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Classes in Themselves and for Themselves

The Practice of Monitorial Education for Different Social Classes in Sweden, 1820–1843

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This article investigates the monitorial system of education in Sweden between 1820 and 1843. In contrast to previous research, which has emphasised monitorial education as a method for disciplining poor children, this article compares the use of the method in schools for the working classes and in academic schools. Using concepts such as segmentation and discipline, the article analyses sources from 30 schools for the working classes and 40 academic schools to show how monitorial education was used in different schools. The mechanical exercises used in schools for the working classes were not implemented in the academic schools, and the role of monitors in the academic schools was more that of a teacher than a monitor. As this article demonstrates, these distinctions correspond to the different purposes of the schools. The schools for the working classes were directed towards instilling obedience, while the academic schools sought to awaken self-activity.

Keywords: monitorial education, elementary school, grammar school, class, discipline.

Introduction

When the Swedish educational system took shape in the 1800s, it was not *one* school for all that saw the light of day. Instead, a system of parallel school forms for different social classes was created, with elementary schools for common people and grammar and secondary schools for the middle and upper classes.¹ In this article I will address the pedagogical implications of this development by analysing the introduction of monitorial systems of education in Sweden. The purpose is to show how social class affected schoolwork and how this was reflected in different types of schools conducted their teaching.

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¹ See e.g. Bengt Sandin, 'Education, Popular Culture and the Surveillance of the Population in Stockholm between 1600 and the 1840s', *Continuity and Change* 3, issue 3 (1988): 379–84; Lars Pettersson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham: utvecklingslinjer i svensk folkundervisning mellan feodalism och kapitalism, 1809–1860* (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 1992), passim; Ulla Johansson, 'Schooling in Sweden in the 19th Century', in *Polish and Swedish Schools in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Ryszard Kucha & Ulla Johansson (Lublin: Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press, 1995), 16–28; Ulla Johansson & Christina Florin, 'Where the Glorious Laurels Grow...': Swedish Grammar Schools as a Means of Social Mobility and Social Reproduction', in *History of Education: Major Themes*, vol. 4, *Studies of Education Systems*, ed. Roy Lowe (London: Routledge, 2000), 435–53; and Daniel Lindmark, *Reading, Writing and Schooling: Swedish Practices of Education and Literacy, 1650–1880* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2004), 16–21.

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In order to describe the hierarchical structure of the educational systems that emerged in the West in the 1800s, Fritz Ringer uses the concept of *segmentation*. Segmentation refers to parallel forms of schools that differ in both design and social recruitment. According to Ringer, such a division may have far-reaching effects on a society. Through segmentation, education can be a support for the definition of social roles and thus a measure of the distance between different social groups. In a segmented school system, education is therefore not primarily a tool for social mobility, but a way of legitimising the existing class structure.²

Brian Simon also uses segmentation when analysing the emerging educational system in England during the first half of the 1800s. At that time new professions gave rise to demands for an educational system that was in line with the emerging society. In the discussions concerning the nature of education, there was a call for a type of education that reflected society; a system of different education for different strata. In light of these developments Simon argues that the educational system did not merely function as a system that reproduced a social structure; it also helped to enhance and differentiate the new hierarchical social structure that emerged.³

In the case of Sweden, similar social developments have also been portrayed as crucial for the advent of a segmented school system.⁴ In his study of the development of Swedish mass education, Bengt Sandin shows how the Swedish educational system developed towards a

² Fritz K. Ringer, 'On Segmentation in Modern Educational Systems: The Case of French Secondary Education, 1865–1920', in *The Rise of the Modern Educational System. Structural Change and Social Reproduction 1870–1920*, eds. Detlef K. Müllers, Fritz K. Ringers & Brian Simons (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 53, 69.

³ Brian Simon, 'Systematisation and Segmentation in Education: The Case of England', in *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction 1870–1920*, eds. Detlef K. Müllers, Fritz K. Ringers & Brian Simons (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 91–2.

⁴ This way of viewing the development of Swedish mass education has, however, been contested by John Boli. He argues that "a principle of strong egalitarianism" characterised Swedish education in the 1800s and that the arguments for schooling as a means of social control in Sweden are weak. John Boli, *New Citizens for a New Society: The Institutional Origins of Mass Schooling in Sweden* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1989), 14–9. Quotation on page 18. Boli's views on the development of Swedish mass schooling can, however, be strongly challenged on the basis of the results of the present article, among other things.

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greater degree of segmentation during the first half of the 1800s. This resulted in the emergence of different schools for different social classes.⁵ Lars Petterson explains the same process by framing it as part of the struggle between emerging classes during a period that was characterised by the establishment of wage labour and the increasing importance of capitalist market relations. Petterson also argues that the introduction of elementary schools for the masses not only served as an effective tool for social segregation, but in addition could be regarded as one of the cornerstones of the class society that emerged during the 1800s.⁶

A method exclusively for mass education?

As stated above, the concept of segmentation entails not only separate schools for different social classes, but also qualitative differences in the design of teaching. This is also Petterson's point when he claims that the differences between different types of schools in Sweden during the 1800s were primarily a question of the method of teaching.⁷ The methods that Petterson refers to are Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell's slightly different monitorial systems of education, which were based on the use of more experienced pupils as monitors, often in combination with a drill-like form of teaching (see Figure 1).⁸

⁵ Sandin, 'Education, Popular Culture ...', 379–84.

⁶ Petterson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham*, 129–30, 165.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 161–7.

⁸ Carl F. Kaestle, *Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement: A Documentary History* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1973), passim. In this text I use "monitorial education" as an abbreviation for "monitorial systems of education".

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Figure 1. Movements used within the Lancasterian school system.

The illustration shows the movements that were used at the Lancasterian schools. At the top right is the monitor who oversaw and led the pupils' work. The other images show the pupils' different drills. As can be seen, the movements were carefully defined, and the division into different elements was very similar to that of military drill. Source: Johan Adolf Gerelius, *Det brittiska eller lancasterska uppfostrings-systemet. Med 3:ne plancher* (Stockholm: Gerelius, 1820).

Monitorial education was introduced in Sweden in the late 1810s, and in 1822 the Society for the Promotion of Monitorial Education (*Sällskapet för växelundervisningens befrämjande*) was formed.⁹ In Petterson's characterisation of monitorial education he emphasises that “*the cell prison, the correction institution, the work institution and the monitorial school were pawns in*

⁹ Thor Nordin, *Växelundervisningens allmänna utveckling och dess utformning i Sverige till omkring 1830* (Stockholm: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1974), 289–98, 311–7. For a more detailed study of this importing of ideas, see Hanna Hodacs, *Converging World Views: The European Expansion and Early-Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Swedish Contacts* (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 2003), 135–78; for its political significance, see Henrik Edgren, *Publicitet för medborgsmannavett: det nationellt svenska i Stockholmstidningar 1810–1831* (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 2005), 126–7. For other studies of the diffusion of monitorial education around the world, see Jana Tschurenay, ‘Diffusing Useful Knowledge: the Monitorial System of Education in Madras, London and Bengal, 1789–1840’, *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2008): 245–64; and Paul Sedra, ‘Exposure to the Eyes of God: Monitorial Schools and Evangelicals in Early Nineteenth-Century England’, *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 47, no. 3 (2011): 263–81.

