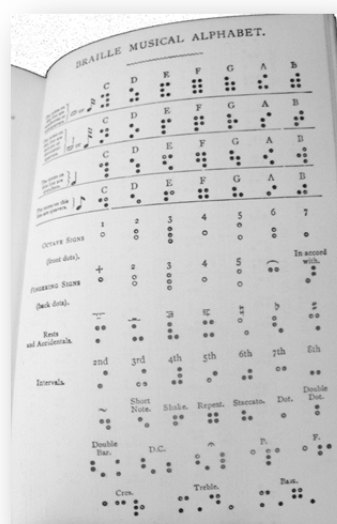


Figure 33 - Braille notation printed in ink, part of the work *Light in Dark Paths*, 1891.

In the United Kingdom there were also printing runs of other books from blind authors, such as *A Blind Musician Looks Back*, from the beginning of the 20th century, as of course, several technical and academic works from the academic Saunderson on mathematics and of the pedagogue and doctor Armitage on pedagogy. On his work “The Education of the Blind”, Dr. Fry, one of several British authors of embossed alphabets, states that:

“The blind are now ready to read nearly as fluently as those who see. Books are now printed for their use. They are also able to write letters to each other by post, and to read what is thus written.” (Fry, 1837)

The author’s role meant, for a blind, an autonomic role. From listener to reader and from reader to writer, the power of choice and the autonomy of will had built a new productive source of confidence statements:

“Without any diffidence about conducting, I formed an orchestra. (...) We got a great deal of pleasure out of our little band.” (Hollins, 1936:90)

In addition, clothing presentation could be a visual offer to social environment, and a manifestation of inner knowledge reinforcement of a distinguished role:

“I was giving a recital at the exhibition [Edinburgh] that afternoon and when I was about to remove my newly acquired finery, Whyte stopped me, saying: ‘No, no, don’t take them off’ (...). Thus I drove through the streets of Edinburgh and gave the recital in all my glory.” (Hollins, 1936:321)

As to schooling and to group presentation of blind interests, reference to the names of the institutional, either pedagogical or of charity nature, is a dictionary of formal presentation on social intentions and self-assumption of the social web, no matter the sensorial differences⁷¹, as on the following

⁷¹ Wilson, n.d.. *Information with regarding to Institutions, Societies and Classes for the Blind in England and Wales.*

examples: The Indigent Blind Visiting Society, The College for the Blind Sons of Gentlemen, John Harrison Fund for the Relief of the Poor Blind, Miss St. Barlow's Charity for Blind Women, Blind Man's Friend or Days Charity and Society for Granting Annuities to the Poor Adult Blind are certainly very different names and apparently very different institutions, working in fact for the same purpose. Adjectives on subjects were perhaps part of an initial taxonomization, but the general purposes and investment in the United Kingdom, surpassing the continental function of asylums and turning them into part of the schooling and social management movement for self-government and autonomy meant a wider scale of thought on sensorial difference.

The amount of experiences on embossed alphabets (Moon, Gall, Fry and Lucas experiments) and its printing successes and adequacy on *tactus* were also of great contribution to a possibility frame of choosing information, producing writings and authoring publications.

Hence, schooling techniques for producing and interpreting information in a longer lasting way. When the standard host senses were not available as usual, the materials and technologies for embossed reading and writing, were indeed the only individual and private way to register thoughts and to communicate without resource to orality, gesture or touch. Also, they constituted the only way to keep track of one's life and trajectory, in a private code, with the advantage of not being read by everyone.

I lack sources on individual production of codes inside the total institutions, exception made for some private notes found within study books or reports on the Paris Archives. But it would be a challenge to find out how kids managed to surpass their masters in the conceptualization and exchange of coded embossed messages. The same way Braille adjusted Captain Barbier de la Serre, the same way so many blind persons adjusted new ways of registering their thoughts and messages with the richness of writing, inspired on the several ways of reading they were submitted to learn. And the United Kingdom was far more pragmatic on this field. This is a research path I don't have yet resources to continue, but that I shall retain within further projects, as it leads probably to

the inner thoughts and evaluations of all these projects we are analysing by the perspective of the inmates themselves, which would enrich a lot our comparative study and knowledge.

Considering the first point for these projects of investment in embossed writing and printing – the concept that every child has the right to an education, as above quoted – this huge investment would not only metamorphose the blind children from their home or asylum non-committal lives into autonomous students and workers but also to a personal empowerment and social commitment they had to manage. And this was the first challenge for the newly demanded social role.

Thus, a strong focus on pedagogical materiality was fundamental for the study of the enlargement of written communication field, as far as, without a huge personal and institutional investment on the empowerment of alternate information transmission systems, no formal education would have been possible. The need of three-dimensional information explained the appearance of several and very creative embossed systems providing the reading, writing, counting and drawing possibilities for these particular students.

In the 19th century globalization beginnings, the plea for a standard system was only natural, thus, the different embossed patterns used at home and asylums throughout the world, evolved naturally into a role model, whose pedagogical travelling started in Paris. The French language was at the time and persisted for long as the western Esperanto in a global context of experience transmission, in medicine, history, the psy-borning sciences and, of course, pedagogy. Not only the French language was the prominent one, but also the most pragmatical of the systems had been perfected and was taught at the Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles in Paris. As such, to understand the persistency of some of the other embossed reading and writing systems, and the final adoption of Braille as a standard it is imperative to proceed to an archaeological study of the reasons of their local rise and establishment:

“(...) educational knowledge, reform policies, and developmental models elaborated and disseminated at a trans-national level are refracted by each society’s internal selection thresholds and needs for interpretation, which are the outcome both of cultural traditions and collective mentality, and of political forces and dominant ideologies.” (Schriewer, Martinez, 2003: 37).

But as universalization processes demanded a standard system and a standard student, from the multitude of institutions rising from a global pedagogical movement that created school as we know it, some of them were adapting their architecture, books, way to lecture, pedagogical, psychological and medical support, libraries, physical activities, food provisioning and health care, and all this especially for blind, legally blind, low-vision and, in some cases, deaf-blind pupils. If we dare to choose six to ten of the most prominent and with efficient and powerful pedagogic speeches and measure the distance between them, we will find half the earth diameter, on the beginning of the 19th century.

Congresses, exhibitions, students exchange, travelling for knowledge, magazines, publications and, last but not least, translations, were their tools to the globalization effort which would create the net where the blind student identity would be able to found himself.

Let us use some documents as an example of this travel of the embossed writing systems around the western world, enclosing the inmates of the several countries:

- a) **Revues**, such as *L'Instituteur des Aveugles*, which, on a monthly basis, was published in French and was distributed and sent out to pedagogues, doctors, teachers, psychologists interested in or working for the area of the education of blind citizens. This revue not only put in contact the news and experiments, as materials as pedagogical, on the hundreds of blind schools of the XIXth century, as well as published debates, reported travelling experiences and exhibition successes and noticed new specialized books. I personally consider this source as a magnificent one for the evolution, dissemination and comparison of adapted pedagogy and materials.

- b) **Books and translations**, as a volume I've read at the Library of Institut Haüy, a Portuguese translation of one of M. Guadet works about the *Paris Institute for the Blind Children, its History and Pedagogic Techniques*. Apart from the fact that French was read in the developed world that made these projects of new schools, if the promulgation of the ideas were important, it was important to translate them. This Portuguese version attained Brazil and Portugal and certainly helped to found their schools within the INJA theories and raising the Braille system to the chosen one.
- c) **Letters**, from which I choose one from Doctor Pierre Sigaud, the ophthalmologist of the emperor D. Pedro of Brazil, dated May, 15th, 1854. From that letter and from the above-mentioned translation, can be induced the importance of the correspondence, student exchange, visits and travels of doctor and pedagogues, publications exchange – noticeable all over the libraries and archives of blind schools and associations I've consulted – and translations. The system spread because it was efficient and it had the open path of modernity by its side.

All over the world, wherever contacts were easily established, and students could be sent somewhere and return to teach, the 19th century development allowed the information to flow. At the same time, the necessities of development, both cultural and idiomatic, generated other solutions. Some alternate three-dimensional systems were created at home; others were institutionally-based and matured pedagogically at particular asylums and schools. Diderot's description of Saunderson system for algebra calculus, using pins in a system he conceived, Puiseaux's blind way to teach his son to read, and Mélanie de Salignac adequate home made embossed systems for reading music, geography and writing with a needle can be reviewed in *Lettre sur les Aveugles*. They are examples of personal resources for retaining information before pedagogical systems of embossed communication were needed and disseminated within institutional frames.

I should emphasise that I am only looking for the preserved information and not the oral transmission of instructions or culture, because we are supposed to be focused on a pedagogical solution and even though that are some notices of voice recording and reproduction since the XVIIIth century,

they were not oriented to mass production solutions, but to research purposes. Of course, there was the possibility of a permanent lecturer and a good memory combination, as on the case of António Feliciano de Castilho (1800-1875), a Portuguese nobleman, blind at the age of four, who was Minister of Instruction, with an amazing body of work, including a system for quickly learning to read and write *in black* and translations of Greek and Latin classics. Having means for a quality education, Castilho developed remarkable resources and interests.

But as we return to Anglo-Saxon world, I would like to highlight that the revolution on embossed writing was mainly due to efforts made in Great Britain and America, particularly for their huge investment on printing houses, and also in developing their own reading and writing systems, thus contributing to diversify discourse enregisterment, as follows:

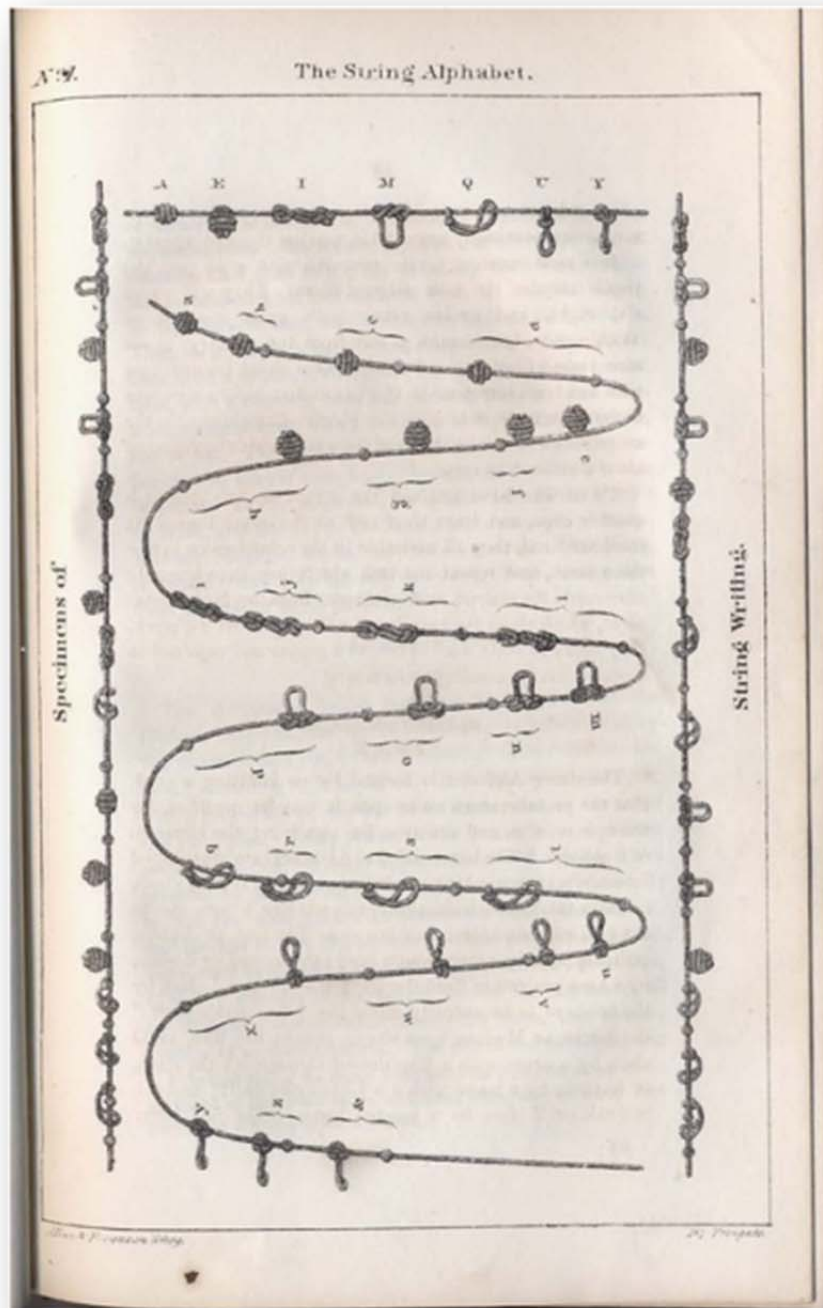


Figure 34 - String alphabet, quoted by Alston in 1836 in his work: *Statements of the education, employment, and internal arrangements, adopted at the Asylum for the Blind, Glasgow* and E. R. Scott, 1915. *The History of the Education of the Blind prior to 1830*. London: College of Teachers of the Blind c/o the National Institute for the Blind.



Figure 36 – Hauy, Gall, Alston and Braille type comparison quoted by Alston in 1836 in his work: *Statements of the education, employment, and internal arrangements, adopted at the Asylum for the Blind, Glasgow* and *E. R. Scott, 1915. The History of the Education of the Blind prior to 1830. London: College of Teachers of the Blind c/o the National Institute for the Blind.*

The preoccupation with the proper study and choice of the type of writing was remarkable, especially due to the investment that has to be made for its mass reproduction. England still keeps and utilizes the 18th century Moon system, side-by-side with Braille. It is a *line against dot* pedagogical issue but also a question of material and human investment.

In 1860, the Braille system arrived to North America. But for seven decades, as told by Kymberly French (2004: 65) the *War of the Dots* persisted:

“Raged among educators, most of whom were sighted and did not read any tactile system. Charles Howe complains of the chaos in 1905: ‘We have at present five distinct codes of embossed print the blind reader must learn (...)’”⁷²

Only in 1918, the Braille system was adopted and the Anglo-Saxon blind students were able to read and write in a uniform way, adapting its embossed press centers and teaching sighted teachers on normal schools, profiting from the uniformization of printed embossed books.

Italy had its own systems of embossed reading and writing but welcomed Braille in 1864 as soon as it became aware of it through Doctor Klein, the Austrian pedagogue, correspondent and visitor of Michelle Barozzi of the Istituto per I Poveri Ciechi di Milano, founded in 1840. Italy quickly saw the birth of several institutes all over its territory during the XIXth and early XXth century e.g. the Istituto Ardizzone-Gioni di Catania (1884-1911) as well as similar institutions in Bologna, Genova, Padova, Napoli, Palermo, Firenze, Trieste and Asisse and developed resources like precious libraries and reproduction centres, such as the Biblioteca Nazionale per i Ciechi "Regina Margherita" (Alliegro, s.d.). In Portugal, from 1888 and the founding of the first school, the Braille system was adopted formally, although it coexisted partially

⁷² Charles Howe quoted by French, K., 2004. *Perkins School for the Blind*. Boston: Perkins School for the Blind, 65-66.

with the Mascaró and Balu systems, both very popular at the time because of its easiness to be read by sighted teachers (Amado, 2007).

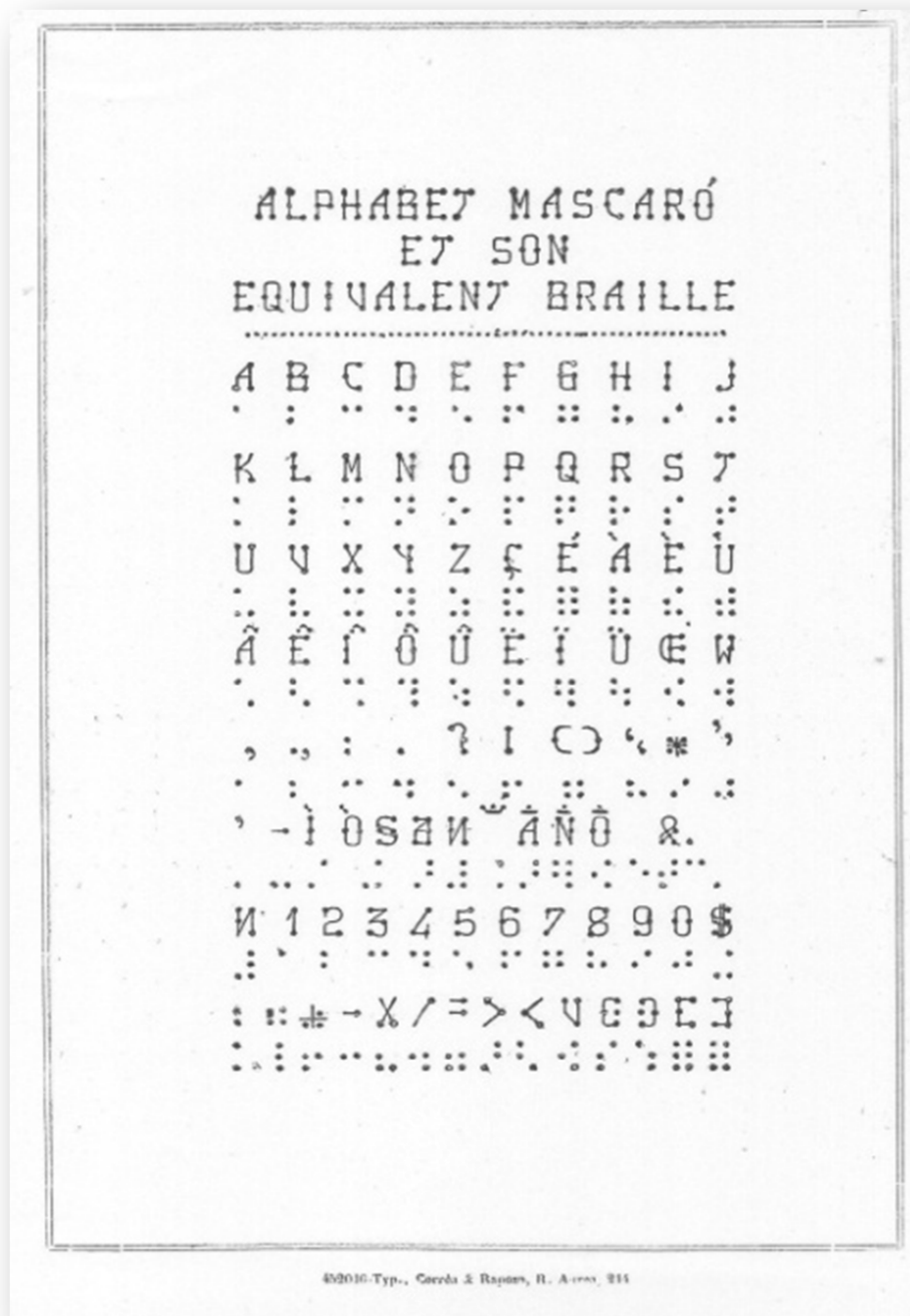


Figure 37 - Mascaró and Braille systems, published with black highlight on “The instruction of the blind and of those of abnormal vision” at the *International Conference on the Blind*, Edinburgh, June 1905, paper presented by the Spanish Ophthalmologist Mascaró, who lived and worked in Lisbon.

A REPORT ADDRESSED
BY 'THE MASCARÓ INS-
TITUTE', OF LISBON
(PORTUGAL) TO 'THE
INTERNATIONAL CON-
FERENCE ON THE BLIND',
MEETING AT EDINBURGH
JUNE 1905.

THE INSTRUCTION OF
THE BLIND AND OF
THOSE OF ABNORMAL
VISION.

Figure 38 - Text written in the Mascaró system published with black highlight on "The instruction of the blind and of those of abnormal vision" at the *International Conference on the Blind*, Edinburgh, June 1905, paper presented by the Spanish Ophthalmologist Mascaró, who lived and worked in Lisbon.

This journey on written resources of the modern pedagogical world has a reason to fulfil this chapter on social presentation, as it is certainly perceivable to a non-experienced reader of embossed codes, although the examples chosen from our sources are highlighted in black, that a complete socialization of the blind depend on both a huge investment on normal schools for specialized teachers and also on a way to send their writings onto a possible family member or friends.

Although the spreading and adoption of the Braille System was a natural conclusion for the war of the dots, as Braille is a logical, ergonomic and simplified communication system for both reading and writing by *tactus*, it was not immediately perceivable without a personal effort from the sighted. The neurologic easiness of our body's adaptation to a tactile ergonomic solution is, as was, one of the conditions for its success. Braille cells standard size is structured for a human standard index finger and the six dot structure is arranged to be perceived by a moving finger with its *tactus* connectors. It is, thus, large enough to be perceived and to avoid identification problems and small enough to fit our finger tip, with a very good psychophysiological adequation.

The decision was based not only on ergonomic features and on versatility but also on the economy of a universal printing system, albeit some small variations, adequated to mass-production printing centres and able to easily provide all the materials the students or workers needed throughout the world.⁷³ The use of a slate and stylus or that of the first typing machines (e.g. Foucault, Barozzi or Perkins) implied standardized materiality and suppliers. Even the Braille system implied, as any other one would, specific pedagogic materials and a lot of work to attain the resources of the sighted schools, as it was worthwhile the battle. If both pedagogues and student's thoughts persisted

⁷³ Amado, M.C.T.M.R.C., 2011. "The Braille system: a quality embossed information frame for a globalized modern pedagogy". *IV Giornata Nazionale del Braille: Il Braille, luce culturale e sociale per i non vedenti nel mondo*. Catania: Università degli Studi di Catania.

and evolved in writing form, the writing system should be chosen as close to the human body as to its mind. As such, besides its technical specificities and neurological fitness, Braille system became an historical communication process that kept itself through time, preserving purpose beyond materiality. In this sense, Braille became more a sameness than an otherness, in its compromising of every user with itself as well as with the conscience of its belonging to an active, conscientious and uniformed social body, or should I add as efficient and proper as any other writing system for an education performance would. And as the school system is still the current way of preserving identities, normalizing social and cultural presentation of students and building common memories, the written information paved the long-lasting path of its own compromise as of its non-compliance.

Concluding this thought on the different kind of social preoccupations manifested on the United Kingdom for the scholarization and authonomy of the blind during Modernity, demanding and offering a social displacement, it is to claim that writing became, more than reading, by its own, the blind student's demonstration of intellectual autonomy and the main claimed prize for self confidence on everyday life and social presentation.

VI.1. FOUNDATION AND PURPOSES

“There is no archive without a place of consignment, without a technique of repetition, and without a certain exteriority. No archive without an outside.” (Derrida, 2004:56)

The Milan Institute for the Blind is a curious example of direct political influence on the pedagogical paths of a nation. Since the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, and until the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy by Vitorio Emmanuelle II, in 1861, Italy was but a mobile map of ducats and republics. Regional influences and external pressures were, as such, permanent issues, especially on the northern areas, throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, with particular incidence on Spain, France, Austria and Prussia's occupations.

As far as our interest is concerned over the evolution of this region – or, particularly, of the city of Milan – Austria and France were the main outside performers. by bringing their experiences both theoretical and material to the society and, thus, to the performative social actions of the Institute for the Blind. We are dealing, as such, with a third term of comparison: not an autonomous city, not a city within a country, not a country with regional specificities, but a region in permanent turbulence and war during our period of interest. At the same time, a city benefiting from contacts and influences of foreign occupants, which became of utmost importance to the development of the project currently studied.

These forewords concerning Istituto dei Ciechi have a particular role in our narrative: they call the reader's attention to diversity on what concerns the evolving of states on modernity and the global impact that, at the end, is found on all three examples, as we shall observe.

Evoking studies from Eric Hobsbawn (2001) and Edoardo Bressan (2003) regarding Milan's history on solidarity, we find civil intervention as a deeply developed value of honour, following uninterruptedly middle age's habits of self-subsistence, partly because of permanent war, partly due to constant changings of urban management, or even of management voids. These latter required social actions for assistance, and were organized by the population from existing or new gathering of resources. It would not be a surprise to pursue this path of analysis and evoke some cornerstones of this peculiar system on the Istituto dei Ciechi and its influence on what would be, from its foundation onwards, the most coherent and permanent functioning school for blind students in Lombardy.

This was the school installed fastest on its own functional and proper building. And the school where discourses, techniques and machineries were provided by its own pedagogues, being worthy of mention the actions of Monsignor Vitalli and Michelle Barozzi, sometimes in parallel to those built in Paris, sometimes profiting and adapting to its specific needs the news and artifacts brought from the city invaders with a pragmatism only possible on a region used to permanent change and to profiting from the best of each influence.

This was, finally, the school built and planned at the city of music and the one where musical education was provided with particular care on its specialized field, not only as a natural resource for self-autonomy with the resource to the higher pitch tendency of the blind students, but with the will of profiting this characteristic to enrich the city with quality musicians. Wish and will met once again, on a different stage, producing eagerness to learn and fulfil the city's most valuable cultural and social production. This dedication to music stands until today.

The wish to be a good musician and to participate in an orchestra was not located at the same personal level as the wish to have a subsistence job on music studies or a profession of organist for life saving. It implied much more wish,

technique and work from the student and certainly more resources from the school.

