

‘IT’S CIVILITY!’: A Portrait of Modernization and the Pedagogy of Bodies by the Press of Franca (1890-1940)

‘É DA CIVILIDADE!’: Um Retrato da Modernização e a Pedagogia dos Corpos pela Imprensa Francana (1890-1940)

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Abstract: The final decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century saw political, economic and social changes in a Brazil that was becoming republican. In the cities, hygienist projects despoiled the most vulnerable sections of the population in exchange for beautifying the city. Assuming a comprehensive conception of the educational process, it is possible to glimpse in the media and in the legislation - more precisely, in the press and in the 1910 *Municipal Code of Franca*, our objects of study - an exercise in the pedagogy of bodies, assuming a Foucauldian point of analysis. In fact, the printing press played a leading role in this plot to educate a rural population that was becoming urban. The aim of this paper rests on this formulation, identifying in the selected local periodicals and in the legislative code ways of representing a portrait of this domain of gestures.

Keywords: Modernization, Press, Power, Pedagogy of Bodies, Docile Bodies.

Resumo: As décadas finais do século XIX e as primícias do século XX foram de mudanças políticas, econômicas e sociais para um Brasil que se tornava republicano. Nas cidades, projetos higienistas espoliavam as camadas da população mais vulneráveis em troca de um embelezamento da urbe. Assumindo uma concepção abrangente do processo educativo é possível vislumbrar nos veículos midiáticos e na legislação – mais precisamente na imprensa e no *Código Municipal de Franca de 1910*, nossos objetos de estudo – um exercício de pedagogia dos corpos, assumindo um ponto de análise foucaultiano. Com efeito, os veículos tipográficos assumiram um papel protagonista nesta trama de educar uma população campesina que se tornava urbana. O objetivo deste trabalho repousa nesta formulação, identificando nos periódicos locais selecionados e no código legislativo modos de representar um retrato deste domínio dos gestos.

Palavras-chave: Modernização, Imprensa, Poder, Pedagogia dos Corpos, Corpos dóceis.

‘It’s civility!’: the press and the pedagogy of bodies in the city

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The well-educated boy keeps the rules of civility everywhere, while those of the temple are simple: silence, kneeling when it's time, and keeping a modest attitude (*O Aviso*, Franca-SP, n. 14, 1924).

It is with this inflection, whose tone resembles a truism, that the newspaper *O Aviso*, a periodical from Franca, gives the title to one of its articles: 'It's Civility!' The title leaves no doubt: in order to live in the city - and beyond that, in the condition of civility - it is necessary to behave in a certain way, to keep certain gestures, and to opt for certain attitudes to the detriment of others, considered uncivilized. As it is typical of 'civilized life', the column participates in a typically pedagogical process, educating bodies that will be gradually docilized.¹

José Carlos Libâneo (2004) emphasizes the need to conceive of pedagogy in a comprehensive way. Education, if we adopt this comprehensive conception and do not reduce it to the school sphere, is multifaceted; it is sometimes *intentional*, sometimes *unintentional*. It can also be *formal* or *informal*. In fact, the media (including the press) are part of an *intentional* but *non-formal* pedagogical process, in the author's view. This implies the establishment of pedagogical relationships, although they are not very systematized.

The newspaper, as a vehicle for reporting on events, ends up interfering in the course of history, that is, in the creation of realities and meanings. Its action is, therefore, merely neutral and receptive to the facts, but constructive. The press acts as a protagonist, a creator of new interpretations that act on the social, re-signifying events and producing new meanings (Woitowicz, 2015).

In this sense, we can postulate two functions of the press that interest us. The first function of the press refers to its socio-political role as the scene of heated clashes between the media and their respective conflicting ideologies, without which society would collapse. The second function fulfilled was the educational motivation imbued in the newspaper and, consequently, in the radio, which ultimately only reverberated the news erected in the typographic vehicle. For example, it was necessary to establish codes of conduct, seen as the embodiment of civilizational rules.² To this end, the political elite laid down these rules of conduct in order to ban unseemly behavior, such as prostitution and drunkenness.

It is from this perspective that Heloísa de Faria Cruz (1996, p. 100) points out the fundamental importance of the press in shaping the mentality of the people, dictating rules of conduct, propagating ideas, serving as a field for disputes over power, and, above all, shaping the popular imagination.

Valued in the social practice of the various groups and constructed as an important vehicle for the formulation and dissemination of social imaginaries in the period, the press constituted an extremely dynamic field of dispute between different social projects. In the literate thinking of that period, the press began to be understood not only as an instrument for articulating and discussing the positions and interests of the elites but also, and above all, as a vehicle for the cultural and moral formation of the people.