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the same social strategy, and that this was inextricably linked to the new mode of production based on wage labour”.¹⁰ Petterson is far from alone in this interpretation. Other studies have also emphasised the connection between monitorial education and social control.¹¹

In Petterson’s analysis, monitorial education is seen as the theoretical legitimisation of the segmented school system by the introduction of different teaching methods for different social classes. Even though the Swedish interest in mass education was not born of any industrial requirements, it was a response to nascent capitalism’s need for “new people” who could serve the “new social order”. This becomes evident in the divergent pedagogical methods used for working-class and middle-class children. According to Petterson, monitorial education was the pedagogical model for mass education in elementary schools, whereas the teaching aimed at middle-class children instead focused on educating the pupils’ will, a process in which the teachers had a central role.¹²

However, Petterson’s view of monitorial education as a method that was exclusively used to educate the working classes can be questioned. According to Thor Nordin, monitorial education was mainly used for mass education in Sweden, but there is no lack of examples of more advanced schools also using the method.¹³ For example, the Swedish school audit in 1824 shows that no fewer than five higher grammar schools (*trivialskolor*) and four lower grammar

¹⁰ [cellfängelset, korrektionsanstalten, arbetsinrättningen och växelundervisnings-skolan var pjäser i samma sociala strategi, och att denna var oupplösligt knuten till det nya produktionssätt som baserades på lönearbete.] Petterson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham*, 263.

¹¹ The fact that the method was used as a means for creating workers is also highlighted in Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger, 1975), 10–2, 159; and Ronald Rayman, ‘Joseph Lancaster’s Monitorial System of Instruction and American Indian Education’, *History of Education Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (1981): 400–1.

¹² Petterson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham*, 276, 309–13.

¹³ Thor Nordin, *Växelundervisningens allmänna utveckling och dess utformning i Sverige till omkring 1830* (Stockholm: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1974), 338–9. The fact that monitorial education was used in forms of schools other than those for the working classes has previously been highlighted, for example in Marcelo Caruso & Eugenia Roldán Vera, ‘Pluralizing Meanings: The Monitorial System of Education in Latin America in the Early Nineteenth Century’, *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 6 (2005): 652; and Eugenia Roldán Vera, ‘Order in the Classroom: The Spanish American Appropriation of the Monitorial System of Education’, *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 6 (2005): 664–5, 672–4.

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schools and so-called apologist schools (*apologistskolor*) had tried monitorial education.¹⁴ Further research has also showed that by 1832 no fewer than 31 per cent of the publicly funded grammar, apologist and secondary schools (*gymnasium*) used monitorial education to some extent.¹⁵

In view of the fact that monitorial education was used in schools of different social class character in Sweden, the present article will examine the practice of monitorial education in these different kinds of schools between 1820 and 1843. The source materials being studied are mainly reports from the first 28 Swedish monitorial schools to the Society for the Promotion of Monitorial Education in the early 1820s and reports from a total of 40 publicly funded grammar, apologist and secondary schools in Sweden to the national school audits in 1824, 1832 and 1843. Furthermore, the study also utilises various manuals on monitorial education as well as documents from local school archives and reports put together by the Society for the Promotion of Monitorial Education. The local archives are from schools in both urban and rural areas and are selected on the basis that they contain materials that describe the schools' teaching.¹⁶ The four different Swedish manuals on monitorial education that are used are all from around 1820 and constitute the manuals that introduced the method in Sweden. In some cases these manuals are also compared with Lancaster's own presentation of his method.

¹⁴ The apologist school was a type of school that existed in Sweden during the period 1820–1849 with the aim of providing civic education. The teaching was similar to that in grammar schools, but instead of ancient languages pupils were able to read German and French, and greater emphasis was put on teaching arithmetic. Esbjörn Larsson, 'Från lärd skola till läroverk: läroverksutbildningens utveckling i Sverige från rikets delning till 1878 års skollag'. *Skolhistoriskt arkiv* 32 (2009): 20–1.

¹⁵ Esbjörn Larsson, *En lycklig Mechanism: olika aspekter av växelundervisningen som en del av 1800-talets utbildningsrevolution* (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 2005), 148.

¹⁶ The local archives are from nine different schools, one of which is the experimental grammar school, the New Elementary School in Stockholm. The remainder consists of two poor schools, one in Gothenburg and one in Visby, and six parish schools located in western Sweden (one school) and central Sweden (five schools). Of the latter there are two that are not included in the material from the monitorial education society (Rasbo and Vaksala). The source material is described in more detail in Larsson, *En lycklig Mechanism*, 43–5.

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With the support of this material I will argue that monitorial education was not a method that was used exclusively in schools for the working classes – rural parish schools (*sockenskolor*) and urban poor schools (*fattigskolor*) – although it was above all in those schools that the method was assigned a prominent role.¹⁷ I will also argue that there was a clear difference in the use of monitorial education in different types of schools, and that this difference corresponds to the different purposes of the schools in question. In this context, social class had a decisive impact on the teaching design. To conceptualise these differences in the practice of monitorial education, the article will make use of Michel Foucault's analysis of the rise of discipline as a form of power, as this analysis is central to understanding the inherent power relations within monitorial education.

Discipline and schooling

Studies of monitorial education have often made use of Foucault's analysis of discipline as a new kind of power technique that emerged during the early modern period. In his presentation of the emergence of discipline during the 1600s and 1700s, Foucault also highlights schools alongside the prison system, the military and the healthcare field as areas where a disciplinary system can clearly be observed. In this context, the introduction of monitorial education in the early 1800s can be regarded as the completion of a transformation of power regimes that began in the mid-1600s.¹⁸

¹⁷ The fact that both Lancaster and Bell saw their respective teaching methods as education for the poor is highlighted in Tschurennev, 'Diffusing Useful Knowledge', 247–64.

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1995[1977]), 16, 23–4, 138–40, 165–6, 175–6, 257–9, 263–4. How these changes affected the early-modern Swedish grammar schools has previously been discussed in Björn Norlin, 'School Jailhouse: Discipline, Space and the Materiality of School Morale in Early-Modern Sweden', *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society* (2016 ahead of print).

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Among the studies that, in the wake of Foucault, have related monitorial education to the emergence of discipline, there are several that primarily confirm his results.¹⁹ By way of exception, there are also scholars who have tried to develop Foucault's thoughts further. One of these is David Hogan, who essentially employs Foucault's view of monitorial education as a starting point for his own study. His main focus is instead on the relationship between the emergence of a disciplinary power and the emergence of market thinking, which he emphasises as an aspect that Foucault neglects.²⁰

Another scholar who further develops Foucault's approach to monitorial education is Marcelo Caruso. Through a comparative study, comparing the method's implementation in Spain and the German states during the first half of the 1800s, Caruso focuses on the importance of the cultural context, which is an aspect that has been largely overlooked in previous studies of monitorial education.²¹

Differences in educational cultures are also in focus in the current article, although not as national educational cultures. Instead this article analyses differences between different types of schools within one national context. To do this, I will mainly focus on how teaching was governed within monitorial education, which is one of the three elements that Foucault identifies as significant for discipline as a power technique.²²

¹⁹ See e.g. Petterson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham*; Dell Upton, 'Lancasterian Schools, Republican Citizenship, and the Spatial Imagination in Early Nineteenth-Century America', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55, no. 3 (1996): 238–53; John Hassard & Michael Rowlinson, 'Researching Foucault's Research: Organization and Control in Joseph Lancaster's Monitorial Schools', *Organization* 9, no. 4 (2002): 615–39; and Ansgar Allen, 'The Examined Life: On the Formation of Souls and Schooling', *American Educational Research Journal* 50, no. 2 (2013): 216–50.