On the one hand, Milan was the city of music and the quality expectations were harder for a musician. On the other hand, from the musician's point of view, its profession was a choice, not a consequence of blindness and his probable higher pitch was a blessing on professional terms, not a stigma.

But we are going ahead of our story and we should frame the institutional picture of Istituto dei Ciechi in order to proceed with the identification of its own unique characteristics, as follows.

In a letter from Paris to Milan, two girls, Elenina and Bianca, write about Foucault's machine for writing both embossed and in ink. They mention the exhibitions and progresses of the Paris Institute and the will to know better all the progresses recently made on the field of materiality.⁷⁴ Ten years before this so natural interchange both of students and of ideas, Michele Barozzi (1795-1867), director of Pie Case d'Industria e di Ricovero di Milano⁷⁵, a structure

⁷⁴ Barozzi. 1845-1846. 6 documents [manuscripts], document 1, *letter from Bianca to Elenina*, dated 12 november 1845.

⁷⁵ "Il Ricovero di mendicITÀ di Milano non costituì una entità assistenziale autonoma sino al 1869. Fino a quella data infatti furono le Pie case d'industria e di ricovero a svolgere per molti anni, a partire dal 1810, le funzioni di accoglienza ed assistenza ai mendicanti, fornendo, nelle stesse strutture in cui erano organizzati i laboratori per i disoccupati, un ricovero per la notte agli intervenienti ai lavori che non avevano casa. (...)

Un mutamento della situazione avvenne a seguito della emanazione della nuova legge di pubblica sicurezza del 13 giugno 1859, in ottemperanza alla quale il Comune di Milano fu costretto a dotare la città di un ricovero coattivo per i mendicanti. Fu aperto così, il 1° febbraio 1861, un Ricovero di mendicITÀ provvisorio, utilizzando di fatto i locali delle due sedi delle Pie case d'industria e ricovero. (...)

Pur tra i vari mutamenti amministrativi, lo scopo principale dell'Istituto rimase quello di recuperare al lavoro i mendicanti inviati forzosamente dalle autorità di polizia, anche se nel corso del tempo si registrò la prevalenza di ricoverati volontari. Si continuarono così le attività lavorative che si erano svolte presso le Pie case d'industria, sia per conto terzi (scatole, sacchetti, stuoie) che per il Ricovero stesso (lavanderia, calzoleria, sartoria)."

in <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/archivi/soggetti-produttori/ente/MIDB0010B7/> [19-09-2012]

similar to Casa Pia de Lisboa, developed under urban police directions against beaggers and vagrants, but also acquiring a protective status on disabled children and grown-ups. Partly due to his relation with Monsignor Vitali, who had a similar project but specialized onto the welfare of blind children, Michele Barozzi invested on this area of pedagogical interest, developing several innovative observation-action techniques of moulding his inmates and established profound relations with the Schools for Blind of Paris, Monaco and Vienna. His inventive spirit allowed him to produce and invent several working crafts both for reading and writing of roman characters and music scores, and the interaction with the other institutions developed immensely his project, officially founded on 1840, although the project dates from 1836.

The project of this Institute was written by Barozzi himself⁷⁶ and presented in 1836 to a Comunal Commission for Benificent Action, composed by the important political Milanese conti Mellerio, Greppi, Della Somaglia and cavalier Bellani, who approved the document we are going to analyze.

But first, I should like to highlight the political context of the city-state of Milan at the time: the chronology of war explains urban instability and the necessity of city police. For centuries, the Italian wars (1494-1559), the Spanish Habsburg invasion (until 1713) and the Austrian Habusburg occupation (until 1796) opened the way to social instability and diseases, particularly the plague of the 17th century. With the French Empire ruling the new kingdom of Italy as a client state, under the King of Naples, Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, instability continued. In parallel, the House of Savoy took care of Piedmont and Sardinia, and started an economic recovery. In 1814, the Vienna Congress restored the Austrian dominion.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ *Istituto de Ciechi a Milano. 1836-1846. 4 documents [manuscripts], document 2, Relazione detagliata della sua fondazione, del suo sistema disciplinare ed amministrativo, di metodi di istruzione i del loro risultato.*

⁷⁷ For specific details in Italian History and Chronology cf. <http://vlib.iue.it/history/Index.html> [06-08-2012] and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Italy#Early_Modern [05-08-2012]

With all this miscegenation, and the French revolution message spreading on an issue of Modernity, civilizational issues were the foreword arguments for Barozzi when producing a convincing discourse for the approval of an institute for the instruction of the Blind: should it be conceivable that only by that time (1836), an institute for the blind was founded in Naples, when in France and Britain for so long they were kept from the humiliation of mere public charity? In his view, the state of Lombardy should give example and what city better elected than Milan for the quality on music and the natural link to the hearing sense?

Politically speaking, the double vocation of philanthropy and public utility were clear in his words. Moreover, the economy on police effort to maintain order was proposed to be experimented on such institute, easy to deal with due to the disability of the future inmates and certain of their gratitude on non asilar basis subsistence. In his words, the basic intention of the project for the future inmates was their instruction and the open possibility to live honourably through their own work and means:

“Ideava l’erezione in via de esperimen/to di un Istituto in cui il figli ciechi potessere avere qualeta **istruzione** da/ renderle atti a rintrare onoreoalmen/te i **mezzi di sussistenza** ed un necessa/rio solievo alo spirito/”⁷⁸

The main idea is followed by several paragraphs giving account of:

- trips for contact with foreign institutes in search of pedagogical techniques and experiments and purchase of materials;

⁷⁸ *Istituto de Ciechi a Milano*. 1836-1846. 4 documents [manuscripts], document 2, *Relazione dettagliata della sua fondazione, del suo sistema disciplinare ed amministrativo, di metodi di istruzione i del loro risultato*. Fl. 3. Highlight on text is of the reponsability of the author of this work.

- contract for teachers and their formation onto a deep observation over the blind students behaviour, in order to learn how to teach properly a different perceptionate human being;
- authority within the city council determinations to maintain order on the pupils behaviour in and outside the institute;
- auxiliary personel to help the blinds on their first contact with the building they are going to inhabit;
- doctor's permanent observation of the inmates, to prevent illnesses and also to study their behaviour and mental structure (article 47);
- establishment of two kind of uniforms, for the students who profit from public charity and for students whose families were willing to pay their studies and personal education (article 52), benefitting the latter from other possibilities in instruction and travelling "possono anche avere a pro/prie spese nell'Istituto un'educazione/ piu elevate, specialmente nelle lingue";
- articles 53 to 70 identify the disciplinary regulations regarding behaviour, dormitory rules, gender segregation, permanent light for better surveillance, little daily ordered tasks to help creating a routine for the inmates and general policing of the institute;

All was predicted. The walks, the visits, the material needs, health care, discipline, instruction, class segregation, social presentation of the students. The huge founding document is extremely careful and shows previous knowledge both of institutions of charity with disciplinary problems and of institutions meant for moulding strangers as blind youngsters would be in a Milan school.

The School project gained its own dynamic. In its museum, are exposed and studied several objects brought from Michele Barozzi's study trips to Vienna and Paris, namely a set of printing embossed characters, metal on wood, brought from Mr. Klein' Institute in 1804. Barozzi himself create two typing machines, two versions of a same ideal model for a blind to write to sighted people, similar to Foucault's machine used in Paris and to the raphigraf, in 1847 and in 1848.



Figure 39 - Mechanical writing machine conceived by Michele Barozzi.

Music occupied a singular place on the life of the Institute. Luigi Vitali (1836-1919) developed a particular interest on the careers of the institute's musicians and also on their education since toddlers. Chord instrument playing and rearing and singing were privileged and the Istituto' Orchestra toured in London and Paris, where some of the elements stayed for learning. They also participated on the exhibitions of Paris and Turin (1881 and 1814), as shall be referred on chapter VI.4.

The fame of Istituto dei Ciechi di Milano brought many spectators to its musical salon and enabled close contacts with the conservatories in Milan, Parma, Bologna, Bergamo, Genova and Trieste. Several blind students met their autonomy as organists, pianists and music teachers or performers.

Finally, it should be mentioned that Luigi Vitali would also be the main responsible for the initiative of founding a parallel section of the Institute of Milan for blind children between 4 and 8 years of age, particularly suitable to start an early teaching on music, thus completing in 1905 a ambitious project on study, self-discipline and arts. The observatory that led to this project was based on studies that started on the 19th century with more accuracy – although with no technological means of comprovation as we have today – leading to theories of abilities particularly open for brain moulding on early ages. This issue will be cared for on section IV, on vision.

VI.2. ARCHITECTURE, MATERIALITY AND OTHER DISCOURSES

“Every institution captures something of the time and interest of its members and provides something of a world for them; in brief, every institution has encompassing tendencies.” (Goffman, 1990:4).

Regardless of its privileged financial condition and of its exceptional political patronages, the Milan Istituto dei Ciechi started, as the two former case studies, to establish its activities on a provisory building, while the construction of the definitive house for its inmates was carefully taken care of.

On the year 1840 the first building was assumed as headquarter for ICM: Pia Casa d’Industria di San Vincenzo, after which it occupied a former girl school, the Collegio Femminile Rosa, at Corso Porta Nuova, under the patronage of count Sebastiano Mondolfo, which supported financially several adaptations of the buildings, particularly towards the existence of music rooms and provisory concerts halls (Dulio, 2003).

The definite installations at the palace of Via Vivaio consisted on a considerable investment and had music as priority since the beginning of its project. They represented, as today, the typical school of the 19th century, with the hygienist principles guiding the architecture on the students quarters and with the pedagogy and disciplinary orientation guiding the drawing of the social intercourse sectors and of the playgrounds and contact areas of the students.

In fact, the history of the Via Vivaio building is very detailed at the Istituto’s monograph *Luce Su Luce* (Bascapé; Canella; Rebora, 2003), as the contribution of its founder, Monsignor Vivaldi, and its direct relation with Pirovano, the architect. The plan followed closely the Paris School structure one but acquired its own consistency in the relation with the city, willing to be present either by charity support or onto music appreciation purposes:

“The school institution occupies space and thereby becomes a place, a specific place with certain characteristics (...)” (Vinão Fraga, 2005: 48).

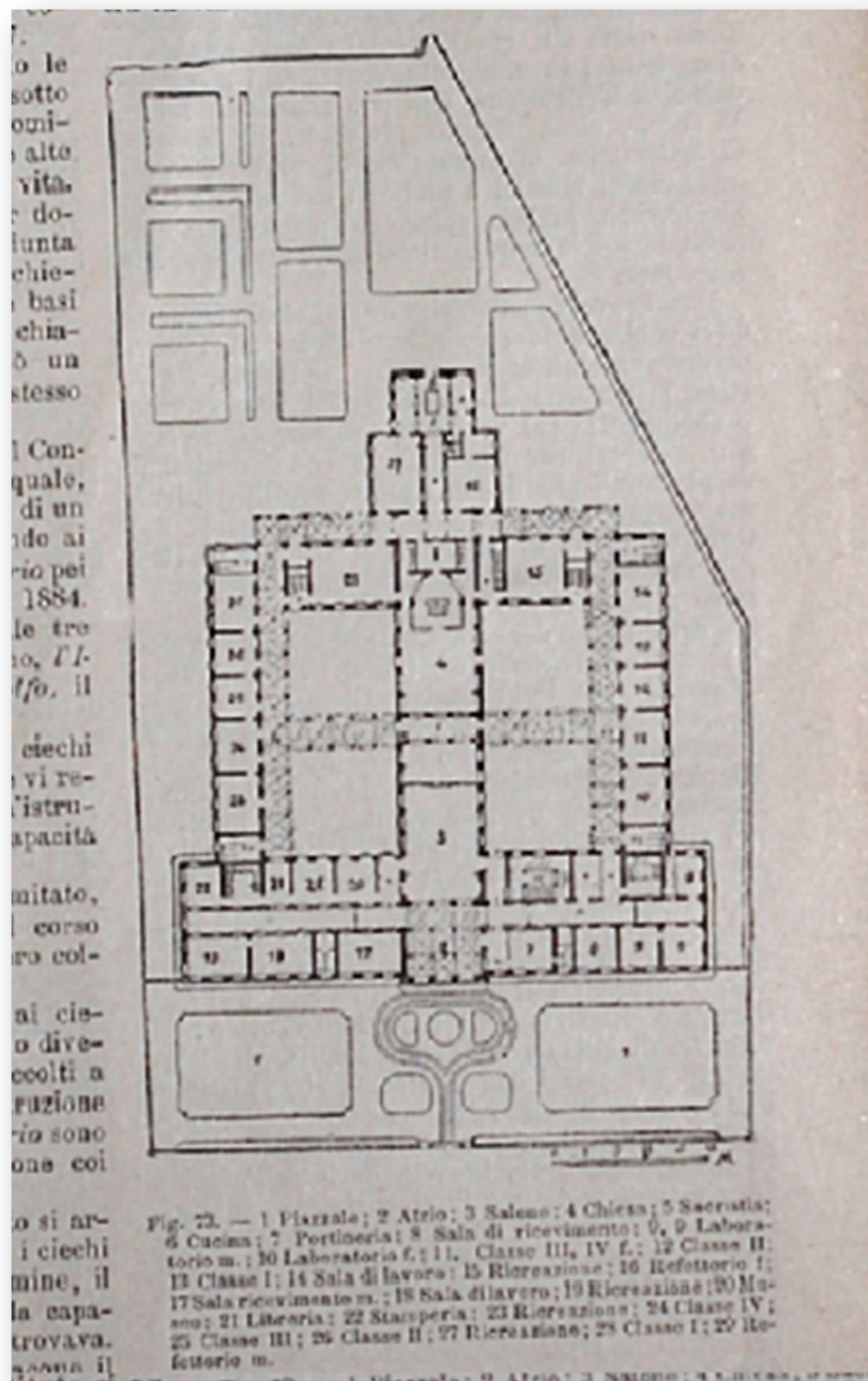


Figure 40 - Plan of the ICM project for the new building at Via Vivaio, Milan, from *Dizionario Pedagogico*, vol. I, “Ciechi”, p. 288.

Several details of security and discipline are of most interest and priority: the large external fence, the structural reinforcement of inner walls and ceilings against fires, the general improved model of the building following the one from Paris and also some specific pedagogical needs.

On this particular case-study there could be found the space for learning, keeping and playing the instruments of the music school. All the details that associate the architecture with the daily living routines, with discipline and with the several instruction purposes, academical or technical ones, are thoroughly described on the project of Michele Barozzi, situation that lead us to the conclusion of a very accurate plan on the Istituto progress⁷⁹.

The location and expansion of a printing house for embossed writings and publications was also provided, first adapted to the Haüy method on roman characters, then to Braille printing. *La stamperia* began its work on the decade of 30 of the 19th century and expanded on the 60's of the same century. Today is still one of the main embossing centres in Italy and the biggest in Lombardy. From these features – and comparing them with the ones designed by the management of the other two above mentioned projects – is found a space carefully meant to be a global pedagogical and social project, surrounding the inmates with future narratives and desires.

This occupation of space and its conversion into a place of learning certainly implied a new experience of territory for those who were linked to it. It is thus from the objective notion of space as a place that this subjective notion arises: the individual or group experience of space as territory (Vinão Fraga, 2005: 48). However attractive this notion of space as territory may be, it needs to be moulded into a non-visual territory. The inmates of Via Vivaio were blind and thus, very easily locked outside their original homes. A new space and new routines meant another universe, and the discipline of a total institution was not

⁷⁹ *Istituto de Ciechi a Milano*. 1836-1846. 4 documents [manuscripts], document 2, *Relazione dettagliata della sua fondazione, del suo sistema disciplinare ed amministrativo, di metodi di istruzione i del loro risultato*.

among the easiest of locations to deal with from the inmate point of view, particularly for the inmates depending on charitable fees.

As inferred from Hoffman's observations on the subject of vision, freedom comes from within. The unknown world that each student represented was compensated by each personal step into every detail he was confronted with: a letter, an instrument, a voice familiar or strange, steps identified on a hall, a taste or smell recognized as part of a routine.

The blind modern projects of schools were sensorial, if not from architecture itself, from the established path of the inmates towards the surrounding fences. All the space of freedom consisted in a life management persistency, reinforced by the disciplinary routines of modern times:

"The setting, then, seems to engender a kind of cosmopolitan sophistication, a kind of civic apathy. In this unserious yet oddly exaggerated moral context, building up a set or having it destroyed becomes something of a shameless game." (Goffman, 1990, 165)

Along with the external, came the internal walls. As much as the discipline was subjective and the self-ruling system adequately proposed to the inmates, the rules of the game were always, for the three case-studies, to follow the possible path they could course onto a possible desirable social identity beyond their disability status.

We would like to expand on one of the ideals of this project: the biggest investment in music ever made on schools for blind pupils, due to the regional and cultural situation already mentioned and to the easiness music meant both for social presentation and on the disciplinary path.

On modernity terms, music, as well as gymnastics, were not complementary disciplines; they did not intend only the entertainment or an adequate social training of the inmates. They provided hard working habits, major memorization development and a lot of body and mind togetherness. On my point of view, this was the major characteristic of Via Vivaio students: a

disciplined life associated to music, far from geniality, closer to hard work, parallel to the general academic studies that were a life dream for most inmates.

If absolute pitch benefited most of the blind students of Via Vivaio, the incapability to read and choose scores at will implied the hard learning of embossed notations adequated to musicography and this is a specific area of three-dimensional materiality particularly complex and expensive. They were also very difficult to handle by the students. The scores should be memorized, the pieces known by heart, the instruments managed perfectly and the demand of a specialized audience and select teachers due to the Istituto location in Milan did not soften their training path.

Similarly to Paris, but contrary to the priorities of the United Kingdom's asylums and schools, the Milan school building should care for rooms dedicated to music study, keeping and maintainance of instruments and scores. Special printing resources required specialized musicians and teachers to translate scores into embossed accessible and perceivable three-dimensional information.

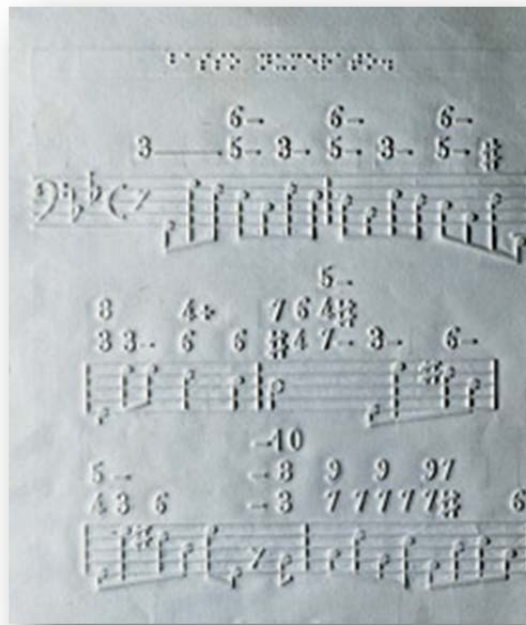


Figure 41 - Example of embossed score before Braille notation.

Tactus accuracy being required, along with systematic training and study, and with memory training and extra pitch development meant an extra charged working day for the children elected to the musical career.

The hardness of tactile perception of the first embossed scores is directly linked to the difficulty of sensorial perception of lines other than of raised dots. When considering the amount of codes that a musical score of medium difficulty has within, one has the perception of the learning hardness.

When Braille was adopted in Milan, through Vienna influence and improved with pedagogue's field trips to Paris Institute, the musical notation was considerably simplified and the work of the inmates simplified by quicker results and less effort to get more successful results. From that time on the concerts multiplied and their aims grew onto future careers in music, either in singing, playing or teaching. The sensorial issues of *tactus* will also be linked to vision and hearing considerations on section IV of this work.

Technical labour for the elder inmates was similar to the typical one from the European asylums, with the difference of having much better conditions and materials. Of particular interest is the project Laboratory Zirotti for workings on furniture and chair stuffing, presented at the Galleria del Lavoro alle Esposizioni Riunite di Milano in 1894.

Discipline was hard and time tables put great pressure over the daily routines of the blind students of Via Vivaio. Furthermore, under the rules of this technical instruction, the inmates had three years to learn a practical course after which they should leave the institution and work on their own independency. So, technical instruction was considered a good alternative on a city of social extremes, where the street policing was necessary and the employment of citizens a security measure, besides the education, side by side, of pupils reserved to other destinies, guaranteed by their breed. Of course, at the United Kingdom we identified a specific school for the Blind Sons of the Gentlemen, but the purposes of the regulations were more generic and the hypothesis of autonomous survival were plainer than in an institute within which social differences were marked on the very uniforms of the inmates.

Nevertheless, the social pragmatism of the solution was accordingly to the specific social cultures of each region and to their recent history, as we have several times already pointed our focus to.



Figure 42 - Laboratorio Zirotti at the Galleria del Lavoro, Esposizioni Riunite di Milano, 1894.

What could possibly have marked the difference inside this palace converted into school walls and among all these new marvelous techniques and sophisticated apparatus we have been describing?⁸⁰ Maybe the immortalization on invisible paintings at the Istituto's walls or as a statue at Cimitero Monumentale.⁸¹ Certainly the ever present wish to be seen, heard and admired, captured in a new exposed identity that surpassed the improbable curiosity of sight.

⁸⁰ *Luce su Luce*, 2003: 92-93.

⁸¹ References to the statuary on the blind pupils, teachers, promoters and doctors associated to ICM are sistematized in an interesting study of Giovanna Ginex, on Chapter "Le sepolture dei benefattori al Cimitero monumentale di Milano" in *Luce su Luce*, 2003: 400-431.

VI.3. TEACHERS, DOCTORS, PROMOTORS AND INMATES

“Sianno benedetti gli Istituti que compiono quest’opera mirabile di redenzione; e piú sar  benedetta quella propaganda morale que far  nascere nei ciechi la convinzione di poter essere istruiti e di valere quanto un veggente.”

(Peruzzi, 1891: 7)

Each institution has been capturing my attention towards the initial question of the possible merging of the blind school movement into the generic schooling modern universalization. Each one of them, by their particular circumstances and references has allowed me to unfold prismatic glances on the documents gathered.

On Milan’s situation, my detailed approach will be endowed to the characters inside the project. City’s context, described by Eric Hobsbawn as autonomous and self-sufficient on what regarded health and subsistence resources, helped to improve an interest on instruction and on its pragmatic application.

As several publications were found on the theme, soon did the European interest on sensorialism reveals itself on pedagogical magazines, institutional projects, pedagogical and medical research. From the pedagogue’s trips came knowledge but also books and magazines, agreements were made on the exchange of future productions and interchange of institutional reports. All this written material multiplied and diversified the interests and exponentiated the experiments on teaching.

The following two figures are examples of references that helped to fundament pedagogic evolution on Milan, as on other schools, the fluency of communication between wartimes being profited to mail, purchase and search new perspectives that could improve Michele Barozzi’s founding document on

the study, control and correct instruction of the Istituto's inmates, preparing them as wished, for a productive and autonomous social life:



Figure 43 – Dizionario Illustrato di Pedagogia.

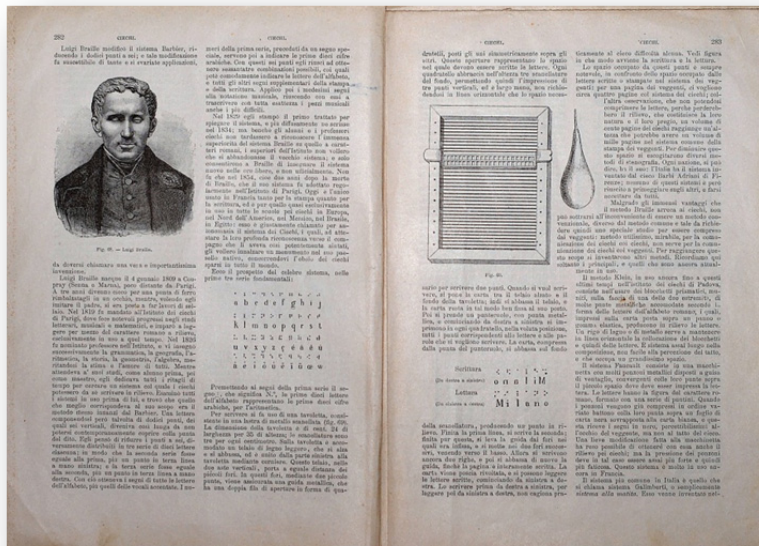


Figure 44 - References to Louis Braille life and dot writing method, *Dizionario Illustrato di Pedagogia*.

It was only natural that the reading pedagogues turned into actors of these productions, as we perceive by one random example, on the work of Ubaldino Peruzzi on the education of the blind.

A most persistent reunion of facts and inferences from European examples onto the Italian territory, using mostly the civilizational argument, as can be perceived from his quoted words at the beginning of this chapter, but also from the amount of statistical data used as discourse of truth, undeniable, scientific, correct, as Modernity used it also on the modelation of sighted schooling rules and essays, and as governments produced their speeches of authority under a voice undeniably strong in order to led their subjects to be conducted by their own wishes, squared in a confessional path of improvement and civilization.