As such, this work aims to meet two objectives: firstly, to compare the modernization of Franca portrayed by the newspapers, our *locus* of analysis, where these same local periodicals are inserted. Secondly, the way in which the local press portrayed the changes of the new modern times and produced new meanings, regulated attitudes (including through the publication of the *Municipal Code of 1910*), educated the gestures of a population that was moving from the rural environment to city life, and, above all, produced new representations and a *corpus* of knowledge and practices about bodies.

It is possible to measure the number of newspapers that circulated in the Franca region during the period in question. The copies considered here are a selection of those in which discussions about urbanization and urban behaviour are most present, taking into account their availability for consultation. The reason for this is as follows: it was from 1890 onwards that the city's urban fabric grew as a result of the wealth from coffee, and consequently, more capital was invested in modernizing the city (Follis, 2004).

From 1920 onwards, we have one of our hypotheses: in this second decade, the use of more drastic measures of social cleansing begins; there is no more tolerance for those who deviate from the expected city behavior. With the investment of foreign capital in the footwear industry, a new, adventurous gaze emerged, spying and judging. This outside eye, peering in from the sidelines, makes the government take measures to cleanse the city of the calculations that dull the view of the modernizing city. Those who don't fit in will be isolated from the urban skyline in various ways. One of them is social alienism.³

Let's move on without further ado to the portrait created by local periodicals of the structural changes in the city of Franca, which in 1903, according to the description of a local journalist, no longer drew comparisons to gloomy and sterile 'sandbanks' but rather, apart from the exaggerations of the chronicler, drew similarities to a kind of 'São Paulo Eden', pleasing to the eye of the traveler.⁴

From the sandbanks to the 'Eden of São Paulo'

Today, everything has changed. If nature doesn't make leaps, man, when well guided, does in the conception and execution of his works.

From the ruins of the shantytowns razed to the ground by the pickaxe of progress, beautiful palaces spring up, as if touched by the magic wand of a protective fairy, attesting to the sculptural taste of the people of Franca. The city has changed and is changing day by day, dressing itself in ever more beautiful clothes. [...] (*Comércio da Franca*, Franca-SP, 11.12.1920).

The urban modifications carried out in Paris by Eugène Haussmann between 1853 and 1869 were taken for a long time as models for any city that wanted to modernize. The great urban centers of Europe - with the prominence of Haussmann's Paris, were seen as great city models to be followed. The great boulevards, the Parisian *boulevards*, the gardens adorned with electric lights, the sewage systems, the ease of traffic for vehicles and goods provided by the great avenues—all this technological framework of modernization indicated the tacit prerogatives of the modern world.

Not only as an aesthetic necessity, the restructuring of European cities found one of its basic reasons in health. The rampant epidemics that spread through the major capitals that were signatories to industrial capitalism served as a major obstacle to the economies of the major centers and, above all, undermined the ideological assumptions that governed bourgeois society - reason, science and progress. The theory of miasmas,⁵ which related the occurrence of epidemics to the unhealthiness of the physical environment, set the precedent for intervention in public spaces for social interaction, in order to dissipate places considered to be conducive to the spread of diseases through public health, which is what we know as hygienism (Cunha, 1986; Follis, 2007).

It was also at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries that a significant portion of the Brazilian population began to live in cities.⁶ In Brazil, the first example of urban reform took place in the city of Rio de Janeiro, when the then mayor Pereira Passos,

appointed by President Rodrigues Alves, put his urban restructuring project into practice in 1903-1906, in order to import European references for readjusting cities, given that the then federal capital had a precarious port and a colonial structure, seen as a national problem (Follis, 2007).

The Haussian model was then followed by the other capitals of the country and arrived in Franca as a result of the desire of the coffee elites to turn the small rural town, which in the mid-19th century was still an ‘agrarian little town’ (Follis, 2004, p. 32), into another stronghold of modernity. São Paulo, for example, even served as an example of successful modernization for the federal capital.⁷ This event was studied by José Evaldo de Mello Doin (2007), who translated it as *Belle Époque*⁸ caipira. For the author, modernity had a positive social meaning in the eyes of the elite, in which everything was legitimized if the goal was to adapt to the new times. Many men from the interior of São Paulo wanted to enjoy what they had experienced in Paris, wanting to experience the promise of passion in the illuminated streets of Paris. In order to bring about the much-dreamed-of progress, two vital forces were articulated by local forces: modernization and civilization, as one of the periodicals circulating in Franca in the second decade of the 20th century puts it.