²⁰ Furthermore, Hogan criticises Foucault for denying the importance of actors' intentions, the development as the result of societal development (in this case the development of the capitalist society) and the inability to take into account the importance of forms of exercise of power other than the disciplinary. David Hogan, 'The Market Revolution and Disciplinary Power: Joseph Lancaster and the Psychology of the Early Classroom System', *History of Education Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (1989): 382, 390–6. The capitalist aspect of monitorial education is further developed by Leopoldo Mesquita, who among other things examines the focus on productivity within monitorial education. Leopoldo Mesquita, 'The Lancasterian Monitorial System as an Education Industry with a Logic of Capitalist Valorisation', *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 5 (2012): 661–75.

²¹ Marcelo Caruso, 'Order Through the Gaze: A Comparative Perspective on the Construction of Visibility in Monitorial Schooling (Germany – Spain, approx. 1815–1848)', *Encounters on Education* 9 (2008): 150, 163.

²² The other two are control and sanction.

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An important aspect of governance as a disciplinary technique is *partitioning* in both time and space. Spatially, it is partly about a delineation of activities in relation to the surroundings, and partly about a division of the activity by assigning each individual their own location. The division in time is achieved by giving the activities a clear start and end as well as dividing them into a number of smaller time units. According to Foucault, the purpose of this is to optimise the activities. In schools, partitioning is achieved by the introduction of regular school hours, roll calls, lists of pupils, class divisions with different assignments for different classes and assessments of various kinds.²³

In order to govern, discipline also makes use of two other power techniques: hierarchical supervision and normalising sanctions in the form of punishments and rewards. In this context, hierarchical supervision is described by Foucault as one of the great inventions of the 18th century and as a discreet form of power. In schools, supervision became the backbone of teaching as the increasing number of pupils forced the teachers to expand their techniques of control. One way of doing this was to use pupils as monitors to enable the teacher to be constantly present everywhere through his assistants.²⁴ As mentioned earlier, the use of monitors was also one of the main features of monitorial education. This aspect will be analysed here with special focus on how monitors were used in different kinds of Swedish schools in the decades that followed the introduction of monitorial education around 1820.

The mechanical design of mass schooling

In his description of the emergence of discipline, Foucault emphasises closed environments as a prerequisite for the disciplinary techniques, as they are facilitated by a clear demarcation from

²³ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 141–53, 156–7. The importance of space is also highlighted in Thomas A. Markus, ‘Early Nineteenth Century School Space and Ideology’, *Paedagogica Historica* 32, no. 1 (1996): 49.

²⁴ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 170–6.

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the surrounding environment.²⁵ A school within its four walls can in this context be seen as a clear example of such a boundary.²⁶

As earlier research has revealed, Swedish mass education in rural areas was not generally conducted in fixed schools until the late 1800s. It was much more common for children to be taught by family members in their homes or by ambulatory teachers visiting villages for a couple of weeks at a time.²⁷ In light of this, the transition to monitorial education can be seen as an important juncture in the emergence of disciplinary techniques, as the method required a proper school building.

This assumption is also confirmed by studies of the introduction of monitorial education in Sweden which have shown that, especially in rural areas, the introduction of the new method coincided with the acquisition of a school building.²⁸ It could thus be argued that monitorial education contributed to the spread of an important prerequisite for disciplinary techniques in mass education, namely the transition to teaching in specific school buildings.

Once the framework of a clearly defined area has been achieved, Foucault argues that partitioning is the next step in the emergence of discipline.²⁹ In this case the monitorial schools also stand out as close to exemplary due to their detailed division of the schoolchildren into a number of classes and circles, which is highlighted in both Lancaster's presentation of his method and in Swedish handbooks on the subject.³⁰ Furthermore, monitorial education also

²⁵ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 141–2.

²⁶ The significance of demarcation for discipline has previously been highlighted, among others by Frans Lundgren, *Den isolerade medborgaren: liberalt styre och uppkomsten av det sociala vid 1800-talets mitt* (Hedemora: Gidlund, 2003), 53–65.

²⁷ Esbjörn Larsson, 'Mass Teaching without the Masses: Challenges during the Rise of Mass Education in Sweden, approx. 1810–1880', in *Classroom Struggle: Organizing Elementary School Teaching in the 19th Century*, ed. Marcelo Caruso (New York: Peter Lang, 2015), 159.

²⁸ Larsson, *En lycklig Mechanism*, 95–8.

²⁹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 143–4.

³⁰ Joseph Lancaster, *Improvements in Education, as it Respects the Industrious Classes of the Community: Containing among other Important Particulars, an Account of the Institution for the Education of One Thousand Poor Children, Borough Road, Southwark; and of the New System of Education on which it is Conducted* (New York: Collins and Perkins, 1807), 38–40; Johan Adolph Gerelius, *Det brittiska eller lancasterska uppfostrings-systemet* (Stockholm: Gerelius, 1820), 64–5; Anders Fredrik

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shows evidence of a kind of partitioning of every individual. This is evident in the practice of teaching in semicircles in front of instructive tables hung on the wall. In the circle the first boy “either pronounces a letter, or spells a syllable, reads a word or more or less of a sentence, maxim etc.”, and was then followed by the second, the third and so on.³¹

Looking at the reports that were submitted to the Society for the Promotion of Monitorial Education, we find several examples of how the introduction of monitorial education coincided with the division of the school children into different classes in monitorial schools for the working classes. The clearest example of this is found in the report from *Philipsenska skolan* (the School of Philipsen), where Peter Reinhold Svensson was the teacher. There it is explicitly mentioned that in his trial of the method he “divided / ... / children into classes”, which can be interpreted as a change that was connected to the transition to monitorial education.³²

In the source material that the first monitorial schools left behind, it is difficult, for obvious reasons, to find any traces of how the teaching was done in practice, but there are sources that can give a glimpse into how the teaching was organised. Regarding the division into classes, there were some variations between schools. In Rasbo parish school near Uppsala, north of the capital of Sweden, there appear to have been no specific classes, although the enrolment book clearly shows that children seem to have been taught how to read and write in different,

Rådberg, *Praktisk handbok för vaxel-undervisnings-scholar* (Linköping: Rådberg, 1820), 12; Lars Hagstedt, *Försök till praktisk handledning i vaxel-undervisningen: en hjälpredda vid skolans inrättande och metodens utöfning* (Göteborg: Hagstedt, 1821), 12; and Peter Reinhold Svensson, *Praktisk handledning för vaxelundervisningen i folkscholar* (Stockholm: Zacharias Haeggström, 1823), 45–6.

³¹ [antingen uttalar en bokstaf, eller stafvar en stafvelse, läser ett ord större eller mindre del af en mening, sentens o.s.v.] Gerelius, *Det brittiska eller lancasterska uppfostrings-systemet*, 73. Similar descriptions are also found in Lancaster, *Improvements in Education*, 42; Rådberg, *Praktisk handbok för vaxel-undervisnings-scholar*, 13–4; and Svensson, *Praktisk handledning för vaxelundervisningen i folkscholar*, 16–18, 20.

³² [”indelade /.../ barnen i klasser”] Letter from Peter Reinhold Svensson, December 12, 1822 [The School of Philipsen], SPME–NMA (A1A:1, Sällskapet för växelundervisningens befrämjande)–(Nordic Museum Archive). Svensson’s information on class division is also confirmed by the information sent from St. Maria Magdalena Parish to the education committee of 1812. Report, April 29, 1814, E II b:1, ÅK851, RA (Swedish National Archives). Similar information is also found in a Letter from Norlander, December 8, 1822 [Husqvarna rifle factory]; No. 36, Wecko-Blad from Gefle, July 27, 1822 [the Monitorial School of Ennes & Efstrand], SPME–NMA.