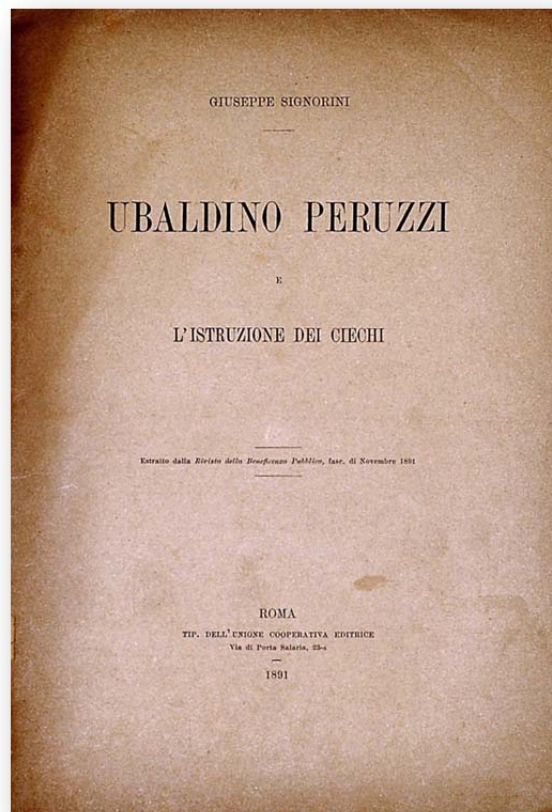


Figure 45 – Cover of the book by Ubaldino Peruzzi *L'Istruzione dei Ciechi*.

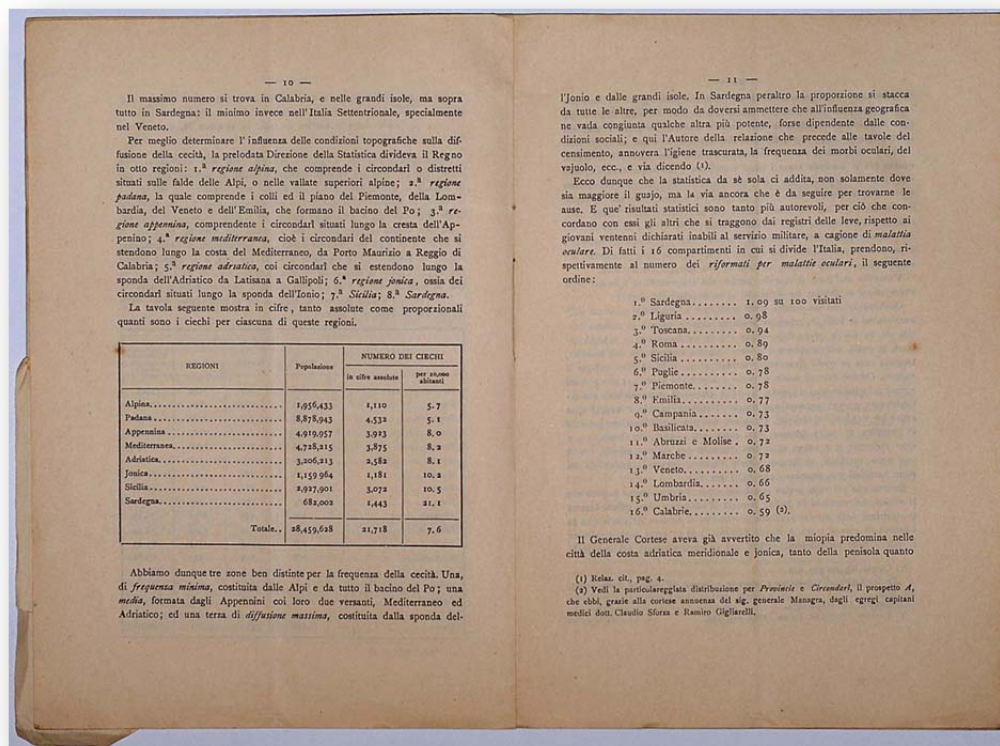


Figure 46 - Ubaldino Peruzzi's *L'Istruzione dei Ciechi* example of statistical data on blind incidence on Italian territory, identification of pathologies and origin.

Efforts from the producers of pedagogic theory and pragmatic work from the promoters and teachers of the new Milano asylum lead to a very effective control of the pupils. In fact, Milano archive was systematic as a modern school archive should be. Through the register of every detail, of every move of the students and moreover on the consistent gaze both medical and pedagogical of the inmates, it is possible to reconstruct the routines, rules, and paths of discourse between the institution, the student and the family.

From the series *Allievi*, one case was chosen to demonstrate a typical archival process of the documentation regarding the management of a student of Istituto dei Ciechi, from 1862 to 1866: a boy named António Ascenso, aged 12, blind from early age, from a privileged family, whose participation on the benefits of the best Istituto program of academic and musical instruction, as

well as medical and human interest for his later disease has produced the information summarized and presented on the table that follows.

One note is required to explain this process in the light of the health preoccupations that pervaded both in Barozzi's initial project⁸² and on the planification of the rooms reserved to medical observation and care on the Via Vivaio installations of ICM. Lombardy was a marshy region, characteristic linked with the lake region at the mountain foothills up north. Milan was a city whose water supplies were only the water channels planned by Leonardo da Vinci.

As such, the incidence of diseases such as the plague (both Black death and Bubonic plague) is more documented on the southern region of the actual Italian territory and they precede the 18th century. As to highly contagious disease outbreaks such as cholera and yellow fever, they were already being studied according to medical political action. Doctors like John Snow (1813-1858), William Budd (1868-1953), Peter Panum (1820-1885) and Giovanni Morgagni (1682-1771) devoted themselves to the understanding of the patients and were the first clinics that became epidemiologists on Europe, using several new methods such as consistent observation, register and statistics (Nelson; Williams, 2012: 6) and also pressed by the governments need to population control.

What Foucault called the micro-organisms of the governmentality issued from Modernity and its new weapons, such as medical gaze, statistic and archive register, amongst other social techniques of behaviour prescription towards a wished utter citizenship, disseminated as the wider and most agile power heteropia of the new nations (Foucault, 2009: 2).

Disease was apparently a counter-power to some projects but also the major justification of a controlled movement over populations.

⁸² *Istituto de Ciechi a Milano. 1836-1846. 4 documents [manuscripts], document 2, Relazione dettagliata della sua fondazione, del suo sistema disciplinare ed amministrativo, di metodi di istruzione i del loro risultato.*

Following this idea, the inmate Antonio Ascenso was chosen as an example of a short stay on a project he could have profited from, exception made for his premature illness and departure from the Istituto's headquarters. As his hometown of Spezia was located on the marshy area, his disease may have been due to epidemiologic reasons, although it is not documented. And the non-existence of documentation in one archive but probable existence in another one is perhaps the silence needed to understand that the register of information was selected towards specific power islands over the bodies of the citizens of the 19th century.

On the one hand, Antonio was blind and participated on the numbers of the asylum of Spezia, then on the Milan Istituto dei Ciechi as a blind pupil. On the other hand, as soon as the disease struck him and he was retired home, only the city doctors or the medical registers for Lombardy preserved his existence.

Different taxonomies are used for different situations of analysis, not for different citizens. Always the same bodies of citizens within a place or a function. Archive, *arkhé*, as Jacques Derrida recalls us: the beginning and the command.

Date	Origin	From	To	Subject	Theme
06-11-1862	Spezia	City Council		Certificate of place of birth and nationality	Documentation for school admission
30-10-1867	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Letter from the financial services concerning expenses related to Antonio Ascenso	Administrative and financial issues
06-10-1878	Spezia	Antonio Ascenso	Istituto dei Ciechi	Request for letter of recommendation and certificate of habilitations	Documentation for school admission
11-12-1871	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto dei Ciechi	Request for certificate of habilitations	Documentation for school admission
30-10-1867	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document (Doc. 002)	Administrative and financial issues
13-10-1862	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto dei Ciechi	Request for the admission of his son	Documentation for school admission
20-09-1862	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto dei Ciechi	Letter expressing his interest in the Istituto as a school for continuing his son's education	Documentation for school admission

19-02-1866	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto dei Ciechi	Letter expressing his thanks to the school	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto
09-10-1862	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto dei Ciechi	Further arguments for the admission request	Documentation for school admission
24-09-1862	Milano	Istituto dei Ciechi		Registration of incoming document (Doc. 009)	Documentation for school admission
10-11-1862	Milano	Istituto dei Ciechi		Registration of incoming document - letter from Benedetto Ascenso concerning his son's admission	Documentation for school admission
05-12-1862	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto dei Ciechi	Day to day contact with the school	Documentation for school admission
08-09-1862	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto dei Ciechi	Letter expressing his thanks to the school	Documentation for school admission
02-01-1863	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document - letter from Benedetto Ascenso concerning his son's admission	Documentation for school admission
23-09-1862	Marseille	Institut des Jeunes Aveugles à Marseille	Istituto dei Ciechi	Letter of reference from the Director of the Institut	Documentation for school admission
16-12-1862	Marseille	Institut des Jeunes Aveugles à Marseille	Spezia	Letter from the Director of the Institut to Benedetto Ascenso, concerning his son's stay in Marseille	Documentation for school admission
06-11-1862	Spezia	City Council		Health certificate confirming Antonio Ascenso as blind but intellectually capable	Medical issues
06-11-1862	Spezia	City Council		Social certificate, describing the structure of the Ascenso family	Documentation for school admission
25-10-1862	Ventimiglia	Church Offices		Birth certificate of Antonio Ascenso	Documentation for school admission
21-12-1862	Spezia	Madallena and Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from both the mother and father, requesting their son's admission	Documentation for school admission
4-11-1862	Milano	Ferdinando Bonetti		Letter concerning financial details	Administrative and financial issues
25-04-1863	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document - letter from Benedetto Ascenso asking for an exit permit for his son	Pupil's travels
15-06-1863	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter concerning the payment for the 2nd semester	Administrative and financial issues
06-05-1863	Castello sopra Lecco	Francesco Brini	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter concerning an exit permit	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto

13-02-1863	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter discussing writing methods for blind people	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto Pupil's travels
04-09-1863	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from Benedetto Ascenso asking for an exit permit for his son, for family vacations	Pupil's travels
22-04-1863	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from Benedetto Ascenso asking for an exit permit for his son, in order to watch a blind musicians presentation at the La Scala	Pupil's travels
28-10-1863	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from Benedetto Ascenso asking for an exit permit for his son	Documentation for school admission
s.d.	s.l.			Document describing the condition of Antonio Ascenso before going to Milano, and the circumstances surrounding such change	
29-10-1863	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document - letter from Benedetto Ascenso concerning his son's return to school	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto
04-07-1864	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document (Doc. 032)	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto Pupil's travels
01-07-1864	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from Benedetto Ascenso asking for an exit permit for his son, for family vacations	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto
19-06-1865	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Telegram from the father to his son, asking him to be prepared to leave the Istituto	Medical issues
18-06-1865	Milano	Antonio Ascenso	Spezia	Letter from Antonio Ascenso complaining about his health condition and asking his father to be taken home	Medical issues
19-06-1865	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document (Doc. 033)	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto
30-06-1865	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document. Letter from Antonio Ascenso, declaring that he will return several pieces of equipment belonging to his son	Administrative and financial issues
23-05-1863	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Receipt for school tuition	

20-06-1865	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from Benedetto Ascenso concerning the health situation of his son	Medical issues
14-07-1865	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from Benedetto Ascenso concerning the health situation of his son	Medical issues
11-07-1865	Spezia	Antonio Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from Antonio Ascenso concerning his health condition	Medical issues
s.d.	Spezia	Madallena and Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from Madallena and Antonio Ascenso concerning the health condition of their son	Medical issues
31-10-1865	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document - report from the Direction of the Istituto about Antonio Ascenso	Medical issues
29-08-1865	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from Benedetto Ascenso concerning the health situation of his son and expressing the intention of having him continuing his studies on music and writing at home	Medical issues
30-12-1865	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document - report about the continuing musical education of Antonio Ascenso	Medical issues
16-12-1865	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		List of personal belongings of Antonio Ascenso	Administrative and financial issues
18-11-1865	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document - Letter from Benedetto Ascenso asking about the possibility of finding a cello for the continuing musical education of his son	Medical issues
18-11-1865	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Report on the health condition of his son and evaluation of the possibilities for continuing his education	Medical issues
12-02-1866	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document - Letter from Benedetto Ascenso asking for the cello to be sent to Spezia and assuming all transportation expenses	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto

10-02-1866	Spezia	Antonio Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter from Antonio Ascenso, thanking for the cello	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto
10-02-1866	Spezia	Benedetto Ascenso	Istituto de Ciechi	Letter concerning the cello arrangements	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto
18-02-1866	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Receipt for the cello transportation and delivery	Administrative and financial issues
22-02-1866	Milano	Istituto de Ciechi		Registration of incoming document - Letter from Benedetto Ascenso concerning the expenses about the cello	Correspondence between the Ascenso family and the Istituto

Figure 47 – Table with the structure of documents describing the complete administrative process of the pupil Antonio Ascenso, inmate of the ICM from 1862 to 1866.

What main issues can be inferred from this sequence of information which can be associated with the regular teaching systems of empowerment? Appropriating some notions from Jorge Ramos do Ó works on Portuguese high school Passos Manuel (2003: 308-310) essays on governmentality, I will try to understand if there can be found coherence between both discourses. To start with, Ramos do Ó identifies on the student's archives a power-oriented intertextual discourse on governmentality. From his point of view, the production of written reports on the students by teachers, doctors and parents was encouraged by the board as a way of having systematic information on a global reality that was school and particularly on the interaction and performance of its recipients.

This mass-production of documents is far beyond the lines, it is meant for a generic gaze produced and emanated for the purpose of identification of information series and lines of behaviour. On the other hand, these discourses were crossed with the scientifically and medical ones, which were starting to emerge, that produced another insight of a possible discourse of truth on the pupils and on the scholar institution as a whole. This is a point of view that we recognize on this process, thanks to a persistently kept archive of a contemporary functional school. The depth of discourse production just changes

its focus, in our case-study, towards individual potency and normality, over the normalization mentioned on the above referred work.

According to my view on this documentation, and after the study of the former cases, governmentality and power resided more on inner potency and on the ability to transfer an excluded and unnecessary identity onto a state of citizenship, production, autonomy and independency. And then, the power of society's grid would be aware of the successful and invite them to be part of a wishing system to be controlled and control willingly a normated life system.

Looking for details on the example process of the pupil António Ascenso, the documentation typology is clarifying on its purpose of direction and collaboration with the inmates and their families. This vision can be based both on Giorgio Agamben's studies on the potency of thought and on Michel Foucault's *Surveiller et Punir*.

On the one side, one has to ponder the reason for this almost permanent daily registering of each student's move and thought, part of a hierarchically oriented gaze, constant and centralized, in which every word is part of a tale controlled by an outside writing hand towards a personal pre-determined destiny (Foucault, 1997:163). On the other side, one has to consider that potency as a movable social strength:

"The figure of the potency that he extracts of this reading compels us to not only rethink the relation between the potency and the act, between possible and real, but the understanding of the alive being is all that must be revoked in question, if is truth that the life must be thought as a potency that incessantly exceeds its forms and its accomplishments." (Agamben, 2006:1)

An attempt has been made to organize the available data on a documental typology:

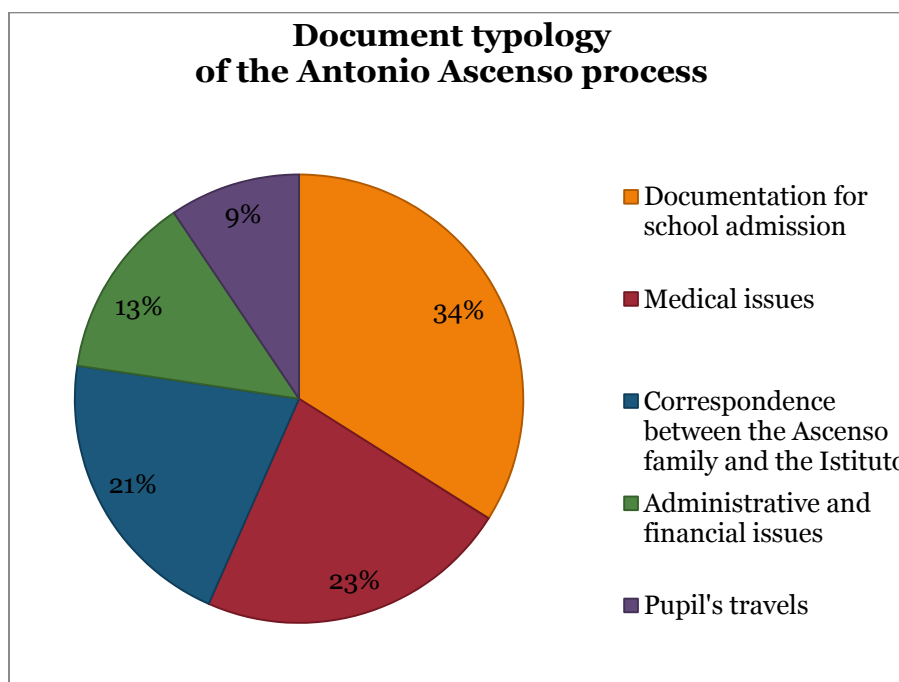


Figure 48 – Pie chart with the document typology of the blind pupil Antonio Ascenso process, over a total of 52 documents on school admission, medical issues, familiar correspondence and pupil's travels authorizations.

About 57% of the documents are concerned with the initial evaluation of the student in several perspectives, considering his eventual admission in the Instituto. Medical issues were also strongly present during the few years the inmate Antonio Ascenso frequented the ICM. We must pay attention to the fact that these documents mention as much Antonio Ascenso as his family and social environment, which may be interpreted as a wider range of observations on the concept of human being or of citizen's candidate: Antonio Ascenso was more than himself, he had been added a sensorial lack and he was part of a social, regional and familiar system.

Moreover the reasons for medical issues exchange on this process should be observed attentively. All can be read both as individual and as generic. We deeply agree with Ramos do Ó's theories on the medical discourses of truth as part of the persistent control and taxonomy of students, being this gaze more deep on blind schools on its ophthalmological and neurological vectors. But it cannot be forgotten the particular issues of every story and Antonio Ascenso was

one privileged student (his father a being military engineer from the city of Spezia). However, the last recorded information concerning this pupil shows him sick at home, still taking studies of literature and music and sending thanking letters to the Istituto's director, Michelle Barozzi.

The 22% of administrative documentation are mostly dedicated to payments, to the remittance and dispatch of personal belongings of the student, and finally, to his relationship with the outside, by means of visiting and travelling permission from the Istituto's direction. This last issue is, of course, identically oriented towards a complete encirclement of the subject of discourse. Not only the personal materiality had to be known by the administrative sectors of the school, but it was kept track of. Nobody possessed anything unknown or uncounted or moving without permission inside or outside the walls of the residence. Finally, the permission that the family or the inmate had to ask to an institution to which they payed wages for instruction stands as the utter demonstration of power assignment over the pupil by the school direction. The wall of Via Vivaio, as of other total institution on Modern Times meant an enclosure, and the register of discourses on all the referred themes, a permanent gaze. Adding the fact the pupils were mostly non visual, the perfect Panopticon was established and the efficiency of identities production is as improved as on schools for sighted inmates, perhaps, should we dare to conclude, with more intensified steps due to the need of a deeper gaze on behaviours and with a more internal perception of gratitude, due to the student's awareness of the need of techniques and technologies they could not have elsewhere.

Each pupil's administrative archive started with the narrative of his birth and place of origin, on this case at the city of Spezia, at the Istituto's request. Antonio Ascenso did not exist until a document said so. And this is another similarity with the regular schools of Modernity: the archive, both medical and administrative, told a story of truth.

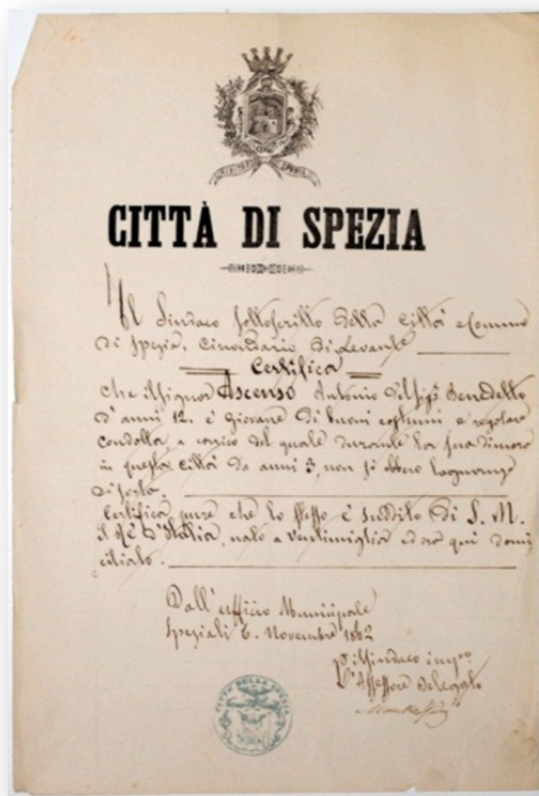


Figure 49 – Document from the city of Spezia for the admission at the Istituto dei Ciechi of the blind male child Antonio Ascenso.

Secondly, Antonio had precedents, he had a family. Before his admission in the Istituto, this had to be aware of the familiar occurrences and situation, the father, the mother, the brothers and sisters living or deceased, with or without pathologies, with or without social or financial problems. This is a privileged case, as I have already observed. A father with the occupation of military engineer, a healthy mother of six children, only the elder, Antonio, blind since early childhood. The family roots had to be known to be claimed guilty or cooperative on the future inmate's path; in other words, to be held co-responsible for the birth, past and eventual future of Antonio.

Illusterrimo Signor Direttore.

Io debbo ringraziarla della sollecitudine svolta per procurarmi un Violoncello, e mio Papà le accennerà qui sotto in qual modo Ella dovrà procedere per farne acquisto; per poter studiare con maggior precisione ed assiduità il detto strumento, mio Papà fece venir da Parigi i volumi in punti, *Études de Violoncelle*.

Nella gratissima ultima sua, la S. V. ebbe ancora la gentilezza di chiedere notizie relativamente alla mia salute; ed io le risponderò che, qualunque l'involuita debolezza della stagione aggravi di molto la mia guarigione, son sono ancora perfettamente risanato.

Vi sono forti dubj che i commissarij del genio militare abbiano a subire alcune mutazioni o in bene o in male, attesa la riduzione nell'esercito ed in molte amministrazioni, che, per la strettezza delle finanze, dovrà effettuarsi: a Spezia, per esempio, furono già licenziati 66 assistenti straordinari ai lavori dell'arsenale, e corre voce che quattro uffiziali del genio viano posti in aspettativa per non so quanto tempo.

Altro non mi rimane che a presentarle i miei rispetti, a parteciparli ai superiori, maestri, professori, assistenti e compagni; ed a credermi il di Lei abb-mo

Antonio Ascenso.

Spezia, 10 febbrajo, 1866.

Figure 51 – Document from the Allievi series of ICM consisting of a letter sent by the blind pupil Antonio Ascenso from Spezia, where he was recovering from a severe disease, to the ICM Director, Michelle Barozzi. The letter is written on mechanical machine reproducing the writing in ink of a common letter written by hand, similar to the Foucault machine so well-known in Paris.

VI.4. SOCIAL PRESENTATION AND SOCIAL AUTHONOMY



Figure 52 - Magazine *Luce su Luce*, special edition 170 anniversary of ICM, picture cover with interior of the Teatro alla Scala.

As we have been reaffirming throughout this work, the inferences made on the documental series of each archive do not intend to exhaust institutional history but only to allow crossed-readings on what regards our main question. Archives are always produced to be pondered and are intentional.

Therefore we will try to conclude this section by a final analysis on the specific techniques of presentation that time carried until today, allowing us to focus on the dissemination of progresses, doubts, contacts and improvements based on the work the ICM achieved to make over his students.

The image the Istituto built for itself was of a very strong geographic spread. Its achievements reached abroad, by means of its participation on conventions and congresses where it could report the evolving of its proceedings on pedagogy methods and materiality, and also on regional or international

exhibitions, where the work of the students, the teacher’s apparatus creations, and sometimes, the students themselves, were presented.

Based on the documental series *Conveni* and *Esposizione Universali*, we found a list of participations and documents. In the correspondence series we also found letters from diverse institutes thanking gifts from students to students, official correspondence, nevertheless evolving an aura of initiative and autonomy from the inmates towards its correspondents abroad.

Conventions and Congresses	Date
Amsterdam	1885
Berlin	1898
Dresden	1876
Hiel	1891
Paris	1889
Paris	1900

Figure 53 – Table with reference of places of conventions and congresses where the Milan Istituto participated.

Exhibitions	Date
Paris	1855
London	1862
Dublin	1865
Paris	1867
Brussels	1876
Paris	1878
London	1884

Figure 54 - Table with the reference of places and dates of universal exhibitions where the Milan Istituto participated

These participations and shows of the internal achievements of ICM were carefully kept as they were precious social demands for continuous social and political support, as long as they both kept the city from begging problems and dignified it through the socially presentable blind inmate’s strengths: music, the regional specialization of this particular school project.