What the city needs

Five inspectors to see the water that flows daily from the backyards into the gutters of the streets [...]

Five ditos to see the streets clogged with materials, interrupting traffic [...]

Five hundred more to see the cows, horses and goats that frequent the beautiful largo da Matriz and other parts of the city late at night. [...]

Let the delegate set his sights on the Cidade Nova neighborhood, where a lot of unoccupied people continually gather, promoting disorder (*A Sentinella*, 31.08.1926).

In the excerpt above, published by the Franconian newspaper *A Sentinella* in 1926, the editor echoes some of the basic complaints of the population about the need for urban improvements in the city: the sewage flowing into their backyards; the building materials scattered on the public roads, hindering the movement of passers-by; the animals wandering aimlessly in the *bello largo da Matriz*, adorning the landscape; the unoccupied people promoting disorder.

The Franca of the second decade of the 20th century was no longer the agrarian parish of the late 19th century, with a small urban population, whose rudimentary appearance caused indignation at its backwardness compared to the new technologies that already existed in the largest Brazilian capitals, as the editor of *O Nono Distrito*, a local newspaper, had reported:

The city of Franca is materially and intellectually behind the times. It has no market, no slaughterhouse, no fountains, no tree-lined squares, no streets, no sidewalks, nothing (*O Nono Distrito*, Franca-SP, 22.4.1882).

From the 20th century on, the city of Franca began to acquire a more urbanized layout with an increase in the urban population.⁹ The wealth derived from coffee began to influence the modernizing desires of the economic elite, who began to live close to the urban center. It was based on this idea of modernization that the urban scenario from Franca, which had little in the way of technological complexity, changed to one imbued with a wider range of resources, and these resources were demanded by the elite who were settling in the city. This elite, enriched by coffee-growing and urged on by the prospect of investing their capital and remaining close to the instances of power, demanded the necessary comforts from the municipal authorities, such as '[...] paved streets, piped water, sewage systems, electric lighting, telephone lines, gardens, theaters and hotels' (Follis, 2004).

It was also during the first half of the 20th century that Franca saw a marked influx of immigrants, who competed as the main labor force in coffee production. According to Rogério Naques Faleiros (2002), the big moment when immigrants came to the city was in the period 1890-1920. According to the author, the 1872 Census recorded a total of 425 foreigners in Franca, 340 of whom were of African origin and only 85 of European origin. In 1920, Franca had around 6,193 immigrants.¹⁰

We can see two movements spearheaded by the municipal authorities from Franca to solve the problems of the municipality's backwardness, which had long caused discomfort among the elites. The first was to provide the city with the minimum conditions for hygienic public buildings, according to the requirements of the modern models of the time. Anticipating this need, the Municipal Market was only approved as a project in 1896, with an accepted budget of eight contos and two hundred and seventy-five thousand réis. It was built in 1921 in Largo do Mercado itself, a place that

already had a confusing presence of consumers and sellers, who were engaged in their commercial relations in the open air, susceptible to the weather and the unhealthy disposal of fruit, vegetables and putrid greens that fell to the ground and disintegrated in the full light of the sun (Follis, 2004).

Another problem reported by the press concerned the slaughterhouse. Franca's original slaughterhouse dates back to the last decade of the 19th century.¹¹ At the time, the place drew sharp criticism for its sturdy construction and lack of hygiene:

The dreadful place where it is built (*the mentioned Slaughterhouse*), its cramped dimensions, and the fact that it is located at one of the city's most important entrances, would be enough, if there were no other reasons of greater relevance, to justify the decision to move. In order to do this, it is not necessary to be an expert hygienist and to have extensive studies on the causes that originate the great evils that continually plague humanity ... in order to be able to determine with certainty the serious inconveniences that a slaughterhouse built without the precise hygienic rules and conditions can bring to public health (*Tribuna da Franca*, Franca-SP, 25.3.1905).

It was decided to build a new slaughterhouse, which was constructed in the 1920s. Far from the city center, the choice of location for the modern slaughterhouse reflects the theory in force at the time, which, as Fransérgio Follis (2004) points out, conceived of slaughterhouses as potential hotbeds of 'miasmas'. It was on the basis of the same miasma theory that the City Council began to prohibit the breeding of animals in urban areas,¹² regulate butchers according to hygiene codes, and ban the cutting of meat in dry goods stores:

From that day on, all butchers' shops that do not comply with the state health code and those that are installed in old, unhygienic houses will be closed. Furthermore, traders who want to sell fresh pork and bacon must build butcher's shops in accordance with the health code [...]. The inspectorate will be assisted in this service by municipal inspectors, as determined by Mr. Mayor. Mayor (*Tribuna da Franca*, Franca-SP, 6.02.1921).