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carefully delineated steps.³³ This can be compared to the teaching in the parish school in Hjälstad, near Gothenburg. There they started to divide the schoolchildren into six different classes when monitorial education was introduced. Interestingly enough, this only went on for one year before they reverted to listing the schoolchildren in descending order of knowledge.³⁴

A more distinct change can be found at the monitorial school in Söderfors, also north of Uppsala, which established a school record in conjunction with the introduction of monitorial education. In the school record it was stated what classes the children were in. These lists were kept in the same manner for many years, which can be seen as evidence of a genuine change in how the schoolchildren were partitioned.³⁵

However, it was not everywhere that the shift to a division of the children into classes coincided with the establishment of monitorial education. From the Society of Bathing Friends (DBW – *De Badande Wännerna*) in Visby, on the island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea, documents drawn up relating to the examinations in July 1816 and 1817 show that the schoolchildren were divided among three different tables and that the third table in turn was divided into two circles.³⁶ Likewise the independent school in Marieberg (Gothenburg), one of the schools which were merged to form the monitorial school in Majorna in 1821, divided its schoolchildren into three classes.³⁷

However, these classes came to be more finely divided with the introduction of monitorial education. The protocol established during the examination at the DBW school at the end of the spring semester of 1824 shows that the children were divided into eight different classes and at

³³ Enrolment book 1825–1831, 1833–1845, 1847–1855, KIV:3, Rasbo Church Archives, ULA (National Archives in Uppsala).

³⁴ Examination directory 1774–1825, D I:1, Hjälstad Church Archives, National Archives in Göteborg.

³⁵ List of school children 1821–1852, KIV:2, Söderfors Church Archives, ULA.

³⁶ Minutes from examination, July 9, 1816; July 9, 1817, F II:1, DBW (“The Bathing Friends”) Archive, ViLA (National Archives in Visby).

³⁷ Elof Lindälv, *Om fynden på vinden i Majornas växelundervisningsskola* (Stockholm: Fören. för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1972), 69.

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the monitorial school in Majorna there was a similar division of the children into eight classes for reading, writing and arithmetic.³⁸

Besides spatial division, Foucault also emphasises a division in time as one of the characteristics of discipline. This division is not just about the activity having a clear beginning and end; the time period in between is also split into smaller units of time. As an example of activities where this was taken to extremes, Foucault singles out the Lancasterian schools.³⁹ This is evident from Foucault's descriptions of the time schedule of French monitorial schools, which follows exactly the same pattern that Lars Hagstedt describes in his Swedish handbook on monitorial education (Figure 2).

149		<i>Division of work</i>
Hour	Min	
8	30.	The Teacher and General Monitor enter the school.
8	45.	Monitors-in-office enter.
8	50.	Monitors' roll call.
8	55.	Children's entry.
9	—	Prayer
9	4.	Roll call and report.
9	9.	Writing. First slate.
9	14.	End of dictation, correction.
9	18.	Second slate.
9	23.	Correction.
9	27.	Third slate.
9	32.	Correction.
9	36.	Fourth slate.
9	41.	Correction.
9	45.	Fifth slate.
9	51.	Correction.
9	55.	Orders to cease and collect the styluses.

³⁸ From the autumn semester of 1825, the number of classes in the DBW's school was increased to nine, and in the spring semester of 1827 to ten. Minutes from examination, July 9, 1824; December 19, 1825; July 9, 1827, F II:1, DBW, ViLA; Lindälv, *Om fynden på vinden i Majornas växelundervisningsskola*, 87, 90.

³⁹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 149–51.

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Figure 2. Division of work [The text is translated from Swedish] in Hagstedt, *Försök till praktisk handledning i wexel-undervisningen*, 69.

Descriptions similar to that in Hagstedt's book are also found in other Swedish manuals issued around 1820, although they are not always as detailed.⁴⁰ Whether these timescales came to be applied in practice is, of course, very difficult to determine. However, one can assume that their use must have required the ability to measure time. This is also evident in the manuals, where clocks or other forms of timepieces are highlighted as necessary equipment.⁴¹ Looking at inventories and other information available from the first monitorial schools, we see that some schools had access to timepieces,⁴² but the evidence is unfortunately too sparse for us to establish that this was the rule.⁴³

In addition to the division of time into different units, Foucault accentuates the link between activity and time as a central element of discipline. That the activities are divided into different movements which can be performed at a measured pace can be understood as "*the correlation of the body and the gesture*". The clearest example of this is perhaps the military drill, but Foucault emphasises that this was something that also marked monitorial education.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ In Gerelius, Rådberg and Svensson the activities are described in more general terms in time periods of between 5 and 30 minutes. Gerelius, *Det brittiska eller lancasterska uppfostrings-systemet*, 85–89; Rådberg, *Praktisk handbok för vaxel-undervisnings-scholar*, 11–2; and Svensson, *Praktisk handledning för vaxelundervisningen i folkscholar*, 47–8.

⁴¹ Gerelius, *Det brittiska eller lancasterska uppfostrings-systemet*, 63; Rådberg, *Praktisk handbok för vaxel-undervisnings-scholar*, 8; Hagstedt, *Försök till praktisk handledning i wexel- undervisningen*, 6; and Svensson, *Praktisk handledning för vaxelundervisningen i folkscholar*, 3.

⁴² Information shows that there were timepieces at the monitorial school in Majorna, the Monitorial School of Ennes & Efstrand, and the monitorial school in Uddevalla. Lindälv, *Om fynden på vinden i Majornas växelundervisningsskola*, 101; Inventory belonging to the monitorial school in Uddevalla, July 9, 1822; Nr 36, Wecko-Blad from Gefle, July 27, 1822 [the Monitorial School of Ennes & Efstrand], SPME–NMA.

⁴³ The accounts from the schools in Alunda, Rasbo, Söderfors and Vaksala provide no information about the acquisition of any kind of timepiece during the introduction of monitorial education. The school treasury's special accounts 1803–1850, LIa:5, Alunda Church Archives; School accounts 1772–1836, LIIa:1, Rasbo Church Archives; The school treasury's special accounts 1818–1863, LIII:2, Söderfors Church Archives; School accounts 1771–1872, LIIa:1, Vaksala Church Archives, ULA.

⁴⁴ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 150–53. Quotation on page 152.

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In Hagstedt's manual this relationship is exemplified through a highly detailed description of the various drills included in the timetable set out above (See Figures 2 and 3).

The exercises.

Entrance into the classroom, roll call and prayer.

1. To establish silence.	The whistle used, here marked with W.
2. The children turn their faces towards	The bell used, here marked Gen. Monitor. with B.
3. — kneel for prayer.	B.
4. — Stand up.	B.
5. — prepare to go to the benches	The arms horizontally extended front and rear.
6. — Go to the benches and sit	The right hand raised by swinging in height
7. Hands on the back.	Hands horizontal, and put behind the back.
8. Roll call orders to the monitors,	Monitor B.
to make ready.	
	Writing
9. (Hands on knees, the children at	Hands on knees.
the sand bench	
10. Prepare to make a letter.	The finger extended horizontally.
11. The designated letter made.	Make the letter.)
12. Prepare to clean the slate.	The right hand brought to the mouth, and the left horizontal.
13. Cleaning of the slate.	— —folded down horizontally.
14. Cleaning ceases.	B.
15. The arms crossed to display.	The arms horizontally crossed
16. The slate presented.	— separated and slightly lifted
17. Lowered to the brink of the table.	— lowered vigorously.
18. The monitor oversees.	Monitors! and a movement with his hand up from right to left.
19. The monitor returns to his place.	B.
20. The slate falls down towards the table.	Hands outstretched, and slowly lowered.
21. The thumbs retracted quickly.	— lowered vigorously.
22. Hands on the back.	B.
23. Styluses distributed.	Monitors! B.
24. Dictation starts.	8th Cl. begins!
25. Correction.	B. and the hand swings from left to right.
26. The monitors return to their places.	B.
27. Preparation to collect the styluses.	Right hand outstretched
28. The styluses presented.	One finger in the air.
29. — collected.	The hand vigorously lowered
30. — made ready for.	(The monitors now stand on the benches.) First Cl. how many?
	2nd Cl. how many and so forth.)