The proofs of participation and agility throughout the other European Institutes were, as such, proudly archived and exhibited at ICM:



Figure 55 – Three identification and information cards from the participation of the Milan Istituto at the 1885' Amsterdam Congress.



Figure 56 – Document from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry certifying the participation of Istituto dei Ciechi at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855.

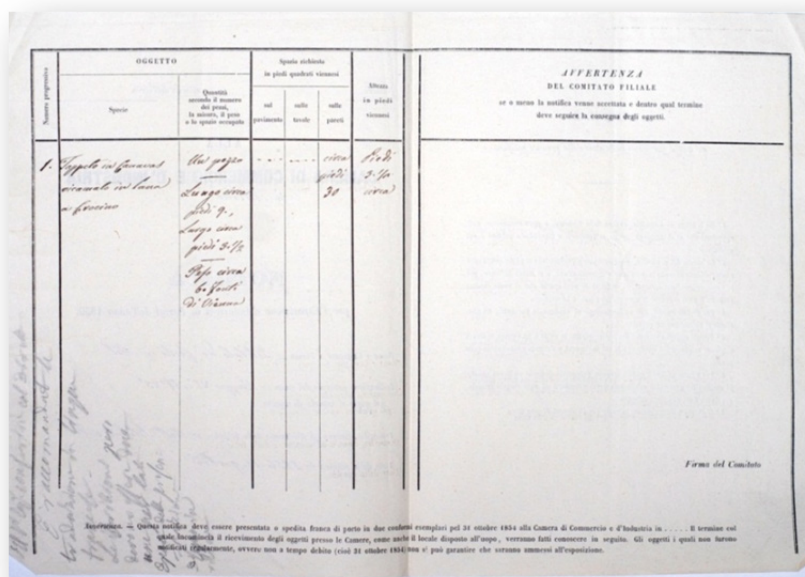


Figure 57 – Document with a table of reference of objects sent to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855, included on the series *Parigi Series Esposizione Universali*, mentioning the sending of a carpet handmade by the students of the Istituto dei Ciechi di Milano.

Externalization of the inmates and contacts were the main forms of mirroring abroad made by the ICM. Inside the city, music was the permanent evidence of quality, due to Milano’s cultural specificities and to the wish of the inmates to have a career in music. Via Vivaio headquarters’ main hall was, as is, famous for its concerts and in the above letters quoted from the process of young Antonio Ascenso, the concerts at the Scala were regular and attained more as a prize for the most successful students than as excess of work and training.

The Milan audiences expected the profiting of the diverse ear pitch category of these boys more than predicted failure for blindness sake. And those expectations were not betrayed, neither during school years, nor on career expectations. Here can we find the third way of social presentation, different from the Paris pedagogical successes, far from the materiality and social inclusion praxis of the industrial Britain, but nevertheless as efficient.

The study of the students and the investment on their early age training was due to a perception, not scientifically available through technology, but statistically discernible: the occurrence of absolute pitch and all the empowerment this neurologic characteristic could offer to the managers of their holders. According to the neurologist Oliver Sacks, “there is a striking association of absolute pitch with early blindness (some studies estimate that about 50% of children born blind or blinded in infancy have absolute pitch)” (2007:216). However, Professor Sacks remarks that the relation between a musician trained from early age and absolute pitch is more cultural than genetic. He also stands for the theory of a strong bond between absolute pitch and tonal languages, meaning that linguistic background is a main factor of success, when the results of admirable development pretended into music purposes are being considered.

The reunion of both factors was off course the key to success: born blind trained on music performance since infancy and with compulsory learning of at least two languages, as mentioned and developed by Barozzi. In fact, it may be considered that the brain mouldage was forced into a specific area, for the lack of one sense is too complex and with wide plasticity to redefine the void or non used brain areas as supplements disposed to body requirements, offering the subject a whole range of available extra developments and perceptive modalities variations as they are demanded.

On the last raphigraphed letter from Antonio Ascenso we perceive its grief not to be able to be with his companions at a Scala presentation. The same theatre that remains a symbol for the city of Milan, from where the Istituto dei Ciechi presents the commemorative cover of its 170 anniversary.

SECTION III – BLIND INMATES AND MODERN SCHOOLING

« How far we are from the proliferation of sentences in ordinary discourse, sentences that never stop being generated, in an accumulation unimpeded by contradiction but, on the contrary, provoked to a point of a vertiginous beyond. » (Blanchot, 2006:75)

Each writing work is a journey. We don't know where it leads us. We just know we carry luggage and remain thankful to have the support and will enough to proceed. Along this particular journey, coming to its final step as we enter the concluding chapters, I acknowledge a growth and unfamiliarity with myself. But then, the end of my tale is coming and it will have two pictures I will endeavour to draw after my travel throughout concepts, questions and sources: the pupil and its condition of blindness. And finally, some extra thoughts – the ones that in former days were called the conclusions of the work – to let it pass away, like a fleeting sight that I could not gaze completely.

The following section will thus approach the blind inmates that studied and were brought up as productive citizens from the case-study's institutions whose archives we consulted, and also, for comparative reasons, from other institutions meant for blind education on modernity. It is the time to argue on the challenge of putting in perspective the students, either blind or sighted, social role on the process of change into which they were subjected.

Section III will thus focus on the sensorial condition of the modern inmates and section IV will wonder on vision, science, school and mind issues that can help to focus on the diversity of interpretations of scientific discourses on man, at an epoch of deep social change from within, beyond his sensorial characteristics or abilities.

The final words will try to open the way to future writings throughout the faltering path of this script, a personal insight that four years of study, research and writing devised in my questioning mind and writing options.

When focusing on a human specificity, such as blindness, the thread on which one is moving is a strategic power pavement between the ruled body, the wishing and willing mind, and the dynamic of the surrounding circumstances, whether political, economical, social, cultural or even geographical.

We are describing, as such, the foucaultian designation of biopower, deeply developed on his course Security, Population and Territory (Foucault, 1977). Biopower is a concept that can be used, from my point of view, as a closure for these particular considerations on the power flow between the managed and the manager, assuming that the roles are interchangeable in two senses: on the one hand, the assumption of normation from society and government of men in the form of an institutionalization of citizenship, and on the other hand, the spread of wish as a social capture from within, as the cooperative link between the manager and the managed.⁸³

As to normation, we are clearly dealing with a concept deeply linked to the institutionalization of the schooling system. Normation comes from the mother concept normalization, which is the praxis for discipline. By assuming the need to rule a population, governments developed both need and technique, from the 18th century onwards, and still following Michel Foucault's mentioned theory, to identify what they had to rule and to prescribe the movements of power within which the subjects would conduct themselves to the pretended aim.

⁸³ This particular issue is developed along the work of Ramos do Ó, *O Governo de Si Mesmo*, 2003, following a foucaultian approach on the change of disciplinary actions activated by institutionalized schooling. At pages 718 and 719 the approach on the inmates new way of social harmonization, no longer by punishment actions or menaces but through a personal involvement on their own constant awareness of an ideal of behaviour, reinforces the strength of Michel Foucault's perceptions on the empowerment caused by an agility of prescriptions that occupied all the conscient space of living towards a self one could not ever attain (*História da Sexualidade*, 1994, Vol. I, *A Vontade de Saber*).

This ruling technique, so well defined on Michel Foucault's essay *Vigiar e Punir* (1987), developed particular discourses such as the taxonomization of the subjects, its study, classification and prescription, leading them to a self-definition of who was in and out of the pretended standards.

The disciplinary grid born from this agile power discourse was supported by law, by civil institutions such as the police, by total institution such as school and based on an undeniable truth speech from the developing scientific field. The existence of a disciplinary power only became possible in Modernity whether there was a population to rule and willing to be ruled, prescribed to a behaviour and presentation that would identify itself from the other, the unknown, the strange, and the different. Citizenship had its price and its involvement with a flowing power between citizens and states was based on these essays on normation, as to say, the safest safe grid of belonging and recognition.

Still, how could the institutional need for normation of our case studies blind inmates - as we are associating these theories with the cases we have been dealing with - be developed within a project in which physical and sensorial difference was the departure concept? And in what measure did institutionalization of blind pupils could have been able to accomplish this social and political need of self-sustained order? Furthermore, in what measure did subjectivity participated on the choice of the regular and of the weird?

The main issue is the focus on the recognition of the subject, following Paul Rabinow interpretation of a parallel question:

“If subjectivity is understood as corporeal – embodied in bodies that are diversified, regulated according to social protocols, and divided by lines of inequality – then, the universalized, naturalized, and rationalized subjects of moral philosophy appears in a new light: as the erroneous and troublesome outcome of a denegation of all that is bodily in Western thought.” (Rabinow, 2001:7)

What Paul Rabinow observes can be found on our previous chapters. Whether we search for the discursive issues of the pedagogues or from the photographic testimonies, whether wandering on the correspondence that mentions the characteristics of the model students or looking upon their personal records, the gaze upon the inmate does not differ as much on what concern social expected behaviour that the one we find on the testimonies of contemporary sighted schools.

In fact, the discourses are so powerful that, either on a religious base – as we found on the United Kingdom’s archives of the charities associations – either on a philosophical sensorialistic posture towards men’s inner abilities, as the Paris writings document explicitly, the fact is that the purpose of surveillance is allways directed to a split on the the social grid, and that intention is not based on the sensorial difference, but on behaviour, ruling acceptance and ability to correspond to the government’s investment and need of proofs of concept for its ability on the change of the social walls.

Our point is that the recognition and acceptance of a body with a sensorial lack and with, perhaps, a different semblance could only be paved by political wish, economic profit and social acceptance, and these mentioned purposes could only be achieved with a personal acceptance and confessional compromise of the subject.

Continuing our pursuit on government’s interest on the perception and conscience of the citizens as identifiable subjects of normation, we call upon an interesting letter addressed to M. Guadet from Pensilvania School demanding for statistics on blind students all over the world, on the intention of contributing to the United States Census of 1860:

“My dear Sir,/

The Superintendent of the/ Census office at Washington, desires/ me to prepare for him a Chapter on the Blind, with a historical notice/ of their rise and present condition/ in Europe and America with **statistics showing the number in England/ and France and other parts of Europe/** if possible. He desires this in time/ to accompany the new Census of/ the UStates [*sic*] (1860) which he is now making/ up./ (...) **Any statistics of blindness will be accep/table** and a reasonable price will/ be paid for any publications containing them. “⁸⁴

How amazing to perceive a developing state trying to define its own position on what concerned the development of the blind citizens integration through schooling. This request originated in the contacts and worldwide spread of publications from the Paris school and M. Guadet was the most informed person at the time to answer the demand from Washington. Not only we find in this letter an interest in exchanging governments techniques on bodies not considered unable to produce, but also, such statistic is presented in a double sense: it means a search for an auto analysis of one country to perceive its positions towards the other's development of the control and disciplinary techniques of inclusion with an economy of efforts. And since the success reached both in France and England – as he mentions – as well as in other countries of the world, was due to schooling, that was the justification for the American government's demand of information.

One of the reasons for the manifest international interest on these schooling experiences may have been the existence of publications, both magazines and monographies on the schools for the blind. The next two figures are from schools other than the studied above. They are from other schools

⁸⁴ Chapin, W., 1862. *Letter from 13 January 1862, sent by William Chapin to Jean Guadet (Philadelphia » Paris)*. [manuscript]. Manuscript collection, 022. Paris: Institut Valentin Haüy. [PHAUYM022]. Highlights of the text are of the responsibility of the author of this work.

meant for blind inmates, but from the same contemporary reality. We pretend to enlarge our mapping of acceptance of this huge and universal experience and understand if it could be generalized within certain acceptance parameters.

On those figures, at a first semiotic approach, we see playgrounds. The images are captured on the outside of the buildings, as a message of freedom, of good-will from the inmates. Children appear on both images. On the first, they are playing an unknown game in an orderly manner, supervised by six adults, one seeming to be a priest. The children play orderly with a rope. Others are sitting waiting perhaps to play next. A game? A route? A leading.

The children follow an invisible path linked to each other by two ropes, one in each hand. They walk on the schoolyard and learn the ways of their future: to go from whence they came and to go where they are lead, because their own feet move accordingly. Nobody's pulling the rope. They are also being both observed and registered (photography for archival purposes and for social dissemination of the success of the school activities) by their guardians and they are being listened and felt by their colleagues. They can feel the strong or the conformed hands on the rope. The sensorial Panopticon is already established in their lives. Nowhere to go without being watched, no time – nor even play time – to play freely – no touching between the bodies, no self-will, only aims and the shame of not achieving them.

The unachievement of the requested for the blind inmates of Modernity had a more strong meaning than on any other institutional school – one of the options of diversity on the schooling discourse. Whether or not the students won't conform with the actions and procedures of daily routines of social adaptation and instruction they will be labelled not as blind – which they are, but as part of that unwanted social section that needs readjustments and is of no gratitude nor self-will towards the progress that equalizes, normates, all the modern state's sons.

The subtitle of the first photograph is also clear: “Deuxième installation: vue des ateliers embryonnaires. Séance de jeux libres.” And where the speech meets the image, we see the meaning of freedom on the scholar context. To follow the open path onto a conformed life that requires neither particular assistance nor surveillance from the government.



Figure 58 – Photograph of games on the playground of the Braille School of Paris at the end of the 19th century, from the *Monographie de l'école Louis Braille*.

On the second photograph, the outside is still the scenario. An amount of children, all dressed alike, in what seems to be an uniform – referenced in the monograph as the gymnastics uniform of the institution – are being talked to by a teacher or a supervisor. They are also close to each other and kept near the school walls as a herd would be kept on the outside. The architectural reference and the voices of command that did not reach us direct them to walking or marching or having breathing exercises, thus the outside.

They are touching each other. They are very close. They don't run the street up and down, hither and thither, they stay and listen. They are memorizing what to do next with the bodies they own and do not see. They are not even aware of anyone hiding on the street looking at the strange presentation due certainly for the photographer. They are blind.



Figure 59 – Photograph of blind inmates and workers of Louis Braille School of Paris in Gymnastic Uniforms outside the school building, as presented on the *Monographie de l'école Louis Braille*.

The normation of image of these students – as photograph was a great diffusion weapon for institutional success – whose images presented from some distance unable the viewer to recognize eventual particularities on their eyes,

common on some blindness causes⁸⁵, is fundamental to a reasoning of their expected behavior.

Blindness was easier to manage as a difference on what concerns aesthetic social patterns. Not only because cognitive issues were not directly involved and the discursive language was shared, but because only very close and attentively could it be revealed to an observer, especially if proper walking and standing still techniques were acquired since childhood. Only very close could some mannerisms proper of persons without the sense of sight be noticed, especially the born-blind ones, which are used to manage their body in the world taking advantage of its existent characteristics and thus, acquiring postures, facial positions and gestures easily estranged by sighted persons less informed on the matter.

The promoters of the schools we are dealing with and the heavy support and demand system that came from the 18th century governments and families could accept a child known to have an incapacity on its visual ability that we classify today as 20/400 vision⁸⁶. But the consequences on the whole body posture and on social behavior were a challenge to mandatorily surpass. Only to quote some situations, the most probably stigmatic were the absence of the eye pupil, shut eyelids or staring eyes, not to mention accidental causes or even genetic injuries like the absence of the eyeball.

Thus the uniforms, thus the black silk folds we will observe on Boston school children's photographs and oils, thus the distance for the social gaze. To normate the appearance was not a minor issue of what the institutions were aware. Social acceptance and the possibility of a showing of results without causing the least trouble of spirit was, as Goffman refers (1988 and 1993), a caution on the presentation of the new selves. Of course, to have the total

⁸⁵ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blindness> and <http://www.who.int/blindness/causes/en/> consulted in 11-09-2012.

⁸⁶ <http://www.who.int/blindness/causes/priority/en/index.html> consulted in 11-09-2012.

control of the situation, medical support had to be present and to be a permanent aid on these behavioural technologies for inclusion.

The consequently regular medical observation of the children had well known particularities inherited from the sighted inmate's schools: detailed personal record, family history, ophthalmology and ocular hygiene observations and a huge record of the intellectual evolving of the pupils, due to the argument of mental illnesses or inabilities, ever prepared to be the cause of an expulsion. On most cases, since the 19th century, ophthalmologic laboratories were part of the school structure along the traditional medical staff headquarters for gaze and register of the school population.

“Knowledge, here, takes a very material form – diagrams, graphs, tables, charts, numbers - which materializes human qualities in forms amenable to normalization and calculation.” (Rose, 2001:120)

Population. — Le nombre de personnes logées dans la maison est, en 1898, de 219. Les dortoirs, à dater du 9 mai 1889, pourront recevoir 360 élèves ou ouvriers; les maisons de majeurs et majeures, 45. Les services généraux offriront au personnel supérieur 21 logements et au personnel servant 28 chambres.

Le chiffre des élèves admis depuis l'ouverture est de 261, dont le tableau ci-dessous indique le mouvement :

ANNÉES	ENTRÉES		SORTIES		CAUSE DES SORTIES				DÉCÈS		OBSERVATIONS
					REPRIS PAR LES FAMILLES		ADMIS A L'INSTITUTION NATIONALE		DÉCÈS		
	Garçons	Filles	Garçons	Filles	Garçons	Filles	Garçons	Filles	Garçons	Filles	
1883...	15	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
1884...	5	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1885...	15	19	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	
1886...	2	2	5	1	2	-	1	-	1	1	
1887...	12	11	5	1	2	-	2	1	-	-	
1888...	2	3	2	2	1	-	1	2	-	-	
1889...	8	8	5	2	-	1	5	1	1	1	
1890...	12	13	2	2	-	-	1	1	1	1	
1891...	7	10	1	5	1	2	-	2	-	1	
1892...	9	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	-	-	
1893...	7	7	2	5	-	1	2	2	-	2	
1894...	6	7	8	5	6	3	1	-	1	2	
1895...	16	6	7	1	5	2	1	1	1	1	
1896...	7	3	2	1	1	2	1	-	-	2	
1897...	14	9	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	
1898...	12	5	3	2	1	2	1	-	1	-	
	159	112	56	32	22	19	18	12	6	11	
	261		88		41		30		17		
TOTAL.	173				88						

Conditions d'admission. — Prix de pension. — L'École Braille reçoit gratuitement les enfants aveugles des deux sexes, âgés de trois à treize ans, de nationalité française, et dont les familles ont leur domicile de secours dans le département de la Seine depuis au moins cinq ans.

Figure 60 – Administrative table for register of the admission and taxonomy of the inmates of Louis Braille School of Paris.

<p>1^o SERVICE MÉDICAL PROPREMENT DIT</p> <p>Nom : Antécédents héréditaires : Constitution : Maladies antérieures { Existe-t-il un vice de conformation : État des organes { respiratoires : digestifs : circulatoires : auditifs : Existe-t-il des traces { de rachitisme ? d'affections articulaires ? d'affections cutanées ?</p>	<p>2^o SERVICE OPHTHALMOLOGIQUE</p> <p>Nom : Etiologie : Acuité visuelle { O. D. { O. G. Diagnostic { O. D. { O. G.</p> <p>Antécédents (déclaration des parents.) { Est-il né complètement aveugle ? A quel âge a-t-il perdu la vue ? Y a-t-il eu inflammation des paupières ? Y a-t-il eu accident ? Les soins ont-ils été donnés immédiatement ? Par qui les soins ont-ils été donnés ? Quelle est la maladie reconnue par le médecin ?</p>
OBSERVATIONS :	OBSERVATIONS :

Figure 61 – Medical services, general, dental and ophthalmological, available at the Louis Braille School of Paris at the end of the 19th century.

MONOGRAPHIE DE L'ÉCOLE BRAILLE. 71

4^o SERVICE DU DÉVELOPPEMENT PHYSIQUE

DATE	POIDS	TAILLE	DIMENSION de la POITRINE	SPHYROMÈTRE	DIMENSIONS				DYNAMOMÈTRE	OBSERVATIONS
					DES ÉPAULES		DES BRAS			
					D	G	D	G		

DÉVELOPPEMENT POUR 9 ANNÉES DE 43 ENFANTS OBSERVÉS EN 5 GROUPES

AGE	NOMBRE	POIDS		TAILLE		ACCROISSEMENT MAXIMUM		ACCROISSEMENT MINIMUM		DIMINUTION		OBSERVATIONS
		MOYEN	MOYENS	de poids	de taille	de poids	de taille	de poids	de taille			
		kil. gr.	m. c.	kil. gr.	m. c.	kil. gr.	m. c.	kil. gr.	m. c.			
De 6 à 7 ans.	5	49.000	1.09	36.000	0.57	26.000	0.40	" "	" "	" "	" "	1889
		49.000	1.57									
De 8 à 9 ans.	6	34.000	1.47	34.000	0.48	28.500	0.27	" "	" "	" "	" "	
		54.000	1.59									
De 10 à 11 ans.	17	27.500	1.26	32.000	0.44	17.000	0.06	" "	" "	" "	" "	1889
		51.000	1.56									
De 12 à 13 ans.	5	33.000	1.45	27.000	0.31	2.500	0.05	" "	" "	" "	" "	
		53.000	1.56									
De 14, 15, 16 ans.	10	43.500	1.49	24.500	0.28	" "	0.02	0.500	" "	" "	" "	1889
		55.400	1.57									

Ce tableau indique, par chaque groupe, les accroissements moyens en taille et en poids observés, pendant une période de neuf années, en même temps que les développements maxima et minima.
 Des observations ultérieures, que le temps seul permettra de contrôler, établiront les rapports qui peuvent exister entre l'état physiologique de l'enfant et la cause de sa cécité.

Figure 62 – Percentile notations of the inmate's characteristics at the Louis Braille School of Paris at the end of the 19th century.

B. Ceux atteints de cécité relative, c'est-à-dire présentant un certain degré d'acuité visuelle, sont divisés en quatre catégories :

1° Perception de la lumière de l'ophtalmoscope.	23
2° Perception des mouvements de la main depuis 0 ^m ,50 jusqu'à 6 mètres.	15
3° Pupilles comptant les doigts depuis 0 ^m ,50 jusqu'à 6 mètres.	32
4° Pupilles lisant le tableau d'Helmetz depuis 1/10 jusqu'à 1/2, à la distance de 3 mètres.	14

Il résulte de ce premier examen que, sur 151 examinés, 67 seulement sont atteints de cécité complète, 23 presque complète, soit en tout 90, et que 61, soit les 2/5 des présents jouissent d'une certaine acuité visuelle permettant aux uns de se conduire, aux autres de distinguer les objets environnants, et à quelques-uns même de lire les gros caractères.

Ainsi, chaque pupille ayant son acuité visuelle bien déterminée, il sera possible par le livret de se rendre compte, dans la suite, si elle n'a pas pu être heureusement modifiée en même temps que son état général, grâce à la bonne alimentation et grâce aussi aux mesures d'hygiène qui lui sont prodiguées.

Étiologie. — Il a paru intéressant, poursuit le docteur, de rechercher les principales causes qui ont amené la perte plus ou moins complète de la vision.

La cause la plus fréquente est, sans contredit, l'ophtalmie purulente.

Sur 251 examinés, 108 ont perdu la vue par suite de cette affection. 108 cas.

Puis viennent, par ordre de fréquence :

Cécité congénitale.	52 —
Affections cérébrales : méningite, convulsions	35 —
Scrofule	28 —
Traumatisme	6 —
Conjonctivite granuleuse.	3 —
— diphthérique	2 —
Autres causes	17 —
Total	251 cas.

Diagnostic. — Les affections oculaires ayant amené la cécité sont très variées.

En voici l'énumération :

Staphylome et leucome	137	Cataracte.	28
Phisie ou atrophie du globe	101	Coloboma de l'iris	11
Atrophie du nerf optique	50	Énucléation.	10
Buphthalmie.	35		

Les autres affections ayant amené la cécité sont beaucoup moins fréquentes. La nomenclature en est consignée dans un tableau que nous en avons dressé, de même que l'étiologie pour chacune de ces affections.

Figure 63 – Aetiology of the eyes diseases responsible for the vision injuries and blindness cases, registered at the Louis Braille School of Paris.

In his book *Inventing Our Selves*, Nikolas Rose mentions human technologies aiming normation, on the perspective of social and scientific discourses of truth, supporting families, institutions and governments towards a normation of demands from those classified different but recognized as, citizens:

“The values of the expert are grounded in truth, not politics; their credentials come from the academy and the professional organization and not from the civil service or the secret police; they promise simultaneously effectiveness for the regulator and happiness for the regulated.” (Rose, 2003:122)

The three figures above show different levels of control of the health, characteristics and behaviour of the blind inmates. First we have a perception on the admission requirements and of the new inmate's taxonomy, at the first glance. The immediate gender segregation is permanent in every observation and register chapter. This is a very primitive and summarized notation, referencing, at the most, if the child left the school, for retrieval by the family, by misbehaviour or by death. All the numbers sorted out on girls and boys.

The silence of the second and third photographs and the order and segregation implicit on the plans we have been analysing for the schools of Paris and Milan, predict a particular care with the sexual occurrences. The lights were always turned on in a blind children dormitory, so that the vigilant could retain any private gesture, as proposed on the Michele Barozzi project for the new building of the blinds of Lombardy⁸⁷. Less explicit discursively but well patent on the plan of the building from M. Phillippon, the girls and boys dormitories also had different ways and surveillance⁸⁸.

Willing to relate these performative behaviours and the self-control of the sexuality from the infancy with the generic schooling projects of Modernity, it is enough to compare the studies of Michel Foucault on the schools of the 18th century, when silence falls over the theme of sex and onanism became a medical term for a mind trouble. Several silences, so Foucault mentions, are just a representation of displacement: the discipline over sexuality was now directly exercised through architecture, scholar furniture, doors with windows, ever lighted dormitories and the constant presence of keepers. Every one that is part

⁸⁷ *Istituto de Ciechi a Milano*. 1836-1846. 4 documents [manuscripts], document 2, *Relazione dettagliata della sua fondazione, del suo sistema disciplinare ed amministrativo, di metodi di istruzione i del loro risultato*.

⁸⁸ Phillippon, F., 1836, Plan Général de l'Institut Royale des Jeunes Aveugles. Planche 1^{ère}, Plan Général à Rez-de-Chaussée, [architectural plan], in Phillippon, F., 1846. *Notice sur l'Institution Royale des Jeunes Aveugles*, 1846, Archive de l'INJA, Paris.

of the authority team is aware of the efficiency of permanent gaze and alert, as of prescriptive warnings on available cares for non civilized behaviours (Foucault, 1994: 30-31).

Figures 61 and 62 are meant for medical control of the inmates. The only extra care on blind schools was the persistence on ophthalmological laboratories meant for regular observation of the several etiologies presented by the blind students (figure 63). This immense power artifact called school, with all its discursive apparatuses, was used for the promotion of school efficiency as much as scientific writings and prescriptive measures were produced.

Saturation of power possesses, in fact, each one of these projects, paraphrasing Paul Rabinow (2005:44), and contributes to unfold several questions and to produce a myriad of possible responses. This kind of discursive discipline led to a spread of power, dynamic, agile, creative, productive. Nevertheless, returning to our founder's case studies institutions speeches, ethics remains for these particular schools, as important as for the general modern schooling movement. For the project was to instruct and prescribe social acceptable behaviours from the scholars own initiative and self-control, either for blind inmates or sighted students.

Differences and schools, differences on scholars, but the same problematization panel fulfilled of balanced power, prescribed and distributed as a social medication, as we are about to continue studying on the following chapters.

CHAPTER VIII – SOCIAL PRESENTATION: ME AND THE OTHER.

“Eight or ten blind persons, with spectacles on their noses, placed along a desk with sustained instruments of music, where they executed a discordant symphony, seemed to give delight to the audience. A very different sentiment possessed our soul, and we conceived, at that very instant, the possibility of realizing, to the advantage of those unfortunate people, the means of which they had only and apparent and ridiculous enjoyment (...)” (Haüy, 1786:30)

Who was available for social presentation? To whom had been recognised a space to be shown and a performance to assume? Who was in and who was out in the Modernity grid of recognition?

Let us start to analyse the intellectual evaluations made at that epoch towards possible recoverable differences that could be made socially useful, and particularly, the possibility of recognition of the abilities of a blind pupil at the end of the 18th century. According to the anthropological and historical perspective of Henri-Jacques Stiker (1997:112-113), only two outsider groups, on what normality was considered at the 19th century, i.e. the blind and the deaf, were considered aims for schooling projects, although, I would remark, that the deaf, having a different discursive approach path, were lead to more reclusive kind of pedagogic experiments, as can be developed with further reading on pedagogical sources of the epoch and, in comparison, to contemporary pedagogic projects that establish a visual bridge between two kinds of brain priorities (Lopes, 2005).

At the end of the 18th century, when our observation begins on the subject, the classification, study and social presentation of neurological and orthopedic diseases situations were not even worth the effort outside the family, hospital and, on a lesser scale, asylums, because the mortality rates were so high that they did not justify the effort of integration of a sentenced body.

Families and charitable movement's assistance for most of the injuries and handicaps were the common procedure until modernity, exception made for some particular destinies, whose social class and financial state meant a different fate from the generic situations of disability. Our first statement on what regards social presentation exponentiated by school will then be class.

Developing this idea, when recalling the fair's blind which Valentin Haüy sees as moking entertainers for an insensitive audience, with no dignity on its presentation, with no effort on the improvement of their abilities, with laughs and alms as their only reward, we can assume of those men as stigmatised on Goffman's (1988) asseption of the term, the ones with a social sentence of exclusion, the ones who were not considered, at the time, worth of a social effort of integration, much less of serious presentation and acceptance.

In addition to this situation, as was referred on the examples of section II, several epidemic and endemic diseases still caused high levels of child mortality. Fear was a powerful ally of exclusion. Earing and visual signs – stigmas – persisted within the European populations for long. A natural expectation of a healthy look was the natural safeguard of social acceptance, on the early days of a salvific medical science. Disregard for alterity was an inheritance of survival procedures from the late Middle Ages.

Of course, for the sake of this discussion, we could mention Louis Braille himself, who died on an early age, with tuberculosis, just after INJA had built the new headquarters aiming towards the containment of several contagious diseases that could be prevented just by renovating light and air, as hygienists measures postulated all throughout the 19th century. In Italy, the pupil Antonio Ascenso became sick after his admission at Milan's Istituto. His illness may be justified by his comings and goings, to and from his family home in the marshy region of Spezia, with known high rates of epidemic issues at the epoch, as we have already noticed on the chapters IV and VI of this thesis.

Other injuries, more serious than the generic ones, such as the neurological, sensorial and motor impairments, didn't have much chance to leave the family-hospital-asylum circuit. What Henri-Jacques Stiker shows us concerning France is confirmed by Longmore and Umansky, referring to the United States, where as late as 1860, New York's movement to set up a Hospital for crippled children shocked the community and raised a civil movement for its impeachment (Longmore; Umansky, 2001: 136-137).

In the end, who were the children eligible to be taught and civilized? Who were the proof-of-concept citizens, available to be shown without regret or disgust to a charitable or scientific intended audience? The blind were certainly the most discrete on what concerned beauty concepts, trained harmony of procedures, and a socially surprising effect from intellectual hard training, both for academic activities and handicraft, not to mention the geniality music effect. The passage from asylum reclusion to scholar evaluation and moulding had, as such, naturally selected its targets.

How can then be identified the differences on the Modernity schooling movement, admitting the existence of total institutions such as Goffman and Foucault define them, between schools and asylums both for health and complete future citizens and sensorial proof of concepts on the prescriptive gaze effect of instruction and education?

Schools had a way-out, even when we talk of 19th century schools for blind pupils, but are now aware of the asylums' autonomic intentions at the United Kingdom and, in general, at the Anglo-Saxon world, from what we perceived at chapter V. Age-limited and prescriptive ruling intentions were meant to create mechanisms of self-government that allowed, even a person considered different on what concerned its birth given abilities, to proceed with a productive life, on behalf of pedagogical and medical knowledge and on the benefit of political and economic intentions of society's body management.

Should we assume that modern schools for the blind were a specific kind of total institutions, a middle-stage of intellectual and identity building towards a social presentation of the self? Besides the existent sensorial lack, assumed

mostly as a marginal issue on what academic success was concerned, sometimes they even presented natural advantages: brain space and agility for both music and the extra-development of memory, spacial orientation, ability to listen and memorizing several commands and a natural dependency on education and on instruction from the sighted, a training time that, especially when lower resource classes were concerned, could make the entire difference between a closed being and an independently willed citizen.

“Treasures, O France which are now thine.
Eyeless, thank heav’n’s supreme decree,
We can to late posterity
Transmit the light of every sage;
Though blind, we can in open day
Truth’s venerable form display,
And shew the glories of our age.”⁸⁹

Testimonies such as these poems written by blind inmates – the first essays of students able to read and write – are precious instruments to identify an identity in *transition*. I do not want to use the nouns *construction* nor *formation*, for I believe, based on the writings I’ve consulted, that these intertextual messages clearly show that the students had the inner perception of a new start on their social lives, either on familiar as on social terms.

The second issue I would like to call to the reader’s attention is the aesthetic presentation, already mentioned several times on the course of this work, as a possible impeachment for the admission of some blind person’s situation on a peaceful social participation.

⁸⁹ Huard, *Blind and pensioner to the Philanthropic Society of Paris in Haüy*, 1786:36.

As far as our question maintains its route, should we dare to ask if the blind students were drawn to the image of little sighted school boys and girls? Photographs and pedagogical texts have been showing us that they were.

The uniforms, the positions, the blockage of some behaviours proper of a natural condition of a non-visual person's relation to the world, all that defined their intimacy and personality in presentation terms was aimed for transformation. Nevertheless, were the other school boys and girls equal to themselves when leaving school? Were their bodies not conditioned? Were there manners not compelled to adopt some habits and quit others (Ó, 2003: 409,419, 423)?. Were there bodies not forced to adapt to furniture and architecture? In a word, were the changes only demanded from the blind inmates or from each school inmate on Modernity?

Due to the reading of the sources and the support of these theoretical observations, I do find more similarities on the production of the scholar inmates of modernity than differences, particularly if one considers the fact of the blind scholar's special needs for materiality and pedagogy. But let us proceed onto this hypothesis.

Goffman's observations on social presentation (1993:71-73) help to comprise this idea, as he explains in what measure we are subject to a double performance, coming, on one side from our own human measures, intentions and abilities and, on the other side from our socialized self. The first "me" is voluble to states of spirit, physical and sensorial injuries, problems, emotional variations of several kinds; but the social "me" requires an audience for its own existence and, as such, is conformed to an expected pattern of appearance and behaviour. And through that conformity one is compelled, on the right environment, to live in a hard to break cocoon.

Furthermore, the bureaucratic technologies – and school was the central one for these experimental discourses – did not allow much space for individual action outside an authorized frame. Still according to Erving Goffman, that bureaucratization of the spirits turned the individuals to an urge of correct performance in order to be accepted, which means that the social role surpassed

the individual one. And if subsistency was a deep motif for obedience, the inner perception of a relativity during early years apart from families and from the whole of society itself could easily proceed into a wish frontier from the student in order to be competitive, integer, efficient, adequate to an ideal norm of future. In a word: self-regulated.

Why were then so important the individual characteristics of a body as long as their performance was demonstrated as belonging to acceptable standards or, in some situations, surpassing the expected as normal? The fact is that the grades and intellectual achievements of the students, not to mention the surprising factors of absolute pitch tendencies, extra-memory development, natural skills for spatial orientation and a surprising easiness to learn abstract concepts, led to the fall of the old silk bands and to a renewed social gaze over the new students. These characteristics we assume today as neuroplasticity consequences from the lack of a sense were studied on the run by modern pedagogues and doctors.

At the end, the presentation of the self turned to be a social technology, what Foucault had already called biopower in action, agility of a self-governed self inside its own cage: an inner panoptic system. The gaze turned out to come from the blind inmates themselves, in a confessional strategy much more shared with sighted students than assumed in the reports, exception made for the social and political presentations of the institutions, when the exaltation of blind inmates qualities and abilities where systematic and meant to astonish.

After questioning the inner abilities, let us retain the presentation of the bodies. The following photographs come from two early 19th century institutions: the Istituto dei Ciechi and a school for blind inmates in the Paris area. The first shows normated clothes, white uniforms, hairs and faces pretty much alike, all the students wearing dark heavy shoes (a blessing on the geographic locations of both schools) and a teacher, a priest, Monsignor Vitali, with three little ones of the class near him, one on his lap.

Only a very closer look let us perceive the blindness of the children. A head too much balanced, bodies standing closer than usual and touching references. Ears, not eyes, focusing a camera most of them didn't know the meaning of. Both genders are present, mas one cannot tell without difficulty who is who. They are students blessed by the care of Monsignor Vitali. Their performance is being learned and their individuality is losing strength. Their presentation comes as a group message: we are blind students, we are students, we belong in a school, all clean and dressed like other students and we are going to have a life, at least a possibility path to be someone independent and, in a few years, maybe, if escaping deseases and letting our keepers teach us to keep our soul, to be a name again besides the number. Even if that name should also become statistic.



Figure 64 – Photograph of Monsignor Luigi Vitali and his blind pupils of the Istituto dei Ciechi.

The second photo I choose comes from a Paris area school for the blind and was part of a report sent to INJA. There we find a more informal presentation of the children, nevertheless divided in age and gender groups. The inmates are positioned for the photograph by teachers or assistants, diagonally exposed, turned to the political personality complimenting the director and visiting the institution. The scenario is the school yard, and the time, space and location of each body is programmed, each expression controlled according to former instructions. The hands are lowered, the heads straight and the orientation of the regards positioned according to instructions. Nothing was bonding these children exception made for the wish to please and to correspond to wishes of the other.



Figure 65 – Photograph of a public presentation of pupils of the Braille School of Paris.

These inferences on both correct social presentation and learned self-control will be of the utmost importance to the next chapter, on the second process of identity, the one looked for the inmates themselves inside the space given them to proceed.

But for now I would like to evaluate this small trip on expectancies and images provided by institutional sources as a normated pattern on modern pedagogy, the lack of one or two senses performing the role a variable not on purposes but on discourses, as observed on our case study schools which manifested their will and creativity both discursively and materially.

What was there to produce and to show in and from a modern school besides normated students, with an effort to produce aesthetic similarity to sighted scholars, according to the cambiances of each specific environment?

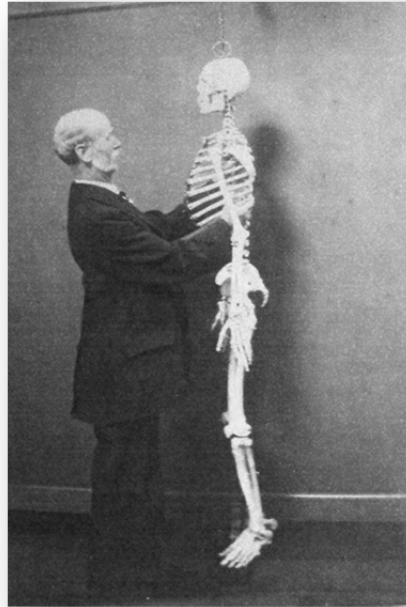


Figure 66 – Photograph of a blind grown man, holding and touching a skeleton at a museum in Britain, part of a collection of stuffed animals, object and building reproductions and several others outside of inside vision-requiring approaches to the general world. Source: RNIB's Stockport archives, no date.

Who is this student they want me to be? Who am I to become? Will I grow towards the correct standards and be able to take over myself? The final issue to ponder on the blind inmates of modern times is certainly the capture of an outside identity onto their own behaviour and wishes. The above photograph is a methaphore. It represents a grown-up blind British visiting a museum with an association or charity, having at his disposition several materials available and prepared to be touched. Stockport's archival fund has a collection of these visits from several associations and schools to museums prepared with special rooms as part of their collections, mostly on natural history, as stuffed animals, skeletons, and pieces of the world easily perceived from afar that would better be known as part of a general education onto social acceptance.

Granted by the schooling institutions, as above described, instruction and a life option other than the permanence and subsistence at home, street, hospital or asylum, was appealing enough for these personal concessions on disciplinary demands. Thereby, guided through the pedagogic discourses we read from the several founding documents and from the regular addresses to the blind pupils of these institutions, it is perceivable that the offer was worth the demand.

From Haüy's written discourse, addressed to the king of France (Louis XVIII), on his project of a school for the blind and its purposes, we read an initial description of his observation made on the cognitive and industrious qualities found in the blind, qualities required for investment of the project, sometimes assumed as a touch of geniality due to the particular difficulty to acquire information and practice on areas of immediate easiness for sighted persons:

“(...) **there have been found some** who, by the pregnancy of their genius, and the force and perseverance of its exertions, have found out for themselves certain employments, which they were able to execute, and by these pursuits **have proved successful** in alleviating the miseries of a situation, in itself so afflicting. Some of them, full of penetration, have enriched their memories with **productions of genius**, and have imbibed from the charms of conversation or from reading, at which they were happily present, knowledge of a nature and extent which it was impossible for them either to acquire or collect from their own internal resources alone, or from the precious repositories in which it was confined. Others, endued with a dexterity, which might do honour to the most enlightened artist, have performed **mechanical tasks with an exactness, neatness, and symmetry**, which could only have been expected from hands informed and regulated by the advantage of sight (...)” (Haüy, 1785: 221)

Other blind candidates, however, were indigent and beggars:

“But in spite of these happy dispositions in the blind, these marvellous exhibitions, which ought rather to be called prodigies than natural events, could only be, in the persons by whom they were displayed, the slow results of indefatigable industry and obstinate application, and **seemed alone to have been reserved for a small number among them** (...). “Thus, with respect to all social utility and importance,

people in this unhappy circumstances were to be accounted **dead members**, even in those societies where their existence was protracted, and its exigencies supplied; and the most part of them victims at once to the **double calamity of blindness and indigence**, had no other portion assigned them but the **miserable and sterile resource of begging**, for protracting, if we may so speak, in the horrors of a dungeon the moments of a painful and burdensome existence (...)"⁹⁰ (Haüy, 1785: 221)

In fact, the need for what Goffman called *the bureaucratization of the self* or, as we would like to put it, *the creation of the wish to be helped*, was an action of moving willingly from an ostracized square of society onto a normatized and normalized life. Education meant the ability and opportunity of accessing, with improved means and adequate training, the utmost of some specialized capacities derived from the brain's agility on the situation of a sensorial lack that on reverse meant a space of development for exponentiated capacities:

"It is to be essentially serviceable to this class of suffering mortals that I have invented a General Plan of Institution, which, by principles and utensils proper for their use, might facilitate to some of these what they could not otherwise accomplish, without almost insuperable difficulty, and render practicable to others, what it appeared impossible for them to execute (...)"(Haüy, 1785: 221-223)

As to the United Kingdom's reports on the efforts on blind people's instructions and their main aims, we appeal to the words of an essay on blind education prior to 1830, referring as follows:

"In the great stirring of men's minds which culminated in the French Revolution, the Blind were not left out. The Encyclopaedists who prepared the way for the social and political cataclysm of the Revolution, prepared also the way for the **systematic education of the Blind**. Diderot's 'Lettre sur les Aveugles' brought the Blind into a

⁹⁰ Highlights on this source are of the responsibility of the author of this work.

prominence which they had never before enjoyed. (...) To quote Lord Morley⁹¹ 'The 'Letter on the Blind' is an inquiry how far a modification of the five senses, such as the congenital absence of one of them, **would involve a corresponding modification of the ordinary notions** acquired by men who are normally endowed in their capacity for sensation⁹²' (Council of College of the Teachers of the Blind, 1915)

For the blind, the official search for an identity at the start and a perspective of an identity after the effort of instruction had begun, in the United Kingdom, with the Act of Incorporation of 1829, recognising and approving the establishment of The School for Indigent Blind of Liverpool, on the following arguments:

"(...) One hundred Blind Persons are at present **instructed and employed** in several **useful Trades and Manufactures**, and thereby relieved from much of the Distress and Misery caused by their Affliction, **and are taught Habits of Regularity and Industry**, as well as the **Means of providing for their own Support**⁹³ (...)."Royden (1991:121).

⁹¹ "John Morley, 1st Viscount Morley of Blackburn (24 December 1838 – 23 September 1923) was a British Liberal statesman, writer and newspaper editor. Initially a journalist, he was elected a Member of Parliament in 1883. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1886 and between 1892 and 1895, Secretary of State for India between 1905 and 1910 and again in 1911 and Lord President of the Council between 1910 and 1914." in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Morley,_1st_Viscount_Morley_of_Blackburn, consulted 13-09-2012.

⁹² Highlights of the source made by the author of this work.

⁹³ Highlights of the source made by the author of this work.

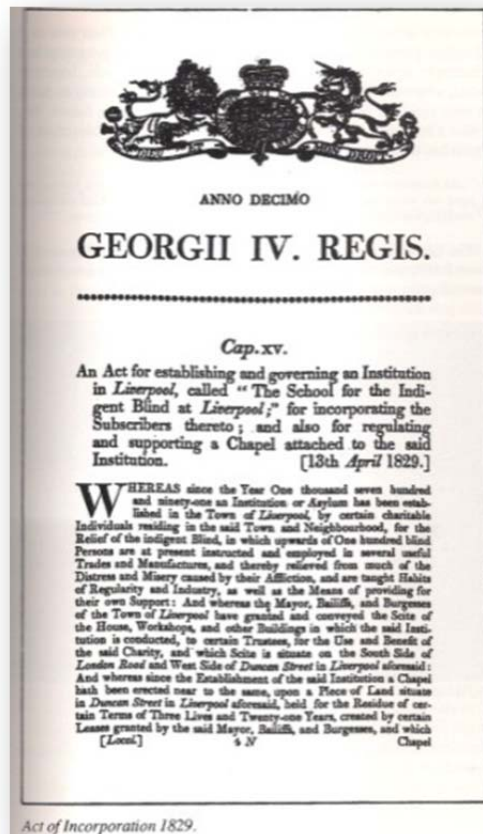


Figure 67 – Act of Incorporation 1829 by King George IV of the United Kingdom.⁹⁴

Again we find references to Goffman's taxonomy of an inner and private self and a bureaucratic or social-aimed one, the latter standing for the purposes of the national efforts we can find on the above documents, as on many others in modern Europe (Goffman, 1993).

As to Milan, reviewing the first approach to the education of the blind on what concerns identity issues, we also found writings not only praising Michelle Barozzi's human qualities, but also his efforts and dynamic towards the development of the Istituto by judiciously choosing its first pupils, who should

⁹⁴ Royden (1991:121).

have to prove their abilities and justify institutional effort on their future, becoming themselves part of a pretended common wish; as such, we conclude once more that mind and body management were starting to appear on pedagogic reports, official acts and generic statements on blind education, as summoned on Michel Foucault's theories on the Security, Territory and Population course (1978). The description on Michelle Barozzi's qualities and criteria were written, as follows, by Monsignor Luigi Vitali:

“Il Barozzi, **uomo di criterio, di ordine, onestissimo, di coscienza delicata**, gelosa dell'adempimento del proprio dovere, era l'uomo fatto apostata per tale ufficio. Sotto l'iniziativa del governatore Harting, egli fu il vero fondatore dell'Istituto dei Ciechi a Milano, che aprì nel 1840, in un piccolo ripparto della *Pia Casa d'Industria*, in via San Vincenzo, della quale era direttore. Lo aprì con un bambino cieco ed una bambina cieca che, fortunatamente **dotati di ottime qualità**, assai contribuirono a formare la base e a dare incremento alla nascente istituzione. Erano Angelo Bianchi e Antonietta Banfi, riusciti poi, il primo **ottimo flautista e valente organista**, la seconda, fornita di bella voce, **ottima cantante e distinta arpista**.” (Vitali, 1916)

Moreover, as to my last statement on Foucault's work on the creation of an official identity, a self which could be adequate for the state to rule based on predictable issues, I find there is a direct implication on these written efforts to orient identities with the administrative apparatus I have already mentioned when describing the school archives, particularly on Milan's case.

In Milan, in France as in the United Kingdom, as well as in other countries on the same epoch⁹⁵, archives of schools for regular pupils as well as for the blind were very much alike, exception made for the ophthalmological records, benefiting of further details.

⁹⁵ For instance, Portugal, as can be perceived by Ramos do Ó (2004) thesis work, particularly on his analysis of inquiries on chapter 2.

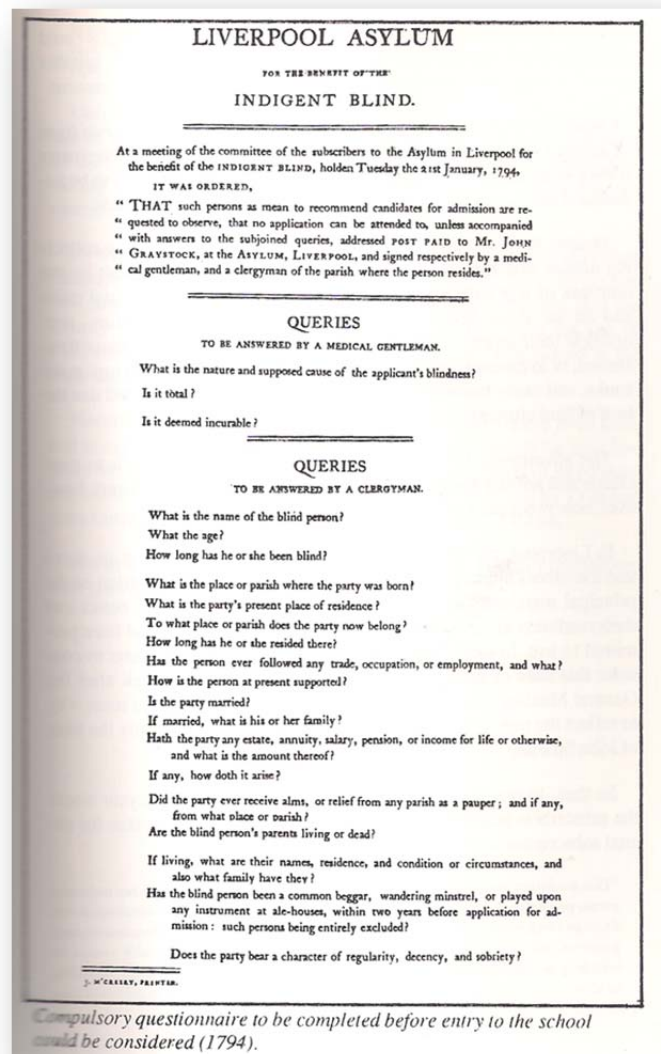


Figure 68 - Compulsory questionnaire of admission to Liverpool Institute in 1794.⁹⁶

Figure 68 represents one of those inquiries, taxonomic sculptors of identities, regarding the inmate, body and soul, regarding the family and environment, and starting a personal process on the institutional archives, as we have already followed minutely for the Milan Institute inmate Antonio Ascenso (chapter VI.3).