Figure 3. The Exercises [The text is translated from Swedish] in Hagstedt, *Försök till praktisk handledning i wexel-undervisningen*, the chart “The Exercises”. (Similar descriptions are also available for reading and arithmetic.)

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Just as for the division of time, similar descriptions of the different drills conducted in monitorial education can also be found in other manuals.⁴⁵ Despite this, evidence shows that the teaching was not an endless drill-like regime. In Svensson's book on the subject, he reflects on the use of such regimes and comes to the conclusion that they mainly framed the school day and that the drill-like movements represented not more than three minutes of a day in school.⁴⁶

Apparently, the idea was not that the children should move like robots. The simultaneous movements were mainly to occur when they switched from one exercise to another. This is also evident on a closer analysis of the time schedule and the pattern of movements described above. In a comparison between "Division of work" (Figure 2) and "The exercises" (Figure 3), it becomes clear that steps 24 and 25 ("Dictation starts" and "Correction" in Figure 3) must have been the parts that were most time-consuming, while they lack detailed descriptions of body movements. One can thus understand how Svensson can argue that only a small fraction of the school day contained simultaneous movements.

As for the practice of such movements, accounts and inventories are the main sources of evidence regarding the existence of this drill-like framing of the teaching. From such sources it appears that several schools acquired the special whistles and/or bells that were mentioned in the exercise schedule above during the introduction of monitorial education,⁴⁷ although there were also exceptions.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Lancaster, *Improvements in education*, 90–2; Gerelius, *Det brittiska eller lancasterska uppfostrings-systemet*, 85; Rådberg, *Praktisk handbok för vaxel-undervisnings-scholar*, 21–9; and Svensson, *Praktisk handledning för vaxelundervisningen i folkscholar*, 50–1.

⁴⁶ Svensson, *Praktisk handledning för vaxelundervisningen i folkscholar*, 50–1.

⁴⁷ The monitorial school in Majorna, the monitorial school in Uddevalla, DBW's school, the monitorial school in Söderfors, and Rasbo parish school. Lindälv, *Om fynden på vinden i Majornas vaxelundervisningsskola*, 101; Inventory belonging to the monitorial school in Uddevalla, July 9, 1822; SPME–NMA; Inventory at DBW's school, June 25, 1829; January 29, 1831; February 4, 1833; February 1, 1834; February 26, 1835, F II:1, DBW, ViLA; School accounts 1772–1836, L IIa:1, Rasbo Church Archives; The school treasury's special accounts 1818–1863, L III:2, Söderfors Church Archives, ULA.

⁴⁸ Among the schools where there is no information on purchases of whistles or bells are the parish schools in Alunda, Överselö and Vaksala. The school treasury's special accounts 1803–1850, LIIa:5, Alunda Church Archives; The school treasury's accounts 1780–1824, K I:1, Överselö Church Archives; School accounts 1771–1872, L IIa:1, Vaksala Church Archives, ULA.

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In summary, it can thus be argued that monitorial education brought about a noticeable change in the techniques of power that characterised mass education in Sweden. This applied especially to mass teaching in rural areas, where in many places the parishes went from a system of ambulatory teachers to a more clearly organised form of education in permanent schools with the introduction of monitorial education. In the poor schools in urban areas this shift was not as dramatic, although there are signs of a greater degree of partitioning as a result of the transition to monitorial education.

To what extent the new methods altered the teaching in practice is, of course, difficult to prove. However, source material preserved from individual schools shows that in some cases monitorial education led to the division of school children into classes, while accounts and inventories testify that some schools bought whistles and timepieces. Taken together, this suggests that the introduction of monitorial education also led to a genuine change in teaching methods in Sweden.⁴⁹ In some cases this change also entailed considerable changes as prior to the introduction of monitorial education most rural parishes used a system of household teaching and/or ambulatory teachers who travelled between the different villages of the parish to teach smaller groups of children over shorter periods of time.⁵⁰

Adapting monitorial education to academic schools

Looking at how the academic forms of elementary education had been organised during the 1700s in comparison with how grammar and apologist schools were designed after 1820, it becomes evident that much of the structure which according to Foucault characterises the disciplinary techniques was already in place in these schools by the time of the introduction of

⁴⁹ This assumption is also confirmed by various memory-based narratives, where the use of monitorial education is emphasised in particular. See, for example, Andersson, A. P., *Lankasterskolor: interiörer från Dalarna, Gästrikland, Uppland, Småland, Västergötland, Halland och Skåne* (Lund: Fören. för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1922), passim.

⁵⁰ Larsson, 'Mass Teaching without the Masses', 159–67.

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monitorial education in Sweden. Unlike the teaching in mass education, academic elementary and secondary education had a long tradition of splitting the pupils into different classes and assembling them in a school building. Indeed, the first Swedish School Act from 1561 mentions “the school cottage” and the division of the pupils into “circles”. Thereafter a trend towards increasingly regulated activities can also be noticed. In the school act of 1611, the division into classes became more closely regulated and in 1649 the school building was addressed explicitly in the School Act.⁵¹

Despite these clear steps towards a technology of disciplinary power, grammar and apologist schools did not usually implement the degree of partitioning that was found in the monitorial schools for the working classes. This is repeatedly pointed out in presentations of the academic elementary and secondary schools that used monitorial education. In a report from Mariæ grammar school (Stockholm) in 1824, it is stressed that “some parts” of monitorial education were used, and the report from Adolf Fredrik’s apologist school for the same year states that they used a kind of modified monitorial education.⁵² What these modifications meant is not always easy to understand. However, many reports portray the use of monitors as the main element of monitorial education in grammar and apologist schools. The more mechanical elements described above are not mentioned in these cases.⁵³

⁵¹ Bror Rudolf Hall, *Sveriges allmänna läroverksstadgar 1561–1905*, D. 1–3, 1561, 1611 och 1649 års skolordningar: i avtryck och, de båda senare, i översättning (Lund: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1921), 13, 15, 27–36, 93. The transition to dividing the school pupils into various classes was something that took place in several locations around Europe, with the first known example being the Collège de Montaigu in 1509. David Hamilton, *Towards a Theory of Schooling* (London: Falmer, 1989), 41.

⁵² Mariæ grammar school [lägre trivialsskola]; Adolf Fredrik lower apologist school, 1824, ÅK854:5, RA. Similar information on a modified version of monitorial education or partially applied monitorial education is also available in the reports from Malmö grammar school [högre lärdomsskola]; Gävle grammar school [högre lärdomsskola]; Linköping lower apologist school, 1824, ÅK854:5; Kungl. Djurgården school; Västerås grammar and apologist school [högre lärdoms- och apologistsskola]; Malmö grammar school [högre lärdomsskola]; Eksjö grammar school [lägre lärdomsskola]; Borås School; Kristianstad’s grammar school [lärdomsskola]; Skara grammar school [högre lärdomsskola]; Falu grammar school [högre lärdomsskola]; Karlstad grammar school and apologist school [högre lärdomsskola och lägre apologistsskola], 1832, ÅK856: 3–4; Vadstena grammar school [lägre lärdomsskola]; Västerås grammar school [högre lärdomsskola]; Falu grammar school [högre lärdomsskola], 1843, ÅK857:4, RA.