⁹⁶ Royden (1991:61).

The first condition for obtaining a bureaucratic identity from the Liverpool Asylum was to fulfil a form, approved and signed by a medicine doctor and by a clergyman of the parish of residence of the candidate, in two separate sections: body and soul.

As a start for the process followed by the medical staff, it only mattered if the candidate was blind, if he was totally blind and if the situation appeared as incurable. This was a pre-selection based on discipline. The blind were starting to be taught, their reactions were variable, the form is dated from the end of the 18th century and the intention seems more of an identification character.

The query destined to be supervised by the clergyman was more detailed and filled the behavior and habits that lacked for a complete evaluation of character. Although specific, it was predictable and very much alike other contemporary queries for sighted pupil's schools. The specific data was focused on a report on the cause and date of blindness, on the situation on what concerned the subsistence of the applicant, and excluded the blinds who had been beggars, minstrels or street/ale-houses musicians at least for two years before the date of the application. The questions on family and personal character and habits are irrelevant to the sensorial lack. Of course this query, designed in a late 18th century United Kingdom asylum that was starting to work on blind instruction and independency, still has the problem of adults, or part of the questions would not be justified. But this was the beginning, on all mentioned discourses, of a long pavement of new souls.

Reporting to Ian Hacking's studies on the chapter "What's it like?" of his work *Rewriting the Soul* (1998) we gather three remarks of the utmost importance to what we call the *redesign of the modern blind student*:

1. "Times change, and so do people. People in trouble are not more constant than anyone else. But there is more to the change in the lifestyle of multiples than the passage of time. **We tend to behave in ways that are expected of us, especially by authority figures – doctors, for example.**"
2. "The doctor's vision was different because the patients were different; but the patients were different because the doctor's expectations were different. That is an example of a very general phenomenon: **the looping effect of human kinds.**"

3. **“People classified in a certain way tend to conform** to or grow into the ways they are described; **but they also evolve** in their own ways, so that the classifications and **descriptions have to be constantly revised**⁹⁷.” (Hacking, 1998: 21-22)

Identities captured and gazed, panoptimized by the self, characterized and uncategorized according to tradition, culture, evolving of medicine and pedagogy, according to the self-behavior of the inmate as well. All this became the reality of the first schools for the blind. But would it be otherwise on the sighted children schools? Are modern categorizations as different as the bodies they included and described? Do we describe what we observe or do we assert the differences towards an aim? Do we put in words and wishes or do we take them?⁹⁸

Actually, we could speak of bipolarity between what the inmate thought of himself and the wish he had conformed to a medical and pedagogical classification and to a social appearance, which could be a hard role to assume: an agile identity. As Semir Zeki defines such phenomena: “The two concepts of unity and annihilation are therefore intimately linked and almost certainly the consequence of our incapacity to achieve the unity that biology has ingrained in our mental constitution as a concept.” (Zeki, 2009:152) So were the possible and multiple relations of the inmates with their wish and towards their expectancy on the new schools. Furthermore, the search for the outside – the looks, the voice, the body, the eye appearance, the posture – the aesthetical demand from a hard social voice, willing to invest on new institutions but also questioning on the proper look of its pupils. The expected and the object of gaze could never check completely, no matter the efforts of the inmate to attend the requested from the other who demanded similitude to an unknown mirror. Quoting Thérèse-Adèle-Husson:

⁹⁷ Highlights of the passages quoted made by the author of this work.

⁹⁸ On the subject of the evolving and variety of taxonomies cf. Eco, 2009: chapter 13.

“Lorsque nous acquérons la certitude d’être vêtues d’une jolie robe et d’avoir une chaussure délicate, parées de ces objets de luxe qui ont autant de prix pour nous que pour les personnes qui les voyent, nous ne voudrions, ni nous asseoir, ni nous tenir debout selon nôtre manière de penser à ce sujet, il nous semble que le moindre mouvement altère la fraîcheur de notre toilette.” Thérèse-Adèle Husson, c. 1825.⁹⁹

The conscience of the importance of a proper personal look, always prepared to sustain the gaze of the other, always available to be checked, is a deep step on self-control of a person who cannot establish a relation to any kind of reassuringly reflecting surface. Both physiognomonía¹⁰⁰ and phrenology were menacing discourses linking ugliness or monstrosity concepts to evil character. Distance was proportional to the regularity of the semblance. Of course, these concepts evolved on time. But studying the modern epoch standards we find similarities to our days¹⁰¹. And the inner panoptic¹⁰², the one with no walls, the one with no mirrors, had been implemented, on modernity, at the school gate.

To fulfil our thoughts on identity and the personal expectations of blind inmates on their social acceptance, and safeguarding the question of class privileges already mentioned and as large as to be explored on a proper work of its own, I call upon two testimonies from a brasilian blind girl, Adèle Sigaud, daughter of the founder of Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos at Rio de Janeiro, whose broad correspondence with the INJA pedagogue M. Guadet, has already been studied from the discursive and pedagogical priorities point of view.

⁹⁹ Zina Weygand and Catherine Kudlik (2004).

¹⁰⁰ Science essay on relating traces and facial expressions with moral character (Eco, 2007:257).

¹⁰¹ « Ces contributions nous confrontent à la trouble relation que nous faisons exister avec les déficients dont nous ne savons trop si leurs caractéristiques, naturelles mais aussi collectivement construites, constituent des figures abordables ou dont il convient de se méfier. » Henri-Jacques Sticker in « Laideur et monstruosité : l’insupportable/fascinant » in *Le handicap en images*, ERES. *Connaissances de la diversité*, 2003, pages 139 à 140.

¹⁰² This concept is meant to be further developed in chapter XIV.

Adèle Sigaud succeeded to her father on the enterprise of contacting the Paris School for Blinds in pursuit of pedagogical resources and materials for the blind pupils. After her parents's death, and being of Portuguese origin, she returned to Lisbon, Portugal, where only a few experiments on the education of the blind were being made by some institutions, such as Casa Pia, Asilo Tomás Jorge and Asilo de Castelo de Vide, but mainly from the subsistence perspective. In need of materials and having the knowledge to proceed with a similar project, she was, with her sister, the responsible for the founding of the first Portuguese school for the Blind, Asilo-Escola António Feliciano de Castilho, in 1888, in the developing urban tissue of the Portuguese capital¹⁰³.

Her breeding was exquisite, as one of the two daughters of the Brazilian Emperor's private doctor, and her blindness arrived circa her 14th year of life, after having memories of a visual world fulfil her mind and after the court instruction had prepared her for a socially privileged life. As such, she was the leitmotif for the founding of IIMC of Rio de Janeiro, and a student of the first exchange teacher from Rio to Paris, José Álvares de Azevedo, translator to Portuguese of several of Guadet's pedagogical writings on the education and instruction of the blind.

Following her thoughts, through a dictated letter, signed personally in roman handwriting, we find her thoughts on the role expected for the blind by society, or, should we dare to wonder, what she thought was best to say about the subject to the director of the Paris School:

“Monsieur,/En lisant votre journal L'Instituteur/ des Jeunes Aveugles, qui eu pour moi d'un/ très grand intérêt; je m'exhardis à m'adresser/ à vous qui dans chaque page de cette/ publication y déployais un dévouement/ constant à la cause de mes compagnons/ d'infortune. Si je n'ai pas l'honneur/ de vous connaître personnellement, Monsieur/ j'ai au moins celui de croire qu'a cause de/ mon père mon nom ne vous est pas/ tout a fait

¹⁰³ Amado, M.C.T.M.R.C., 2007. *Escritos em Branco. Rupturas da ciência e da pedagogia no Portugal Oitocentista: o ensino para cegos no Asilo-escola António Feliciano de Castilho (1888-1930)*. Tese, (mestrado). Faculdade de Psicologia e Ciências da Educação da Universidade de Lisboa.

étranger. M. J. alvares/ d'azevedo qui a été mon professeur/ de lecture et d'écriture en points saillants/ à l'époque où j'eus le malheur de perdre/ la vue; m'a appris à bénir votre nom, / et votre Journal m'enseigne à le respecter/ par les travaux incessants auxquels vous/ vous livrez, afin d'améliorer **la triste/ condition des Aveugles, que la société a de la/ peine a accepter comme membres utiles.**"¹⁰⁴

To conclude this chapter, and regarding society's expectation onto the possibility of blind persons being instructed and leading an autonomous life, we may distinguish four attitudes, based on the former testimonies, both political and pedagogical writings and also statistics and images:

1. The promoters of schools, associations or asylums conducted both by religious or philosophical utopias of civilization and a self-promoter wish (the one who is able to change the life of the other is a power vehicle); as examples we may refer Haüy, Guadet, Alston or Barozzi.
2. The statesmen that needed the state of the art in what government technologies were concerned and were aware of a change in civilizational processes that could allow a more efficient control over a slice of population that could not only turn into financial autonomy from government or charities, but also assume itself as a producer and consumer, likewise the intended process of self-government was starting to breed on the available for instruction and moulding young citizens; we could quote the King's intervention at the United Kingdom, the Police rules at the city of Milan, the authorities all over that sought alternate ways of disciplining and controlling without their requested presence, a population never before passible of self-government;

¹⁰⁴ Sigaud, A., 1856. *Letter from 8 November 1856, sent by Adèle Sigaud to Jean Guadet (Rio de Janeiro » Paris)*. [manuscript]. Manuscript collection, 018. Paris: Institut Valentin Haüy. [PHAUYM018]. Highlights on text are of the responsibility of the author of this work.

3. The technocrats of the change: doctors, teachers, architects, photographers, painters, sculptors, scientists, printing-house owners, embossing material owners, three-dimensional apparatus mass producers, all those belonging to the society slice that built the schooling environment and promoted its elevation as a civilizational purpose; and we invoke the names of Philippon, the architect, of Mascaró, the Spanish ophthalmologist and pedagogue, as examples.

4. The blind themselves, in two moods, depending on the precedents of class and pre-instruction or depending on their acceptance of the rules and wishes of the institutions that they depend upon: Therèse-Adèle Husson, daring but nevertheless still dependent for her own writing wishes, Adèle Sigaud, addressing Guadet in an exquisite French and with a politically correct discourse onto society's pious intentions towards the blind and Antonio Ascenso, the writer of a very polite and thankful letter, three situations of identification with a typology that did not produce a speech outside the surrounding society.

Useful members of society, as Adèle Sigaud writes, or beneficiaries of an epoch of redefinition on its own social structures? Either way, the rules had met the wishes.

SECTION IV – VISION, PEDAGOGY AND NORMALITY: THE POTENCY OF MOULDING NEW CITIZENS.

The chapters in this section are about science, discourses of truth, norm and stigma, the human brain, the human senses, and how all these factors influenced the identity we were searching on the chapter before, amidst political, social and pedagogical engines. They are also about the inner panoptic that the modern blind inmates developed within themselves – on their own effort but also on their own wish – and most of all about both the similarities and the differences established between students of the schools of modernity, either blind or sighted, on a self-government system shared on an inner field of duty and wish.

We will start by focusing on the evolution of the science on vision and brain studies at the 19th century, in order to understand some of the policies related to the schooling of blind pupils.

Chapter XI aims to propose some hypothesis on the development of this question, as can be perceived on the examples focused above that present two of many possible variables on the social relations of the blind inmate and of the society around him: the framing process towards the wanted normation and the persistency of the social stigma towards differences.

On the last chapter, my intention is to think on the possibility of a modern construction of an inner panoptic for the blind students, as we have been researching about. Also, in what sense did this gaze development touched the lives of the sighted students of the western schools from the late 18th and the 19th century.

Closing inferences and open desires are our final words, concluding the work began four years ago and thus displacing ourselves, appealing for new challenges and for different windows to perceive them, as we deliver them to the reader.

CHAPTER X – SCIENCE: VISION AND BRAIN EMPOWERMENT

« Non, vraiment, il n'est pas besoin de magie ni de féerie, il n'est pas besoin d'une âme ni d'une mort pour que je sois à la fois opaque et transparent, visible et invisible, vie et chose ; pour que je sois utopie, il suffit que je sois un *corps*. Toutes ces utopies par lesquelles j'esquivais mon corps, elles avaient tout simplement leur modèle et leur point premier d'application, elles avaient leur lieu d'origine dans mon corps lui-même. J'avais bien tort, tout à l'heure, de dire que les utopies étaient tournées contre le corps et destinées à l'effacer : elles sont naites du corps lui-même et se sont peut-être ensuite retournées envers lui. »
(Foucault, 2009: 14)

The first statement on this chapter on vision, brain and science is that it should be remembered, when studying cognition, that knowledge is neither of an anthropological issue, nor does it accomplish or define human nature. According to Michel Foucault (2004:381-382), it is an invention, a concept, the consequence of a series of causes, a dynamic fight, a power matrix. Knowledge has, on this author's point of view, that I share, a direction: it is meant to be historical and active. This is my first approach on a path I believe was founded long ago until it was forgotten and thus, naturalized. And this is going to be my final approach to an intelligibility network onto the role of the senses on knowledge and instruction towards the normation and normalization of men.

The price to pay for a wish of integration, or the thankfulness for an imprisonment on a generic grid that ignores what constituted the body's most stigmatic difference, as the ability or inability to see, is but a game. Cultural and political factors influence this utopia, as the above quote leads our mind to wonder. Would our own wishes turn towards ourselves? Is our identity such a weak structure as it can be broken by a stroke of discursive parameters?

A good example of our own sensorial inconsistencies is the perspective awareness of western cultures. Straight lines have meaning both for those who

see and for those who conceptualize them. For centuries we have been surrounded by corners, sharp edges, straight lines, parallel streets, balanced buildings and furniture mostly based on lines than curves, daily life objects familiar to our hands and eyes balanced towards our cultural spatial and dimensional perspective and environment. On the contrary, the Zulu culture is based on round systems of recognition and does not admit easily what we call visual illusions. As such, an object placed far away from the observer is classified as small and depth in paintings is not recognised. In fact, not only we learn how to see but *we depend on a vision discursive type and taxonomy* (Gregory, 1990:150-151).

Studies on perceptual experience were developed both in science and in behalf of pedagogy, during the 19th century. John Dewey's arguments towards an experimental totalization of knowledge, as the laboratories investments on new experimental machines such as the tachistochope¹⁰⁵ followed the philosophical sensorialist currents into their most pragmatistical applications. And they claimed themselves separate from vision, the strange noise able to distract a bright and clear inner perception:

“Certainly laboratory instruments such as the tachistoscope were part of a question to isolate an elemental and distilled functioning of sensory capacities, and to observe this functioning, as much as possible, outside a realm of error, distraction, and above all, any introspection. Most importantly, **the preoccupation with pure perception** (whether in the sciences, in philosophy, or in art theory) was an interest in **perceptual experience that was prior to (or distinct from) the apprehension of an image that represented an external world.**” (Crary, 2001:315)

My second statement, and also my second variable, is thus that the visual world we presently inhabit, inheritor of the 19th century culture (Crary, 1999), was not always governed by the same values: the concept of social operability of

¹⁰⁵ “An apparatus for the brief exposure of visual stimuli that is used in the study of learning, attention, and perception” Merriam-Webster's Medical Dictionary, Encyclopaedia Britannica Company at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/medical/tachistoscope> [30-09-2012].

a born blind man or that of a sighted one differed throughout History. The sense of vision, by itself, could either be considered an empowerment or a loss of powers, nevertheless stigmatic on both senses (Goffman, 1988).

I believe these two perspectives approached themselves in a particular way in Modernity, because it was an epoch of displacement of mentalities that opened a genealogical step into social procedures on equal opportunities for different men, on the sense of uniting the social grid in order to enable it to being ruled through schooling technologies, which is another way of saying that, at the time, differences and similarities were scientifically studied, socially perceived and politically pondered by the new states onto a pedagogical discourse that led them to the spread of self-government on each subject.

Following this idea, it is important to notice that blindness is associated today with many pathologies or accidents that differ, in its origin, from those of the 18th century, which means that a sensorial condition is also geographic and cultural, as we have been gathering from the mentioned studies. As such, the condition of blindness in itself is also easy to break into more than one concept, if not in a myriad, whether they are originated on science, psychology, pedagogy, media speech for a non-specialized audience or even concepts constructed by political forces to please and reinforce their power relationship with associations, schools, family and therapists:

“Blindness is the inability to see. The leading causes of chronic blindness include cataract, glaucoma, age-related macular degeneration, corneal opacities, diabetic retinopathy, trachoma, and eye conditions in children (e.g. caused by vitamin A deficiency). Age-related blindness is increasing throughout the world, as is blindness due to uncontrolled diabetes. On the other hand, blindness caused by infection is decreasing, as a result of public health action.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ World Health Organization – Health Topics – Blindness - <http://www.who.int/topics/blindness/en/> on 03-11-2010.

The latest report of WHO ICD 10¹⁰⁷ also mentions *Seeing and Related Functions* within the *Seventh Category of Diseases and Related Health Problems*. I propose the reader to look back a few centuries and to meet the same concept: vision and its social and scientific demands and answers, justified by the science of state. In 1836, at the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind, we find a very similar study published to justify a huge investment in education:

“It seems strange that there should exist a doubt in the mind of any one of the expediency of educating the blind; or, that it should be supposed enough has been done for them, when their corporal wants have been supplied. They are rational and immortal beings, and capable of all the enjoyment which others feel from the cultivation of their moral and intellectual powers.” (Alston, 1836: 4)

Data and civilizational arguments, such as follows, stand coherent for reports and justifications on political issues towards disability in particular and to the management of the population in general, following Michel Foucault’s arguments (1978) if we take them into consideration when analysing John Alston’s project for blind instruction:

“As the Blind form no small part of the population of every country, particular institutions have, in many places, been established for their instruction.” (Alston, 1836: 7).

As perceivable as the intention may be, to a better understanding of this process, it is necessary to travel in time and to de-discipline to be able to open new perspectives on this source. Vision and blindness neither were nor are opposites but complements, such as Jacques Derrida would define them (Derrida, 2008). It is not because they mean apparent impossibilities of coexistence in the same body, nor for their antonymic grammatical taxonomy, but fundamentally because they can provide the human body with similar functions and abilities dependent on the purposes which they are stimulated for.

¹⁰⁷ ICD 10 - <http://apps.who.int/classifications/apps/icd/icd10online/> on 10-11-2010.

The human body was as is, on itself, a peculiar stage for truth discourses. Scientific voices are our passports to what we call a normal identity. Our self-recognition is based on centuries of medical gazes and psi reports, as well as the constituting of our conceptual assurance mirrors, even though we are aware that what we call science serves but the political management of knowledge on man. But are we, indeed? Were we, on Modernity?

For science's sake, instruments, laboratories, archives and photography came as a room full of chimerical frozen mirrors¹⁰⁸. The gaze was now permanent. Science's role was at the 19th century as never had been able before, the authority to observe and register, to identify who was in and who was out, to *authorize the social belonging*.

Reporting to the documents produced in our case-study institutions, doctors and priests were the final seals of truth on the personal processes of the students. And there were even the spaces, in schools, specially conceived for medical observation, particularly associated with cabinets for ophthalmological studies, in the institutions that required that particular gaze. As much as there was space for observation, registering, archiving, comparison, exchange of ideas and papers, and possibility for publishing, discussing and editing on human cognition, the natural emergence of several magazines and the dynamic of exhibitions and congresses allowed and deepened the world of scientific information and raised the standards of its essays, discourses and experiments.

One should always start to ponder the possible affiliations on vision and cognition by recalling the *Molineux* question¹⁰⁹ we focused above, and adding it

¹⁰⁸ On the expectancy of photography from science: "Debiamo dunque concludere com freddo rigore scientifico che non esistono specchi in grado di trattenere le imagine? Solidificare un radio di lunacome tentavano di fare cel Cinquecento a Praga gli alchimisti al servizio di Rodolfo II, congelare la radiazione luminosa e secongelarla a piacere: ma siamo davvero sicuri che non sia possibile?" (Lentini, 2003:75). It is also very clear the perspective of Sicard, M., 2006. *A Fábrica do Olhar. Imagens de Ciência e Aparelhos de Visão (Século XV-XX)*. Lisboa: Edições 70 on the building of new images and new perspectives for vision through scientific instruments.

¹⁰⁹ We recall the issues on the possibilities of a cognitive vision pointed out by William Molineux (1656- 1698) on his work *Dioptrica Nova. A treatise of dioptrics in two parts, wherein the*

to some other issues on the same theme, dated from the 18th and all through the 19th century, namely the works of George Berkeley (1685-1753)¹¹⁰ and, much later on, of James Gibson (1904-1979)¹¹¹. Or, in other words, “The fundamental problem of vision: the image at the eye has countless possible interpretations” (Hoffman, 1998:13). The new century was exponential in experiments, curiosity and empowerment.



Figure 69 – American Phrenological Journal cover, March 1848, entitled “Know Thyself”.

various effects and appearances of spherick glasses, both convex and concave, single and combined, in telescopes and microscopes, together with their usefulness in many concerns of humane life, are explained (1692).

¹¹⁰ Author of the work *New theory of vision* (1709) where he stands for the statement *esse est percipi*”, meaning “to be is to be perceived”.

¹¹¹ Although outside of our time-line of study, we cannot help to refer the importance of the studies on the visual perception of movement and the consequent questioning of a probable existence of several visual worlds, united by brain perception and processing, with the cooperation of discursive and cultural resources for interpretation.

This cover of the American Phrenological Journal was published in the middle 19th century and has the title “Know Thyself” over an illustration of a human head, sideways, with a drawing of a brain structure possibility. It is very interesting to perceive the link between science and psychology, also between science and perception studies and thus, with science and the cognition domain. The acknowledgement of brain section into diverse human interests was for sure a beginning of what we are now aware of, although without the mention of the plasticity factor, which would require two more centuries to be assured by technology. Nevertheless, the brain was the focus for knowledge and also for virtues and vices, behaviour and illness both of body and mind. Although the ingenuity beyond this image is most likely to make us smile, its intention is clear and should reclaim precaution on its analysis: it is intended to understand and expand the knowledge on the human brain functioning and use that knowledge as a social control weapon.

Familiar today with concepts and changes as the perception of depth, movement, colour, spontaneous morphing, synesthesia¹¹², visual and non-visual agnosias – e.g. prosopagnosia¹¹³, achromatopsia¹¹⁴, Charcot-Wilbrand syndrome¹¹⁵, astereognosia¹¹⁶ – and knowing that all of them are brain processes with a direct relation with the sense of vision, it is easy to conclude that there were many fields left to be explored only on the vision studies. These issues, were not, however, neither exclusive of blind nor of sighted persons, though that

¹¹² The automatic association and processing of data and visual characteristics such as numbers and colours, numbers and shapes, etc.

¹¹³ The incapacity to process facial recognition.

¹¹⁴ The inability to distinguish colours (to process them as separate messages from the eye on the visual cortex).

¹¹⁵ The loss of ability to revisualise images, a kind of visual agnosias, more based on a specific kind of memory inability.

¹¹⁶ The inability to identify an object by touch without visual contact, one of the forms of tactile agnosia. This one is a characteristic non-visual agnosia.

leads to the understanding of this long path of neurologic research required to relate body and brain abilities.

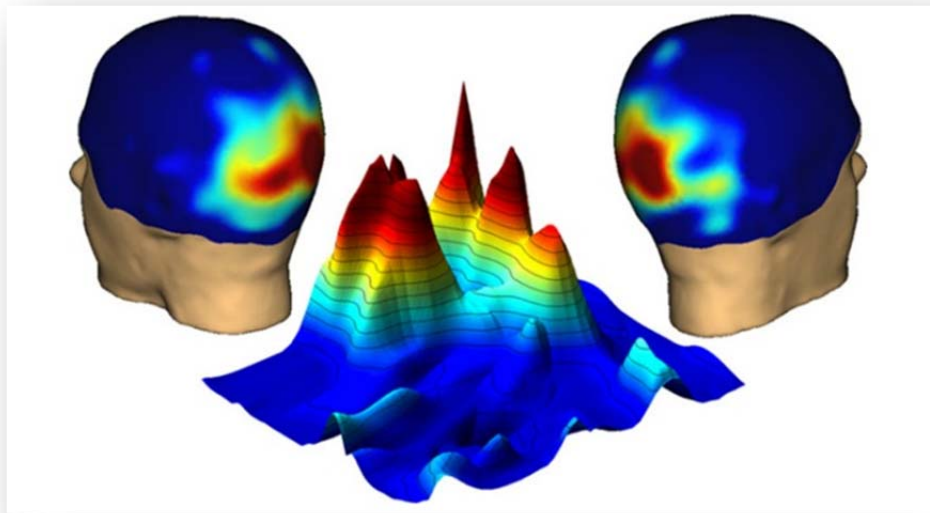


Figure 70 – Magnetoencephalography¹¹⁷ of visual brain areas¹¹⁸.