⁵³ The use of monitors as the method’s main characteristic is mentioned in the reports from Gävle grammar school [högre lärdomsskola]; Jönköping’s lower apologist school, 1824, ÅK854:5; Stockholms gymnasium; Adolf Fredriks lower apologist

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How the proponents of monitorial education advocated that the method should be applied in academic elementary schools is clearly described in the report to the school audit of 1832 from the New Elementary School (*Nya elementarskolan*), a public experimental school that was established in Stockholm in 1828. From the head master Carl Johan Love Almqvist's general description of the teaching at the New Elementary School, it becomes clear that the activities they conducted were far from drill-like. Instead, the teachers adapted their teaching to the situation and gave personal instruction when appropriate. While the teacher in this manner devoted himself to teaching a smaller part of the school's pupils, the monitors handled the rest of the pupils. That Almqvist also saw this as a kind of monitorial education which differed from the teaching that took place in the monitorial schools for the working classes is illustrated by the fact that he specifically points out that "[h]ereby commences a monitorial education which does not consist in empty and dead mechanism".⁵⁴

Looking at the teaching in various subjects at the New Elementary School, it is noticeable that there was no particular routine developed for the use of monitorial education at the school. Instead the teaching in each individual subject was seemingly organised in its own way. For instance, the teacher of handwriting and theology used monitorial education in different ways depending on the subject. When teaching handwriting, monitors were primarily used to maintain order, while the teacher let the monitors take care of the lower classes in theology so he could devote more time to explaining the advanced points in the catechism to the older pupils.⁵⁵

school; the New Elementary School; Eksjö grammar school [lägre lärdomsskola]; Borås School, 1832, ÅK856:3–4; Eksjö grammar school [lägre lärdomsskola]; Växjö grammar school [högre lärdomsskola]; Halmstads lägre lärdomsskola; Åmåls lägre lärdomsskola; Visby grammar school [högre lärdomsskola], 1843, ÅK857:4, RA.

⁵⁴ "[h]ärigenom träder en vaxel-undervisning i verksamhet, som icke består i en tom och död mechanism". The New Elementary School, 1832, ÅK856:3, RA.

⁵⁵ The method used to teach theological subjects appears to have been applied when teaching history, geography and preparatory science at the New Elementary School. The New Elementary School, 1832, ÅK856:3, RA.

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Regarding arithmetic, Almqvist emphasised that the first instruction in mental calculation – following a table – was well suited for the use of monitors as the answers were always numerical. When it came to geometry and the classic textbook *Euclid's Elements*, the pupils were divided into ten to eleven circles, which were led by the most talented boys. Each circle consisted of two to three novices under the guidance of a monitor. Through this regime Almqvist could give personal guidance to those who needed it, while the others worked individually under the supervision of their monitor. When a pupil had read the part that the teacher had explained, he was examined by the monitor, while the monitor in turn was examined by the teacher.⁵⁶

Interestingly, Almqvist seems to have used a completely different approach when he taught the Swedish language and general grammar. The teaching was then done entirely by Almqvist himself. He believed that the pupils initially had to acquire certain basic language skills that a monitor could not be expected to convey. When the pupils reached the third grade they were considered to have acquired a sound foundation, which made it possible for a monitor to safely manage the teaching.⁵⁷

In view of the above there seems to have been a clear difference in the design of monitorial education in different types of schools. The mechanical teaching that took place in parish and poor schools exhibits significant differences from the more varied and less regulated teaching in the academic elementary and secondary schools. As the descriptions of the activities in the New Elementary School show, monitorial education in the academic schools seems to have been built more on autonomous individual work than on drill-like exercises in groups. One can thus argue that monitorial education was not such a crucial step towards the development

⁵⁶ The New Elementary School, 1832, ÅK856:3, RA.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

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of a disciplinary exercise of power in grammar and apologist schools as it was in parish and poor schools.

The shifting nature of monitoring

As mentioned, monitorial schools can in many ways be perceived as an archetypical representation of the disciplinary control mechanism that became increasingly strong from the 17th century onwards, according to Foucault. Apart from the partitioning, these schools were also characterised by the organisation of activities so that the operations could be supervised from one single point. According to Foucault, this panoptical model was a paradigmatic expression of disciplinary power.⁵⁸

One important question concerning the forms of supervision within monitorial education was to what extent the teacher should be responsible for all monitoring directly and whether monitoring should be done with the help of the monitors. In Lancaster's description of his method there is some support for the latter scheme. In addition to the monitors that led the teaching, Lancaster also used special inspector monitors. The entire operation was then overseen by a so-called general monitor. The teacher's primary task in this organisation was to monitor the monitors in order to ensure that they fulfilled their tasks.⁵⁹

A similar approach is also found in the Swedish manuals for monitorial education intended for the working classes. In the first Swedish books on the method this is noticeable in the statement that the teacher's podium should be positioned high up so that the teacher could see

⁵⁸ The panoptical model is highlighted by Foucault as a model where surveillance is always present and at the same time invisible. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 173. For the panoptical model's application in school environments, see Joakim Landahl, 'The Eye of Power(-lessness): On the Emergence of the Panoptical and Synoptical Classroom', *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society* 42, issue 6 (2013): 803–14.

⁵⁹ Lancaster, *Improvements in Education*, 36–7, 56.

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everyone and at the same time be seen by all.⁶⁰ In Gerelius' description of Lancaster's activities, it is emphasised that the teacher's primary attention should be directed towards the monitors.⁶¹ This is also something that is expressed in Hagstedt's book, which specifically emphasises the fact that the teacher should not take too active a part in the teaching. He should instead rely on his monitors.⁶² The concern for the monitors' behaviour is also highlighted by Rådberg, even though he also points out that teachers' "[s]upervision /.../ should extend to the smallest elements in the school". This would be done not only from the podium where the lectern was placed; the teacher should also "walk around in the room and stay at one and then another class, to encourage competition".⁶³

However, the image of the teacher as the spider in the web or the spring that drives the clockwork was also questioned.⁶⁴ Svensson argued in his handbook that there was no need for additional monitors to maintain order. This was a task that lay with the teacher, and he strongly opposed the idea that the teacher should not concern himself with the actual teaching. If the teacher planned his activities properly, he could both maintain order and participate in classes at the same time.⁶⁵

Regarding the practical implementation of the monitor system, it is of course difficult to determine to what extent monitors were used. In the reports submitted to the monitorial

⁶⁰ That the teacher could both see and be seen is highlighted by Rådberg, while Gerelius and Hagstedt merely mention the teacher's ability to see all the children. Svensson mentions only that the teacher's desk should be placed high up. Gerelius, *Det brittiska eller lancasterska uppfostrings-systemet*, 59–60; Rådberg, *Praktisk handbok för vaxel-undervisnings-scholar*, 7; Hagstedt, *Försök till praktisk handledning i vaxel- undervisningen*, 5; and Svensson, *Praktisk handledning för vaxelundervisningen i folkscholar*, 1.

⁶¹ Gerelius, *Det brittiska eller lancasterska uppfostrings-systemet*, 94–6.

⁶² Hagstedt, *Försök till praktisk handledning i vaxel- undervisningen*, 74–5.

⁶³ ["[u]ppsigt /.../ bör sträcka sig till Scholans minsta i beståndsdelar"]; ["gå omkring salen och uppehålla sig än vid en, än vid en annan klass, för att uppväcka täflan"] Rådberg, *Praktisk handbok för vaxel-undervisnings-scholar*, 30, 35. Quotations on page 30.