Today we have a different perspective brought to us by two centuries of scientific evolution and, particularly, by new technologies, able to identify and explain the ways of the brain, as the image above shows by its contrast with the American Phrenological Journal cover, presented immediately before.

¹¹⁷ « Magnetoencephalography (MEG) is a non-invasive neurophysiological technique that measures the magnetic fields generated by neuronal activity of the brain. The spatial distributions of the magnetic fields are analyzed to localize the sources of the activity within the brain, and the locations of the sources are superimposed on anatomical images, such as MRI, to provide information about both the structure and function of the brain. “ in <http://web.mit.edu/kitmitmeg/whatis.html> [28-09-1012].

¹¹⁸ « Les régions cérébrales dédiées à la vision, à l'arrière de la tête, répondent aux images très faibles, à peine visibles présentées aux sujets. L'analyse de cette réponse cérébrale, ici en 3D, montre deux pics d'activité indépendants. Par la magnétoencéphalographie, technique qui capte le champ magnétique généré par les neurones, les chercheurs ont enregistré l'activité cérébrale de sujets testés et ont découvert que les mécanismes permettant à une information visuelle d'accéder à la conscience peuvent opérer indépendamment de ceux de l'attention ». © CNRS.

Vision, as it was acquired in two centuries of exploration, is much more illusive and cultural, it is much more a sensorial ability of quick response and a huge field of misunderstanding than a reliable process of information gathering on its own. Not to mention that vision is the only sense that requires an external factor to function: light. Of course, we are disregarding night vision abilities and other plurality of visual phenomena, that are not part of this work:

“This ambiguity holds not just for depth, but for all aspects of our visual constructions, including motion, surface colours, and illumination. This is to deny that images are rich in information and moving images are richer still. (...) Yet, despite the richness of images, the fundamental problem of vision still holds: there are still countless visual worlds that kids could, in principle, construct from them.” (Hoffman, 1998: 14)

From our point of view, the most important issue is the diversity on the theories consistency on cognition abilities and disabilities of blind children, based on an universal grammar for knowledge and senses, without which we would be unable to process eye perception inputs or any other sensorial experiences. (Hoffman, 1998: 13-16).

This theory is also supported by Oliver Sacks on what concerns cultural diversity and is increased by an interesting study on nature and human evolution. On its book *A Ilha Sem Cor* (1998), Professor Sacks, adds to Hoffman’s notion that visual intelligence occupies almost half of the brain cortex and is a personal work of inner constructions, some observation he made on Pacific Islands, where the persistency of genetic mutations, with the contribution of endogamy, created communities not only with particularly persistent disabilities but also with new abilities.

The author discovered, on the one hand, that on modern times, with the world’s new dimension, small isolated communities became rarer and genetic markup became more universalized, i.e. the human genetic mixture proliferated and seldom are now detected communities with specific characteristics, such as the ones present in the colour blind people on the island he studied. On the other hand, the cultural process that follows the impact of the universalization

of genetics is of utter importance to the cut being made on nature's coherence towards man and on its implication on discourse and culture. Or, in other words, our past genetic heritage developed in scattered communities, modified immensely from modernity onwards, although, respecting J. Shriever's views on regional persistency of cultural effects on comparative history, there are more foldings on this matter than this work can abridge.

It was our intention, with this chapter, to give the reader an idea of the complexity on the matters of vision and cognition, on neurological, sociological, linguistic and historical perspectives. Also, we would like to have these contributions in permanent stand-by against preconceptions of any kind towards sensorial perception. Finally, we would like to lead the discussion onto the dual- field perspective on modernity theoric: visual primacy arguents and sensorialists, because both currents of thought deeply contributed to the evolving of experimental pedagogy:

“The knowledge acquiring system of the brain is thus very widely distributed in the cerebral cortex. This means essentially that many cortical areas, both visual and non-visual, are also involved in the formation of synthetic brain concepts (...). But herein lies an important difference between inherited and acquired brain concepts. Whereas inherited brain concepts are intimately linked to specific areas, with the internal machinery of each area being necessary to organize the incoming signals in a particular way, dependend upon its specialization, there is every reason to suppose that acquired brain concepts are strongly dependent from ther often 'higher' areas. This is because judgment, past experience, and memory, all play critical roles in updating the synthetic brain concept and modifying it with time.” (Zeki, 2009:41)

Therefore, returning to our institutional projects of adapted schools, if we regard the following figure of a 19th century French school for blind pupils, we observe the importance given to sensorial experiments on cognition. Although light is present – maybe for teachers, maybe for auxiliaries, maybe for observers, doctors, visitants, maybe for spatial reference of the classroom for the students thmselves, regarding the fact that c. 80% of blind people respond to light – *tactus* is the sense shown all over the cognition acquiring process present

in the figure. Embossed maps and charts on the walls, each individual table with a stuffed animal or a model of something not immediately perceivable by sight to this inmates are being carefully touched and studied by each student of the class. Distance between the subject and the object of knowledge was no more an issue on schools for the blind, thanks to three-dimensional pedagogic materiality:

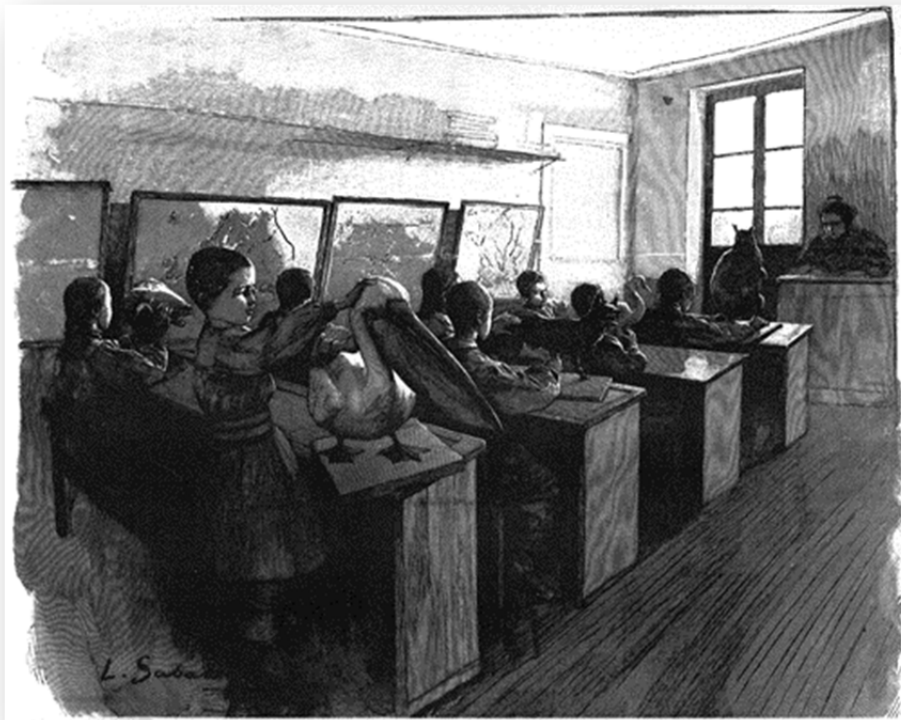


Figure 71 – Paris Braille School engraving representing a practical class for blind girls, touching three-dimensional materials they have on their individual desks, like stuffed animals, and also some embossed maps on the classroom walls.

Touch was another sense that was studied and profited into what our pedagogues work on blind instruction, deeply related to the complex synesthetic structures that aided the process of cognition and spatial location. Its relationship with sight by itself led to the formulation of the Molineux issue that John Locke – should we not forget - could not answer.

“la synesthésie, on le sait, consiste à évoquer une réalité perçue par l’un des cinq sens dans les termes d’une réalité relevant d’un autre sens. Au moment de la métaphorisation, le sujet a recours à une expérience sensorielle dont il résulte un appariement des deux univers sensoriels. (...) La transposition de l’inconnu dans l’immédiatement connu, du visible dans le généralement perceptible (ou sensible) est l’oeuvre d’une action miraculeuse.”¹¹⁹

Congresses of doctors and pedagogues debated throughout the 19th century the synesthetic process and the pedagogic inferences that could rise from the knowledge of the blind inmate’s behaviour and perception of reality:

“L’aveugle, comme le voyant, forme ses idées par observation. Mais la différence est que ce qui, dans la propriétés des corps, frappe le plus le voyant, ce sont *leurs qualités accessoires*, c’est-à-dire la couleur, la lumière, les ombres et les forms; l’aveugle, au contraire, se rend difficilement compte des attributs accessoires des objets. Pour le voyant, les choses sont des parties d’une totalité plus grande; l’aveugle, au contraire voit tout dans chaque objet et il a de la peine à se rendre compte de ce qui, pour le voyant, constitue l’ensemble des choses. N’est-il pas évident déjà, d’après ces indications, que les deux modes d’enseignement doivent différer l’un de l’autre?”¹²⁰

The sense of hearing completes the third alternate sense of perception for sensorialist purposes and was deeply linked to brain activity as we are now able to prove by contemporary observation methods:

¹¹⁹ Le Clézio, *Peuples du Ciel*, p.16, quoted by Mohammed Benjelloun in “Voir N’est Pas Suffisant. La Métaphore comme invention d’usage dans *Peuple du Ciel* de J. m. G. Le Clézio” in *Voir Barré*, 2005, 70.

¹²⁰ Résumée d’un Mémoire de S. M. Heller, directeur de l’Institut des Aveugles de Hohenwarte (Vienne): “L’Éducation par Observation Immédiate ou Intuitive” , 2nd attachment to the Stenographic Notes to the *Congrès Universel pour l’Amélioration du Sort des Aveugles et des Sourds-Mouets*. 1879. Paris.

“I not only ‘hear’ the music, but I ‘see’ my hands on the keyboard before me, and ‘feel’ them playing the piece – a virtual performance which, once started seems to unfold or proceed by itself. (...)Even if it is involuntary and unconscious, going over passages mentally in this way is a crucial tool for all performers, and the imagination of playing can be almost as efficacious as the physical actuality.” (Sacks, 2007:31).

Hearing should also be registered as the main entrance for authority messages whenever the lack of vision is present, as it was also an important sense for spatial location and objects and peoples recognition. Thus, silence was an important factor of integration for the blind inmates, as it represented concentration, inner thought, and apprehension of messages and identification of tonalities on other people’s voice. The dialectic between hearing and authority was exponentially raised when vision was not present. And pedagogically profited as a message carrier throughout silence, the most equivalent to distance perception to a blind person (Ricaud, 2005:44).

From this approach on senses and the particular sense of vision on perspective with the others, we acquire, at last, the ambiguity of the whole process: the Lacan concept of bipolarity on a visual world, as quoted by Raoul Dutry on the necessity of abstraction, or of voluntary blindness:

“Les champs respectifs du visible et de l’‘impossible à voir’ sont balisées par le regard de l’Autre. Cela ne doit pas faire croire en l’existence d’un phénomène purement optique. L’objet de ce regard est le plus communément spécifié par les paroles qui l’accompagnent : quoi de plus équivoque sans cela ? Toutefois en absence de paroles et particulièrement en absence de paroles apaisantes, le regards de l’Autre n’en produit pas moins tous ses effets, notamment sur l’enfant qui s’en trouve concerné, effets liés à son objet supposé et qui peuvent être dévastateurs (...). L’exubérance sémantique qui s’attache au vocabulaire de la lumière et du regard, de même que le jaillissement des larmes qui révélerait, selon Derrida, ‘la vérité des yeux’ n’ont pas d’autre source : **la part aveugle, gagne de notre normalité.** » (Dutry, 1994 :3)

Science had and still has as a discourse of truth and of allowance and the governments needed the medical gaze of the 19th century, helping to improve the new technologies of definition of the subjects and their self-location on the human grid, lightening the burden of its control through the economy of a prescriptive education. Thus, on the century of vision, amidst technical apparatus, lights, anatomical and behavior studies, men's mind became permanently under gaze on its full potential and towards a full self-control:

“The truth of seeing is shifted to a complete nonoptical terrain. The retina is now compounded with a neuromotor system that is triggered externally. Sensation and movement became a single event. It is no longer a question of a single discrete sense but of the senses producing exchangeable effects and responses, and of different sensory stimuli being ‘translated’ into the same movement or tensions.” (Crary, 2001:167)

All knowledge on men, his universe, differences and similarities, abilities and incapacities were, since modern times, dictated by science's grid. Inclusion and stigmatization were, as such, concepts as relative to cultural, political and economical requirements as could be dress codes or language manners. Inclusion meant to be known and named.

Our conclusion to this chapter is not a scientific one, although based on a contemporary perspective of science speech and technological ability to search in a more accurate form the observation power of the modernity doctors and scientists. It did not pretend to explain the functioning of our visual cortex nor the synaptic plasticity phenomenae. Our intention was merely to help the reader to put in perspective the power of the medical gaze and the relativity of every culture towards the relation of the body and his personal perception of the world. And we would like to call this characteristic **cognition**.

CHAPTER XI – SOCIETY: FRAME VERSUS STIGMA.

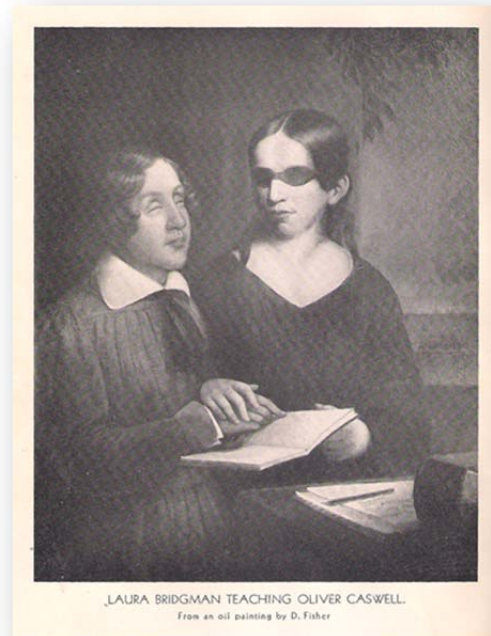


Figure 72 – Oil reproduction of deaf-blind American student Laura Bridgman teaching a colleague, to read embossed printing, at Boston School.

At this point of my work, remembering the social, political and economic efforts and investment made by the founders or improvers of the several institutions for blind instruction and autonomy during the late 18th and throughout the 19th century on the Europe and United States, as well as on some African and Asian European colonies, one may think that the silk band that covers Laura's eyes should definitely have fallen.

Considering that the gathering of schooling purposes established since Modernity towards the aim of every child as having the right (and duty) to an education became, as mentioned, the main cause of the huge investment on metamorphosing the blind children from their home or asylum non-committal lives into model student's careers, it brought them onto a new social positioning.

But that is not the only point I'm trying to highlight on what social conclusions are concerned.

I have found a meaningful silence on my sources. Apart from photos (Vitali, 1916) and descriptions of success, apart from cares on behaviour on what it can differ on blind and sighted students (Martin, 1888 and Guadet, 1859), on European pedagogical literature and on correspondence, I have not found any description of the blind infants or of the blind inmates as physically stigmatized by their appearance. On the contrary, reading some literature on the subject from the United States, I found a different perspective, a preoccupation with public appearance, not only on the clothing and presentation but also on the occultation of a different part of the body: the eyes.

Laura Bridgman has, on the oil painting that opens this chapter, a black silk cover over her eyes. Oliver Caswell, by her side, does not. Occultation or disclosure of a difference or of a characteristic liable to be considered a negative stigma sign could be interpreted as a cultural strategy of social presentation within a project? (Goffman, 1988: 94)

Could it be an Anglo-Saxon difference towards other countries, as one can perceive on the different approaches to embossed writing, as so many others we've gathered throughout this work? When referring to the blind children before the institutionalization of adapted schooling in the United Kingdom, we read exactly the opposite theory:

"To us now this all appears strange, for the blind boy had only lost one sense and that apparently one which could best be spared. He was not imbecile, or idiotic, nor deaf and dumb, and so scarcely capable of any improvement; nor crippled and so confined to one spot; but perfect in mind and presumably in affections and religious sentiments and of fair general health."¹²¹

¹²¹ Forster, S.S., 1879. *What shall we do with our blind boys?*. London: W. Kent & Co. [BLONDONP005]

As a matter of fact, the blind discourses themselves only refer as stigmatic – on the sense of different towards society – the fact of being apart from the possibility of perceiving information through the sense of sight, but never based of their own physical appearance, nor even facial differences or expressions are ever mentioned.

Neither the Italian Antonio Ascenso, nor the brasilian Adèle Sigaud, not even the British musician Alfred Hollins, which we have mentioned in several chapters, refer to their own appearances or to a wish of change into the perceivable looks of sighted persons. They don't even mention any episode in which they had the perception of having a different kind of regard or eye presentation that mattered or disturbed the sighted people around them.

The question of Laura's silk band does not come either from the first contact with her tutor, Dr. Samuel Howe, as he describes her as "an attractive little girl of seven years, delicately built, with well-shaped head and finely-formed features" (Fish, 1934:6). On the contrary, Lucy Read's description leads to a thought of disgust even from her family:

"She is fourteen years of age and as nearly unnatural as you can well conceive a human being to be. She keeps her head enveloped in a kind of bag; and her parents even have not seen her features for two years. She was on coming here quite wildful and wayward; and would bite and scratch like a cat when thwarted." (Fish, 1934:14)

This social presentation with the same rules for different bodies, this asymmetric gesture of Modernity, is also partly commented by Jacques Derrida's project on the Louvre's masterpieces over blindness. His exercise on image production has been our inspiration for the commenting and analyzing of images along our work and will especially be an aid to the commentary on the opening oil painting of this chapter, produced for the Boston School. The advice is to keep in mind that all presentations of peculiarities have more characteristics of its author than of its subject of representation. They are mostly enacted experiments of presentation (Derrida, 2010).

Notice the hands on the figure. On the quoted study, hands are considered a general semiotic measure of security for blind people's sake. On this particular image, the hand of Laura Bridgman is the hand that conducts the knowledge. She has the black silk fold on her eyes, standing for an early recovered generation. Still, she has the detent of the knowledge. She has been adapted, molded, into the frame. Laura Bridgman is entitled to have her gesture of teaching and her recovered social manner eternized in an oil painting. The hand gesture is but the passing of testimony to young Oliver. The hands are touching but one is grabbing the other, as in a hieratic position. The target is an embossed book, also symbolic of instruction.

Notice the gaze. Laura's accurate although sightless regard guides Oliver's mind, his head positioned towards a first approach to knowledge. Both children are properly dressed, cleaned and combed. Laura seems taller, more active, Oliver more passive-like. Laura is feminine, has a dress with a beautiful neckline exposing her skin, in a freedom message. Oliver is dressed as a child and of his body, nothing more can we perceive than his face with shut eyes and his right hand held by Laura's.

Intuition plays its part on this game of social presentation: admiration (ad mirror, admirer, as Derrida remarks¹²²). The third role for the blind in art – conversion – is all over this figure, a permanent gaze for Boston Institute's promoters, certainly not for the performers of such an exquisite and eloquent composition. This image leads us onto a new thought, which is the individualization of the other.

Should the Ugly Laws of the 19th century be remembered, whereas differences and deformities were considered *nauseous sights* and forbidden to be exhibited on the streets or to confront public of any kind (Schweik, 2009)? European rules were different on what concerned blindness presentation on free social presentation. Blind musicians were the only ones allowed on the streets

¹²² Derrida, 2010: 66.

(Relvas, 2002). The stigma was faced in a different way and, particularly, the perspective of an unknown inner wisdom was admired.

The above mentioned cases of blind persons from the high classes throughout European history, that were instructed and creative, that achieved to become citizens by their own will and participate in academic life, *salons*, producing masterpieces on poetry and music, mathematics and philosophy, were the examples for the beginning of a sensorial integration movement, profiting the higher developed particularities of their identity for a social claim of citizenship equality.

Along this work, several notes have been written on the presentation of the self, and the importance of the vision of the other, for the seen and for the observer. As stated on the methodological chapter, the moulding technology for the blind inmates had to predict a change on their social appearance, as important as the intellectual challenge. Being captured on a net, studied, classified, modified and learn, besides math and grammar, to live autonomously and following the modern and economical social and political standards – i.e. to become a citizen – implied a change of posture and a good presentation that would not be the motive of pity but of admiration on a noticeable improvement.

Self-government was then, another common imposition and will, a conditioning of behaviour and of existence beneath social parameters of acceptance on what citizenship would be implied. As if to say that the relationship established in Foucault's works between, on the one hand, a self-handling of power prescribed wishes and its inclusion on a policing power economy, and on the other hand, a more enlarged concept of identity built towards an authorized mentor (e.g. doctors, teachers, priests) is clear enough.

These are, as I see them, the most coherent trends of modernity in an effort to frame the subject in its own social moral, panopticing its most inner lusts and solving them on a technology of self-discipline and surveillance.

Moreover, according to Thomas Popkewitz, one must not forget the role of pragmatism in the understanding of self-government technologies: “Pragmatism was a designing project of the individual who embraces the norms and values of agency, science, and progress.” (2008:5). Popkewitz supports the hypothesis of an institutional application of self-government Foucaultian theories for the governing of the child based on a self-contrition’s moral, developed on the modern prescriptive universe.

Derrida stands for a third particular issue on social influences on inner turnovers on chapter “Violence and Metaphysics”:

“Despite the logical absurdity of this formulation, this economy is the transcendental symmetry of two empirical asymmetries. The other, for me, is an ego which I know to be in relation to me as to an other. Where have these movements been better described than in the *Phenomenology of the Mind*? The movement of transcendence toward the other, as invoked by Levinas, would have no meaning if I did not bear within it, as one of its essential meanings, that in my ipseity I know to be other for the other.” (Derrida, 2006 : 157)

Were differences grouped and classified? The individual may however be a proof of concept of the wish force that compels him onto the one he should be aiming to become (Deleuze, 2000:399-400). Thus, Modernity’s new type of vision was not incompatible with the new types admitted for abstraction and sharing. On the contrary, for Walter Benjamin, on the interpretation of Jonathan Crary, mass visual culture was also kinesthetic and movable¹²³.

On behalf of the comparisons one has to establish in order to achieve a serious research work, these analytical frames we are touching in history become much more than what was usually called comparative history. On the contrary, we based our procedure of research and questioning on the concept of inter-textuality. For we think that the words are the workers and dynamos of the social construction on time. Also, discrimination fields of study, as this one

¹²³ Crary, 1992: chapter “Modernity and the Problem of the Observer”.

inserted on disability studies and in disability history areas of research, look forward to other ways of thinking.

Similar and dissimilar identities, as currently evaluated on this work, sometimes inexistent and created on a new taxonomical category, are indeed redefined by plural discourses and by plural discourses should they be studied and framed (Nóvoa, 1995: 22-23).

Or, according to the definition of Jürgen Schriewer:

“The complexity of social reality, addresses in these kinds of summaries, requires methods of inquiry that integrate various research perspectives. In particular, it is necessary to expand the traditional comparative approach with a macro-historical perspective, typically found on issues of transcultural diffusion and culture specific appropriation, respectively (...) (Schriewer, 2003:18)

Thus, respecting the global need for the new nations of Modernity to make use of agile technologies that improved citizenship participation, on the one hand, leading to a wiser and closer control of newly recognized members with still unknown capacities except the sensorial emulation ability, on the other hand, we are comparing, on a time turn, who is inside and who is outside.

As Foucault defined in *The History of Madness*, vacant spaces are dangerous. Either we know a subject or we may be endangered on our own standards and identity expectations. And the best way to fit in the new subjects, electing both science and pedagogy and government interlocutors towards a balanced society, is to prove their ability to maintain learned standards on his own.

Self-government, should we dare to write it, defined the framed subjects through institutionalized schooling. Of course stigma persisted and it still exists in our days. But even when a subject is considered part of a field of recognized scientific problems, he is part of a frame. Inside the margins, either you're useful and productive or you are managed by someone.

In such path a stigmatic condition such as blindness did attain the autonomic ability of moving and its subject the change from beggar to wisher and career of itself, giving a non-recognized condition of freedom for an improved psychological proximity to the other admired (ad mirror), admired as in wanted to be like, admired as in wanted to be more.

One can conclude this chapter remarking that, on special education issues, Modernity consolidation of both scientific and material renewed speeches improved the lacking abilities towards a new possible social identification of the subject (Nóvoa, 2005:87). And the efficiency of pedagogical and medical speeches aimed to turn the social stigma's perspective from blind/sighted to instructed/non instructed citizens to be.

CHAPTER XII– SCHOOL: BUILDING THE INNER PANOPTIC.



Figure 73 – Photograph of four students from Boston Institution, posing for social presentation, formally dressed and combed, with no eye-covers. The two younger, a boy and a girl, are sitting; one is facing the camera, the other is sideways. The two elder students, including Helen Keller, are standing behind them in a protective position, slightly sideway and turned inside, towards one another.



Figure 74 – Photograph of five elder students of Boston School. The little Thomas Stringer of the former photograph is now grown and wears a man's suit. The four girls are all dressed in very formal white dresses, two of them sitting, as Elizabeth Brown, the second younger student of the former photograph.

Probably the reader was expecting figures of architectural plans of the schools projected for the blinds, perhaps some visual references to Bentham's work. But the panoptic system we are looking for exists, within the same parameters of control, with one guardian and one inmate, inside the conscience of the students themselves.

This is thus our point towards the concepts of inner panoptic. The adaptation of Bentham's suggestions towards a better economy for controlling groups on social recovery, as perceived by Michel Foucault on most of his works over the self-government concept, were easily and naturally interiorized by blind students, even better on their timing of perception and need for survival into a difference social grid than of their sighted student contemporary colleagues.

As such, my demand of information towards this issue comes not from the desire of analysing architectonical references such as doors with upper windows for control of the pupils, as referred to on the plans of INJA, or dormitories with lights kept on all night for the keepers easy of control of the inmate's behaviour, as we have gathered as rules for ICM. My questioning goes to the external manifestations of self-imposed order, adopted by wish of a social sameness, within these pupils of Modernity that could not profit on one of their senses to work their autonomous process and intellectual growth.

These two Boston school photographs of groups of deaf-blind students are very expressive for having in themselves the same inmates with a few years of difference. There we found a consistent presence of an external gaze, a permanent presentation of the self, a permanent exposure for those who created the expectations for acceptance to grow similarly with those who see.

What was the meaning of school and of instruction to these pupils?

"The poor child had sat in mute amazement, and patiently imitated everything her teacher did; but now the truth began to flash upon her, her intellect began to work, she perceived that here was a way by which she could herself make up a sign of anything that was in her own mind, and show it to another mind, and at once her countenance lighted up with a human expression; it was no longer a dog or parrot;- it was an immortal spirit, eagerly seizing upon a new link of union with other spirits! I could

almost fix upon the moment when this truth dawned upon her mind, and spread its light to her countenance, I saw that the great obstacle was overcome, and that henceforward nothing but patient and persevering, plain and straightforward efforts were to be used.”¹²⁴

Gaze, consistent gaze, persistent observation, systematic reporting. For the little blind or deaf-blind students coming for the first time onto a space unknown and perhaps unwanted, the capture had to be made not only by photography. There was not only a child to wash and dress properly. There were rules, grids, spaces, paths, timings and seduction as in any other system of schooling.

Persistency into the creation of prescriptive autonomous behaviours was required.

The pedagogic and scientific gaze could be all over the three kinds of spaces on a total institution, as Goffman helps us to recognize on modern schooling houses:

“First there was the space that was off-limits or out of bounds. Here, mere presence was the form of conduct that was actively prohibited – unless, for example, the inmate was specifically ‘with’ an agent or active in a relevant service role.” (1990:227-228)

This was the space of the transparency, of the forbidden, of the unseen and unheard, of the interdiction. This first space was the space of the other. For both blind and sighted students, the spaces of interdiction were imposed as inmates on schooling systems and their relation to this conscience panoptic was the same, no matter the sensorial relation with the spatial frame itself.

¹²⁴ Dr. Howe’s report on Laura Bridgman first progresses on the Perkins Institute for the Blind, Boston, United States of America, founded 1837.

Surveillance spaces were defined by Erving Goffman as the second category:

“The area a patient needed no special excuse to be in, but where he would be subject to the usual authority and restrictions of the establishment.” (1990:228)

These were the spaces of being the other on differences. Of being allowed to be another subject, a stigmatic subject, a target for redemption or an animal gaining soul, as on Dr. Howe’s report on Laura above quoted.

The second kind of space, remembering the plans of the institutes studied on the examples of the second part of this thesis, are most of the spaces that enclose the aim of the scholar gaze: the dormitory, the refectory, the classrooms, the library, the playground, there is no free space on total institutions. Success has to come from a permanent seduction for freedom through conformity, thus, a sweet imposition of mere existence is necessary.

The third space Erving Goffman identifies for total institutions is the small space of less permanent authority, “less than usual” on his words. This third category of scholar area is, in my point of view, the most adequate to a development of what I call the inner panoptic.

Onto what regulations were concerned, this was the private space in which the potential confessional actions occurred. It was not a specific school area. It corresponded to each and every area where students considered themselves out of gaze. And that idea can also adequate to mind and private thoughts.

Regarding once more the two photos chosen for the beginning of this chapter, the immobilization of the inmates and their discipline is persistent in a photo produced for social purposes. Narcissist feelings were hard to perceive, particularly in the children’s first photo. On the second one, it is noticed a more accurate posture, perhaps a less tiring discipline for the staging purpose. Seduction on wearing a white dress and hair-bow, to be admired (ad mirror) by

others who could not be captured by their eyes, was an intelligent self-raising manoeuvre.

But, alas, the school for blind children, as we have been studying it, had wider interests on their self-governing than the social presentation, associated to Modernity population control issues. And they stemmed from the panoptic theory of Bentham, as Foucault describes it, not only for prison's situations, but in every case of self-ruling imposing systems, as we consider the scholar one, particularly on a situation of social and economic redemption:

« Le Panoptique pénitentiaire, c'est aussi un système de documentation individualisant et permanent. L'année même où l'on recommandait les variantes du schéma benthamien pour construire les prisons, on rendait obligatoire le système du « compte moral » : bulletin individuel d'un modèle uniforme dans toutes les prisons et sur lequel le directeur ou le gardien chef, l'aumônier, l'instituteur sont appelés à inscrire leurs observations à propos de chaque détenu : « C'est en quelque sorte le vade-mecum de l'administration de la prison qui la rend à même d'apprécier chaque cas, chaque circonstance, et de s'éclairer par suite sur le traitement à appliquer à chaque prisonnier individuellement². » Bien d'autres systèmes d'enregistrement, beaucoup plus complets, ont été projetés ou essayés³. Il s'agit de toute façon de faire de la prison un lieu de constitution d'un savoir qui doit servir de principe régulateur pour l'exercice de la pratique pénitentiaire. La prison n'a pas seulement à connaître la décision des juges et à l'appliquer en fonction des règlements établis : elle a à prélever en permanence sur le détenu un savoir qui permettra de transformer de transformer la mesure pénale en une opération pénitentiaire; qui fera de la peine rendue nécessaire par l'infraction une modification du détenu, utile pour la société. L'autonomie du régime carcéral et le savoir qu'elle rend possible permettent de multiplier cette utilité de la peine que le code avait placée au principe de sa philosophie punitive. » (Foucault, 2004. 274)

These disciplinary features were also exercised on the bodies of individuals, particularly because of the specificity of their condition of being unaware of the gaze from outside, but mostly on their minds, as follows:

“I have tried to show you how the individual is not the primary datum on which discipline is exercised. Discipline only exists insofar as there is a multiplicity and an end, or an objective or result to be obtained on the basis of this multiplicity. School and military

discipline, as well as penal discipline, workshop discipline, worker discipline, are all particular ways of managing and organizing a multiplicity, of fixing its points of implantation, its lateral or horizontal, vertical and pyramidal trajectories, its hierarchy, and so on. The individual is much more a particular way of dividing up the multiplicity for a discipline than the raw material from which it is constructed. Discipline is a mode of individualization of multiplicities rather than something that constructs an edifice of multiple elements on the basis of individuals who are worked on as, first of all, individuals. So sovereignty and discipline, as well as security, can only be concerned with multiplicities.” (Foucault, 1978: 12)

Here it seems that we returned to a departure point on our construction of a path of possible interpretation on the Modernity projects for instruction and autonomy of blind students. We are persistently writing and quoting, folding and unfolding the same concepts and issues, as tireless Penelopes. But in that remake of our speech resides our consistency of observation. On the one hand, we can more clearly assume the questions we thread upon our sources. On the other hand, we have new abilities to throw new nets on a space that does not belong to us, a questionable void on human knowledge. The first assumption to reconsider at this stage is, thus, self-knowledge. The second and third considerations are human ability and mind agility.

Finally, the last remarks on truth and lie, identity and science, government from the outside and government from within: self-government and a new fold on the form of this hyper-developed inner panoptic we are now used to call school, whatever our physical, sensorial or intellectual abilities are from the start. Is it possible to question the panoptic model as the modern school basis for every student on Modernity? How could blind students perceive space and identify themselves on the architectural metaphor?

A recent paper from the *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* helps us to understand this issue:

“This study investigated whether the lack of visual experience affects the ability to create spatial inferential representations of the survey type. We compared the performance of persons with congenital blindness and that of blindfolded sighted persons on four survey representation-based tasks (Experiment 1). Results showed that persons with blindness

performed better than blindfolded sighted controls. We repeated the same tests introducing a third group of persons with late blindness (Experiment 2). This last group performed better than blindfolded sighted participants, whereas differences between participants with late and congenital blindness were non significant. The present findings are compatible with results of other studies, which found that when visual perception is lacking, skill in gathering environmental spatial information provided by nonvisual modalities may contribute to a proper spatial encoding. It is concluded that, although it cannot be asserted that total lack of visual experience incurs no cost, our findings are further evidence that visual experience is not a necessary condition for the development of spatial inferential complex representations. (Tinti, Adenzato, Tamietto, Cornoldi, 2006:1)

It is clear to me the possibility to transpose to this writing such an experiment and to infer the perception of space on the modern blind inmates, as long as we have been recurring to other scientific studies on vision, sociology, neurology and pedagogy. There are no anachronisms in question as History is bound to discourses in time.

Whether the hyper-perception of the blind inmates own body location was a certainty, the pavement was drawn and the purposes easier to implement. The students would adapt themselves easier to the huge new homes and identify the three stations of gaze on the building.

The forgetfulness of asylums, hospitals or family homes was required for this implementation of a new identity and also to point out a future willing to be wished for.

To conclude, I will call the words of the great pedagogue Joseph Guadet, as we recall him on his very close relation to his pupils of INJA, on the purpose he claims for instruction, implicating them on the work and success of his schooling project:

“Et nous aussi, jeunes Élèves, nous avons un passé qui nous honore ; nous aussi nous pouvons reporter avec orgueil nos regards en arrière sur des hommes haut placés dans les sciences, dans les lettres, dans les arts libéraux ou industriels ! Car des hommes qui, privés de la vue, parviennent où n’arrivent que le très petit nombre de ceux qui voient, ne sont pas des hommes vulgaires ; que de courage, en effet, que de constance ne faut-il

pas à l'aveugle pour lutter, au milieu des ténèbres, contre des rivaux favorisés du grand jour ; que d'obstacles n'a-t-il pas à surmonter pour s'élever au niveau des voyants ! Quand il dépasse ce niveau, il est un homme vraiment remarquable. Qu'on nous permette donc de grouper par la pensée tous les hommes distingués sortis de nôtre école, autour de la statue absente de leur maître et du nôtre, autour du piédestal qui devrait supporter Haüy et l'on verra que si les bustes et les portraits nous manquent, les modèles ne nous font pas défaut. » (Guadet, 1856, 4)

Despite everything, the first school for blind pupils, as we retain from the analysed discourses and photographic evidences from the middle 19th century, retained proudly the sensorial difference as a positive stigma¹²⁵ in its inmate's identity, in a newly constructed and more restrained grid, towards what is pretended to be interiorized to be their new and wishful future.

As such, Jeremias Bentham proposal of a keeper to several kept, read and studied by Valentin Haüy as from several other pedagogues of Modernity, triggered a displacement of the perception of body and behaviour permanent surveillance to an interior perception of the rules and wishful behaviour. The blind students could not see the keepers but were aware of their presence. They could not see – most of them – the light on the dormitory and the gaze of the vigilant but could hear, smell and feel its presence. The little blind inmates of the modern institutes had the routine of listening the rules of behaviour, the forbidden paths, the description of the aims of self-presentation, the expectations of their promoters. The aim of feeling family outside the family provoked the inner reflex of both obedience and wish of belonging to a community.

¹²⁵ Goffman, 1988:11-14. We require the reader's attention to these particular stands on Erving Goffman's thought: either when stigma was considered a sort of privileged highlight on observed subject, or on the contrary, a sign of difference or danger, a distinction mark on a body other than the aimed majority of inclusive society, even then, it had allways the perspective of being useful into the identification, as a mirror both of inclusion and of exclusion, of the characteristics recognized or rejected by the observer. This, we think, is one of the utmost remarks of Goffman's study on the theme and is clearly related to a personal panoptic that aids to control the image we have of ourselves for presentation and acceptance in social terms. The demands being, of course, external.

The being gazed at was the price? To be cared for. To be changed into a new possibility of man design, an intellect with no distracting windows for an unwanted outside. So be it. The walls of freedom arrived through the school demandings on the ability of social compliance.

CLOSING INFERENCES AND OPEN DESIRES

“That is true, but where do you see it?”

‘In my head, as you do.’”¹²⁶



Figure 75 – Gates of Wavertree Hall, Institute for Blind, Liverpool, c. 1899¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Diderot’s dialogue with Mlle. de Salignac transcribed in *The History of the Education of the Blind prior to 1830* (1915: 6).

¹²⁷ Illustration from Royven, 1991:158.

I started this work both with a rejection of the elaboration of a discourse of truth and with the desire to build a possibility field where my questions could be unfolded, doubted, erased.

It was my purpose, four years before, when I started writing my project, as it was two years ago, after my archival work, to spread fields of research, to join scientific areas and to develop a methodology that could remain as the trace of an author, if one can be identified as such in this kind of work. Even in the most theoretical work one can find a personal seduction, a wish of understanding or, at the least, the development of new perspectives on a pragmatic question. Perhaps that is the unique possible identification from a signature on a written work.

In my case, I was driven by the curiosity on a coincidence: the creation of identities so similar yet as different as sighted and blind students on the same institutional schooling project of Modernity, within all the social, economic and political implications they were surrounded by.

Three deep silences were my companions:

1. the lack of mentioning of any kind of aggressive effect or stigma from the blind inmates of these early institutes on the promoters or on the general audience, exception made for the deaf-blind girl of 14 as described by Samuel Howe¹²⁸;

2. silence on the inmates discourses and thoughts, exception made for political writings, silence, cold silence on feelings about being taken care, about the changes on their social aims, about the relationship with their families, and about their experiences; once again, the only situation

¹²⁸ “She keeps her head enveloped in a kind of bag; and her parents even have not seen her features for two years. She was on coming here quite wildful and wayward; and would bite and scratch like a cat when thwarted.” (Fish, 1934:14)

of informal writing, embossed informal writing, perhaps never meant to be discovered, came from the Spanish girl studying at INJA school, a small piece of paper with embossed flowers and roman characters in Spanish, stating her love in quite a poetic way towards, maybe, one of the teachers¹²⁹;

3. the third silence resides all over the pedagogical writing and represents a complete void towards the pedagogic writings on schools of modernity not intended to support blindness; pedagogues for blind students quoted between themselves, exchanged ideas from their own points of view either, even if it is easy to understand the writings in which they are supported¹³⁰.

The only way to ponder these issues would be to resort to some more pedagogic writing and to compare the present *corpus* with others from similar institutions. It will be on my mind, for further works. But I am glad to have found silences on the documents. Silences unfold gently our certainties.

Political issues also were added: whether the tradition of the orders was changed on Modernity into new social stratifications based on education and self-merit¹³¹, and considering that industrialism was the vehicle for change's

¹²⁹ Mentioned in chapter IV.1, the quoted letter was found at INJA archive lost in the pages of a book. The text was of very difficult perception and the message within mentioned an illness, which we don't understand to be real or metaphoric and sensorial references of hope, like the sound of his steps on the halls or the melody of his voice. Jealousy and love were the two predominant feelings and the menace of a departure seems to be point out to a transfer student from another country or in departure to be a teacher abroad, or even towards a teacher from INJA. The photography has no quality be inserted on this thesis for I don't own a proper machine nor did I had light or means of support to properly acquire such eroded piece of paper. I also did not obtain any information on her producer's identification.

¹³⁰ Cf. Guadet, 1856, for one of the few examples of pedagogic discourse that mention general schooling in comparison with the schools for the blind.

¹³¹ Cf. Hespanha, 1987:414-415.

viability¹³² and for the required material and financial development, it would be worthwhile to proceed with a particular study of the economic dependencies of each of the studied schools towards the states and to private promoters.

Sociologically speaking, it would be interesting to understand, now that we have approached so many unpredicted issues, the need for another social order and the inclusion of a particular slice of society on the main project, questioning why and when did this project fell, even from the theoretical point of view? I think of the wars of the beginning of the 20th century and of the soldiers injured at the middle of their lives and wonder if perhaps a perspective of rehabilitation of heroes has not indeed shaken some of the certainties that were acquired at these first inclusion times. But this is a question I would also like to proceed with, within a specific time and appropriated sources and testimonies.

The utmost evidences I inherited from my sources balance the generic gaze of historians of Modernity. The iron cages that were built and which appropriated and subjected human beings to the dominance of instrumental rationalities, such as Weber stands for this new social stratus timeline, certainly overlaps rationality and is, at the same time, undermined by its aims¹³³.

For sure, there is no way out of a scientific coincidence between the visible and the invisible, as there are no more frontiers that the named and classified and the unknown. Sciences like medicine, pedagogy and psychology, discourses such as statistic and archival techniques, discursive standards of presentation and displacement of social slices of humanity towards wishful and efficient self-control do not belong to the ingenuity or coincidence domain¹³⁴.

¹³² Cf. Hobsbawm, 2001: 50-54.

¹³³ Max Weber's considerations on Modernity as quoted by Wagner, 2002:63-65.

¹³⁴ Foucault, 2005:198-199.

If schooling for the blind was a universal project as long as we have been gathering elements to say so, it was not as different from the generic institutionalization of school itself. It differed, however, from total institutions meant to keep and not to change: prisons, asylums, hospitals. The difference belongs to a strategy of profit based on the inmate's capacities.

Nevertheless, the mysticism surrounding blindness did not disappear completely. The enchantment of difference always kept subservience towards a mirror of fear from the sighted and of contempt from the blind. The unexpected is always present, the mistakes explained on the sensorial lack, the successes admired on a succession of secular myths on positively stigmatized situations¹³⁵.

It is hard to put in perspective all the questions that unfold before us when finishing the restructuring of a question. Stereotypes tend to grab us, we ourselves stigmatized onto the role of a producer of an expected truth on one issue. Thus, pondering my initial sub-questions, I gather that they changed, that the structure of my writing somehow managed to divide them into a less accurate grid of analysis:

- Were blind schools a self-government discourse proof of concept for general society targets?
- Did the global and coordinated investment in these schools rise from free-mason movements and generic sensorialist speeches?
- Were body government techniques enlarged to former stigmatic fields, in modernity, both as scientific and political truth patterns?
- Did this potential social inclusive movement produce material issues aware of the ever existing differences towards information production and dissemination?

¹³⁵ Towards this particular theme, cf. "Visages Mythiques de la Cécité". *Voir Barré*, 1992.

- Were schools a social inclusive pavement or did they intend to allow the outcome of a diversity of social patterns?
- Was there an immediate awareness of this factor by the blind scholars?

It is my belief, after these four years of work and after reading theory on identities, vision, blindness, behavior, social expectation, adapted pedagogy, adapted materiality, discourses of truth, science evolution, identity moulding, identity wish, self-government, its purposes and technologies, that all these questions have unfolded themselves into an expectation: six new questions, perhaps six new works, more detailed, more accurate, with the aid of new readings, with the contribution of a new contact with the former sources of this work and certainly over new sources that I would like to meet:

- Were blind students feared or particularly observed by their teachers and promoters as long as they stood for unknown human abilities, neurologically compensatory of the lack of the sense of sight?
- Were blind and sighted students compared into the ability, easiness and moulding time on what concerned the interiorization of self-governement techniques apprehended within the schooling system?
- Was there a clear future on what concerns authonomy that belonged to an innovation granted by institutional instruction, either for blind or for sighted students of Modern Institutions?
- Were class differences able to dissipate stigmatic characteristics on what concerned inclusion of the blind, in several epochs, particularly from the 18th century onwards?

- The unusual neurological abilities of the blind students observed and registered on Modern Schools were used on compared studies with the same abilities or inabilities from sighted students?
- Technologies of self-government were more easily apprehended by blind students than by sighted ones, considering their perceptual characteristics and the non visual distractions on global apprehension of messages that could mean survival and autonomy? Was this due to conscient need or induced wish?

Is it important to achieve the truth? Is it important to give an answer? Do I believe that the schooling of blind inmates was a justified investment and inserted itself on the global institutional schooling movement of Modernity towards a self-government management economy? I do. But this is not an answer. It is the beach I managed to arrive after the boat floated along during four years hearing the mermaids Blanchot mentions: the song of our fears, our influences, our past, we ourselves as a burden for writing and as motive to proceed.

The mentioned silences and the acquired concept of *inner panoptic* were my gift during this project. I succeeded to meet a concept comfortable enough to mean what I had in mind: the perception of self-government by the blind students and the technology generalization to the sighted ones which Bentham predicted further than he wrote. The brain perception from neurology equals the soul looked after by the pedagogues of Modernity and certainly is represented in the architectural plans, predicted for penal purposes but linked in turn to the emancipation of discipline from punishment, so deeply studied by Michel Foucault.

A confessional, personal, self-contained behavior based on wish and need, using the available characteristics of every human being, i.e. not restrictive, and leading to the same coercive social and economic purposes of management, is a complex thought. I would like to ponder more about it and certainly would like to learn more and to essay new writings on the subject.

But then, I should remember the remark that being an author is neither in my identity nor in my writing. It remains only in the rupture of concepts and discourses I managed to create on the above fragments of ideas (Foucault, 2006:46).

To recapture, as a final consideration, some of the realities I travelled into, I recall the grandeur of the pedagogical production of discourses and materiality for blind inmates during Modernity, since early Modernity, on several countries, the richness of the communication and interaction, notwithstanding the differences of regional priorities kept on the three case studies suggested as examples for the current work.

I recall the identity problematization and presentation as an important and peculiar part of the institutional work and of the governments and promoters investments. I also recall the heterotropic wish of belonging that conducted the blind citizens from home or asylum into the schooling structure and towards a social network of efficiency. Neurological issues should be extra-developed as they were the gaze that guaranteed success on cognition and the aura of mysticism on the successes or failures that humanized so much these particular experimental schools.

Differences on cognition were a new field of government as differences on the social conscience prescription of a subject fabricated into a similarity based on behaviour and exquisite quality of production, academic, personal or artistic. The geniality doubts were kept throughout the process as a safeguard, as much as discipline, self-rule and work were the technologies of empowerment of the new citizens.

“In my head”, said Mademoiselle de Salignac to Diderot, pointing out the answer on knowledge, on the blind person’s cognition abilities issues for so long questioned.

Were publications, presentations, photographs and oils, works, plays, reports, enough qualitative production to complete the statistics of the scholarization and to prove the value of this complement of the huge disciplinary purpose of schooling?

The gate is our last fragment, as it does no longer exist, but comes to our days as a photograph of an unseen but omnipresent border. I particularly treasure this photograph for its illusory perspective. Who is in and who is out? Who is enclosed? Aren’t we all, when speaking of moulding systems, panoptic technologies and our own predetermined self-will? Could this be a possibility of a new departure both to the unfolding of our curiosity on this theme and to its ever-growing bordering issues?

This story does not have an end. Fragments of thoughts gathered from the past, voices and voids eluded us around a personal question on our present and from our personal interest. That is to look upon history and to recover the small discursive space of freedom we are allowed to have through writing. Our questions on similarities and differences on schooling movements of Modernity over blind and sighted students remain on a circle of new doubts and also acquired certain perspectives that make us believe they were parallel movements issued from a political technique of bodies governmentality.

With this idea more consistent, after a trip of doubts, readings, clarifications, different perspectives and focused on a wider window on the chosen subject of work, we conclude our writing, begging the reader’s compliance to the need of a non-stopable motion in history, asking him to ponder the necessity of looking for himself and his own doubts and question on each work such as the present one, that only wishes to represent a step onto further doubts on our present, looking to the past through different approaches and methodologies of deconstruction.

Finally, as *Writing and Difference* was perhaps the book I read the most while writing this thesis. **Writing and difference, writing on difference**, it is only fair to let Derrida's words close this chapter of my personal and academic life, soothing my anguishes and leading my mind into other margins:

“The strange serenity of such a return. Rendered hopeless by repetition, and yet joyous for having affirmed the abyss, for having inhabited the labyrinth as a poet, for having written the hole, ‘the chance for a book’ into which one can only plunge, and that one must maintain while destroying it. The dwelling is inhospitable because it seduces us, as does the book into a labyrinth. The labyrinth here is an abyss: we plunge into the horizontality of pure surface, which itself represents itself from detour to detour. *The book is the labyrinth. You think you have left it, you are plunged into it. You have no chance to get away. You must destroy the work. You cannot resolve yourself to do so. I notice the slow but sure rise of your anguish. Wall after wall. Who waits for you at the end? – No one... Your name has folded over on itself, like the hand on the white arm.*” (Derrida, 2006:376).

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