⁶⁴ The clock metaphor is used by both Hagstedt and Rådberg. Rådberg, *Praktisk handbok för vaxel-undervisnings-scholar*, 19; and Hagstedt, *Försök till praktisk handledning i vaxel- undervisningen*, 75.

⁶⁵ Svensson, *Praktisk handledning för vaxelundervisningen i folkscholar*, 63.

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education society in the early 1820s there are a couple of letters that explicitly address the use of monitors,⁶⁶ and some that also mention the use of general monitors.⁶⁷ There are also a handful of accounts and inventory lists from schools indicating that both poor and parish schools acquired special monitor's whistles, monitor's canes or other school supplies that were used by monitors.⁶⁸ In several autobiographical narratives concerning teaching in parish and poor schools in the early 1800s, monitors are also mentioned.⁶⁹ However, these narratives are often quite capricious descriptions. In some cases they portray activities that are similar to what is described in the manuals; at other times they tell how the system was abused or manipulated.⁷⁰

When it comes to the grammar and apologist schools, the use of monitors seems to have been unlike the use of monitors in the elementary schools for mass education. This is most apparent in the description of the monitor system in the reports from the New Elementary School. As mentioned earlier, there were quite large variations in how monitorial education was used for various subjects. An interesting difference in comparison with the monitorial schools for the working classes is that the teachers seem to have delegated more responsibility to the monitors at the New Elementary School. As a result, the teacher did not simply have a supervisory role.

⁶⁶ Letters from Olof Er. Grentzelius, July 13, 1822 [Uddevalla] 1822; Beckman, December 23 1823 [Katarina Parish], A1A:1, SFUB, NMA.

⁶⁷ Letters from D Lundblad, May 28, 1822 [the Geatish Federation's monitorial school on Trollhättan]; Nr 36, Wecko-Blad from Gefle, July 27, 1822 [the Monitorial School of Ennes & Efstrand], A1A:1, SFUB, NMA.

⁶⁸ Inventory book for the monitorial school in Majorna, AI:1, The monitorial school in Majorna, Gothenburg City Archives; Inventory belonging to the monitorial school in Uddevalla, July 9, 1822; Letter from Norlander, December 8, 1822 [Husqvarna rifle factory], A1A:1, SFUB, NMA; The school treasury's special accounts 1803–1850, L1a:5, Alunda Church Archives; School accounts 1772–1836, L 11a:1, Rasbo Church Archives, ULA.

⁶⁹ See, for example, Andersson, *Lankasterskolor*, 13–5, 27–8, 60, 68–70, 74, 76–7, 86–7, 114–8; Hall, Bror Rudolf (ed.), *Hågkomster från folkskola och folkundervisning: skildringar av f.d. elever och lärare*, 1, (Stockholm: Fören. för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1932), 157, 167.

⁷⁰ For example, there are narratives about how some monitors allowed themselves to be bribed or how the monitors could be given very broad powers. Andersson, *Lankasterskolor*, 15 and 68–70. The problem with bribery in monitorial schools has previously been highlighted in Marcelo Caruso. 'Why Do Finance? A Comment about Entanglements and Research in the History of Education' *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 2, no. 1 (2015): 141

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He also actively taught. While the teacher went through the more complicated material in one class or one circle, the other pupils worked independently under the guidance of the monitors.⁷¹

Seen in relation to the monitoring arranged at the monitorial schools for the working classes, this shows a substantially less strict order, which obviates the requirement for the teacher's continuous monitoring of activities. Furthermore the monitors seemingly had different tasks in different types of schools. In parish and poor schools monitors were not allowed to be more than the teacher's extended arm when carrying out direct orders, while in the academic elementary and secondary schools the monitors sometimes functioned more as additional teachers, with a mission to actually teach the other pupils.

Different orders, different purposes

As we have seen, there was a clear difference between the application of monitorial education in parish and poor schools and that in grammar and apologist schools. Petterson can thus be said to be right in that the elementary schools for the working classes had their own teaching method, separate from the schools that provided education for the emerging middle-class.⁷²

The varying implementation of monitorial education can be explained by the schools' differing purposes. This may seem obvious, given the content of the teaching, the school's recruitment and the pupils' future lives. The grammar schools educated mainly for service in the priesthood or as state officials, and the apologist schools were designed to meet the demands of private enterprise. This can be compared with the parish and poor schools which were primarily seen as part of the care of the poor and whose educational aspirations primarily focused on preparing children for communion.⁷³

⁷¹ The New Elementary School, 1832, ÅK856:3, RA. For similar descriptions, see Jönköping's lower apologist school; Malmö grammar school [högre lärdomsskola], 1824, ÅK854:5, RA.

⁷² Petterson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham*, 161–7.

⁷³ Larsson, *En lycklig Mechanism*, 14–28.

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Interestingly these differences between different types of schools can also be observed in the approach towards the children and young people who frequented these schools. When it came to parish and poor schools, it is clear that these institutions were often seen as a kind of vaccine that would save the poor and deprived children.⁷⁴ This is evident in Svensson's report from trips abroad to acquire knowledge about the monitorial system of education. The method is there described as a measure to deal with the deplorable conditions experienced by a growing proportion of Swedish children.⁷⁵

According to Svensson it was not poverty itself that needed to be remedied. Instead he describes poverty as self-inflicted on account of the fact that the "populace / ... / unbridled had given in to idleness, mismanagement, excesses and crimes, and by one or several of these pathways, perhaps all will finally be brought to beggary".⁷⁶ Apparently the only salvation was a kind of intervention that "completely separated the rising generation from the destructive nature of the times, and educated the youth to worthily fulfil the duties that the Supreme Ruler of things imposed on every man".⁷⁷ Svensson even goes so far as to say that "nothing has been and is so potent and perhaps invincible as short-sighted and ignorant parents' all too great influence on their children, by which all morality is stifled, but immorality of the highest sort is promoted".⁷⁸ As shown here, teaching thus becomes a means by which one can hinder the poor families' children from becoming a burden on the community and ensure that they can be useful.

⁷⁴ Monitorial education as a kind of mental vaccine was also stressed when the method was highlighted in Great Britain. Allen, 'The Examined Life', 224–5.

⁷⁵ Peter Reinhold Svensson, *Berättelse om Bell-Lancasterska undervisningssätten* (Stockholm: Zacharias Haeggström, 1819), 23.

⁷⁶ ["folkmassa[n] / ... / ohämmad fått lemna sig åt syssellöshet, mishushållningen, utsväfningarna och brotten, samt på en eller flere af dessa vägar, kanske ock på alla slutligen blifvit bragt till tiggartafven"] Svensson, *Berättelse om Bell-Lancasterska undervisningssätten*, 6–7.

⁷⁷ ["fullkomligen skilja det uppvoxande släktet från tidens förderf, och uppfostra ungdomen till värdigt uppfyllande af de pligter, som tingens Högste Styresman ålagt hvarje menniska"] Svensson, *Berättelse om Bell-Lancasterska undervisningssätten*, 7.

⁷⁸ ["ingen varit och är så verksam och må hända oöfvervinnerlig, som kortsynta och okunniga föräldrars allt för stora inflytelse på sina barn, hvarigenom all sedlighet kväfvades, men immoraliteten på det högsta befrämjas"] Svensson, *Berättelse om Bell-Lancasterska undervisningssätten*, 8.

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Gerelius too describes Lancaster's methods as a kind of means for salvation,⁷⁹ but he also gives examples of how monitorial education might work in this way in practice. He emphasises in particular how important it is for the children to

govern themselves and teach each other. Sometimes active, sometimes passive, sometimes obedient, sometimes obeyed, their will is imperceptibly subjugated to a general valid rule. Freedom rather than compulsion makes obedience not a law, a need, foreign to him, but an inner necessity, supported by the entire tender individual's manifestation of power. Instead of only developing one talent or another, this method comprises all, pervades the whole of the individual being, extending and strengthening the interdependence of all his thinking and actions.⁸⁰

As stated in the quote, the results of monitorial education are described as nothing less than a kind of re-programming of working-class children's consciousness. They were not to be forced to obey, but instead made to internalise obeying as a part of their nature. Interestingly enough, Gerelius' description of monitorial education also seems to catch the very heart of discipline as a technology of power.⁸¹

In the discussions regarding the grammar and apologist schools, other purposes of education are highlighted. The awakening of the pupils' innate abilities, such as common sense, moral sense or self-activity, is a recurring topic.⁸² Self-activity in particular was something that was given special attention in discussions about young men's upbringing at this time.⁸³ For example,

⁷⁹ Gerelius, *Det brittiska eller lancasterska uppfostrings-systemet*, 12.

⁸⁰ [sjelfva som styra och undervisa hvarandra. Än verksam än passiv, än lydande, än lydd, ledes deras vilja oförmärkt till undergifvenhet för en allmän giltig regel. Friheten istället för tvånget, gör af lydnaden icke en lag, ett behof, främmande för honom, utan en inre nödvändighet, understödd af hela den späda individens kraftyttring. I stället för att endast utveckla en eller annan förmögenhet omfattar denna Methoden alla, genomtränger hela individens varelse, utvidgar och stärker det ömsesidiga beroendet af alla hans tänkesätt och handlingar] Gerelius, *Det brittiska eller lancasterska uppfostrings-systemet*, 100.

⁸¹ See Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 155–6.

⁸² Adolf Fredrik's lower apologist school; the New Elementary School; Strängnäs gymnasium; the Carolinska grammar school [högre lärdomsskolan] in Örebro, 1832, ÅK856:3–4; Växjö gymnasium; Umeå grammar and apologist school [lärdoms- och apologistkola], 1843, ÅK857:4, RA.

⁸³ Self-activity is also addressed in the school act of 1820 as something that teachers should encourage. Hall, *Sveriges allmänna läroverksstadgar 1561–1905*, D. 7 (Lund: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1923), 60, 62; Hall, *Sveriges allmänna läroverksstadgar 1561–1905*, D. 10:2 (Lund: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1923), 5, 9–12.

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this was one of the main points in educational debater Colonel Johan Peter Lefrén's educational thinking, which he expresses in the following way:

Self-activity should be considered as the main foundation of all education, but guidance should be available when the ability to continue on one's own occasionally runs out. Continual guidance dulls; lack of guidance discourages. Self-activity is not only a means for education; it is also the purpose of education. A young man whose feeling for self-activity has never been awakened will never be a resourceful and enterprising man; walkers are as harmful to the soul as to the body.⁸⁴

Similar descriptions of self-activity linked to monitorial education can also be found in the reports from Linköping higher secondary school and the New Elementary School.⁸⁵ However, significantly more reports were submitted during the school audits that addressed self-activity without promoting monitorial education, and in some cases self-activity was even mentioned in critiques of the use of monitorial education in academic schools.⁸⁶

Revealingly, self-activity was not mentioned in the manuals that addressed teaching in the schools which catered for the educational needs of the working classes. In those schools, all education would be conducted under the constant supervision of the teacher. That this was a generally accepted view is shown, for example, in a speech given during the Swedish monitorial society's annual meeting in 1827. At that meeting, director Gustaf af Uhr proposed that no teaching should be conducted in the Swedish Lancasterian or poor schools without the constant presence of a teacher. If the teacher left the school for more than quarter of an hour he would dismiss the class and send the children home. In the event that he intended to be away for a

⁸⁴ [Sjelfverksamheten bör anses som hufvudgrunden för all undervisning, men handledning städse vara att tillgå då förmågan att fortgå på egen hand tillfälligtvis tryter. Oupphörig handledning förslöar, bristande handledning nedslår. Sjelfverksamheten är icke allenast medel till undervisning, den är derjemte ändamål för uppfostran. En yngling, hvars sjelfverksamhetskänsla aldrig blifvit väckt, blir aldrig en rådig och driftig man; gångstolar äro lika skadliga för själen som för kroppen.] Johan Peter Lefrén, *Berättelse öfver kongl. krigs-akademien* (Stockholm: Fr. B. Nestius, 1824), 97.

⁸⁵ The New Elementary School; Linköping gymnasium, 1832, ÅK856:3; the New Elementary School, 1843, ÅK857:4, RA.

⁸⁶ Västerås grammar school [högre lärdomsskola]; Uddevalla grammar school [lägre lärdomsskola], 1824, ÅK854:5; Kungsholmen lower apologist school; Strängnäs gymnasium, 1832, ÅK856: 3–4; Lund Cathedral School, Karlshamn's grammar school [lägre lärdomsskola]; Åmål grammar school [lägre lärdomsskola], 1843, ÅK857:4, RA.

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short time, but did not come back within quarter of an hour, the school children should leave the classroom of their own accord and go home. Interestingly enough, this only applied in monitorial schools for the working classes – something which af Uhr particular emphasises.⁸⁷

The clear distinction between different types of schools described here is something that Petterson has also pointed out. He argues, for example, that although there was a kind of hierarchy in the monitorial schools for children of the working classes, it cannot be viewed as a real meritocracy because these school achievements were irrelevant outside the walls of the school.⁸⁸ In view of this, it becomes understandable that self-activity is something only discussed when dealing with grammar, apologist and secondary schools.⁸⁹

Conclusions

As has been highlighted in this article, monitorial education was not a method used exclusively in schools for the working classes in Sweden. A number of academic elementary and secondary schools also used monitorial education. Despite these similarities there were also significant differences in how the method was used in different types of Swedish schools.

In parish and poor schools, monitorial education did not simply entail the use of monitors, but also the use of drill-like exercises that stand out as archetypical in relation to Foucault's descriptions of the emergence of discipline as a power technique. In grammar and apologist schools, on the other hand, the drill-like exercises were conspicuously absent. The monitors also had another role in these schools in comparison with their counterparts in the monitorial schools for the working classes. Instead of merely monitoring activities, they functioned more

⁸⁷ *Redovisning och berättelser, aflemnade vid allmänna års- sammankomsten i sällskapet för voxel-undervisningens befrämjande den 9 maj 1827* (Stockholm: Fr. B. Nestius, 1827), 24, 26–7, 31–2.

⁸⁸ Petterson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham*, 300–1.

⁸⁹ This conclusion may in some way also support Petterson in his criticism of John Boli's view that the introduction of mass schooling in Sweden during the 1800s should not be understood as a tool of control. See Petterson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham*, 58; and Boli, *New Citizens for a New Society*, 18–9.

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as additional teachers. The present analysis can thus be said to confirm the image of a segmented school system in Sweden, although the differences between the various schools lay not in whether or not monitorial education was used, but rather in how the method was applied. Consequently, the article questions the image of monitorial education as a tool exclusively for the subordination of the working classes.

Another interesting question in this context is how to interpret the different uses of monitorial education in relation to the emergence of discipline as a technique of power. This is of particular relevance when dealing with academic elementary and secondary schools. One might even wonder whether the emphasis on self-activity in these schools is an expression of liberal techniques of self-discipline rather than discipline in a classical sense.⁹⁰ One can thus wonder whether the different classes were in themselves perhaps disciplined in different ways for themselves.

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⁹⁰ See, for example, the discussion of the differences between disciplinary societies and societies of control in Nikolas S. Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: University Press, 1999), 233–73.

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