The nuisance of urban debris littering the streets and avenues was recurrent in the pages of the press at the time. One of the editors of the spiritism newspaper *A Nova Era* used the pages of the paper to complain about the deposit of dirt and sand on public roads, causing illness among the population:

These deposits of earth, with the (sic) winds and movements of vehicles, form a terrible dust that causes us so much harm: the houses get dirty, and what's worse - how many illnesses? However, it's so easy: a little more goodwill from our correct City Hall and the problem will be solved. If it's not possible to irrigate the streets, at least they should be swept once a week during the night (*A Nova Era*, Franca-SP, 01.08.1929).

The accumulation of garbage on the roads also caused concern because of the potential for yellow fever transmission. Despite the existence of a public garbage collection service (contracted by the municipality in 1902), until 1932, the carts used for this service only passed through the central areas of the municipality, often performing the service irregularly. Added to this was the improper behavior of the population, which, despite the fines provided for by law, continued to dump garbage in the streets. As early as 1929, the press served as a vehicle for complaints about the public waste collection service:

Our Municipal Council, with the laudable intention of preventing yellow fever in this city, has ordered all residents to clean up the yards of their houses, removing garbage, old cans, etc. The order has been complied with by many people, who have had their garbage and old cans removed to the street. It turns out, however, that the Sirs. However, it turns out that the garbage collectors pick up the garbage and don't want to pick up the old cans, which remain piled up in the streets for days and days, obstructing traffic and creating the mycobrio (sic) that transmits yellow fever. Urgent action is needed (*A Nova Era*, Franca-SP, April 18, 1939).

As Fransérgio Follis (2004) tells us, it is important to bear in mind that the city of Franca was not the target of an urbanization project along the lines of the major projects, in which the structure of large centers such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo was suddenly altered. Franca's city structure was modified throughout the second half of the 20th century, based on a series of decrees, municipal laws and measures to sanitize urban centers and improve the conditions of the city's physical structures. The second movement to be observed refers to the beautification of the city through the construction of public gardens and modern buildings. Follis goes on to talk about the process of beautifying the city. The first place to be landscaped in Franca was Barão da Franca Square, which was decorated in 1921. The square was decorated with tree-lined flowerbeds and dirt paths, in the center of which a rectangular bandstand was placed. It was only at the beginning of 1930 that these dirt paths were paved, but the bushes that

stood decoratively along the gardens were removed. The obelisk commemorating Franca's sedition to the town was erected in 1929.

Franca's main square, Largo da Matriz (currently named Nossa Senhora da Conceição Square) was the subject of an improvement project back in 1892, but it was only on paper. The contract was terminated the following year, in 1893. As well as landscaping the square, the project under the management of engineer Modesto Olímpio Teixeira Brandão planned to build a municipal library in the center, intended 'for promised games, ladies entertainment, billiards, *rinks*, cafés, restaurants and all other kinds of recreation and entertainment compatible with civilization and the purposes for which the garden is intended, which is the beautification of the city' (Santos, 1993 apud Follis, 2004). With the contract terminated, Franca's main square until 1906 was nothing more than a clearing cut through by a dirt track, where there was only the Old Parish Church and the Sundial. Another contract to beautify the square had been signed with Mr. Paulo Mota, who was responsible for the curvilinear modifications to the new paths that cut through the square, linking the two parish churches: the old parish church and the new parish church, the construction of which began in 1893. Figure 1 shows the state of Franca's main square in 1922, precisely in 1922. In the foreground, you can see the Sundial surrounded by some wooden benches. In the background is the Mother Church, still unfinished, in front of which there is a small fountain.

Figure 1 - Mother Church and Sundial



Source: Municipal Historical Museum of Franca 'José Chiachiri' (MHMF), 1922.

In 1924, the newspaper *Tribuna da Franca* devoted a column to thanking the anonymous ‘I. Francano’ for the sum of \$10,000 he had sent. Francano, who earnestly asked the newspaper to include a popular call in its pages to help the needy population. The editor of the local periodical also stressed the constant need to create more care homes to help ‘beggars and morphetics’, in the face of whom ‘the people of Francia have never refused their oblation to those who suffer’. In fact, at the time of publication, the city already had two welfare institutions: the Santa Casa and the Asylo de S. Vicente de Paula. In addition to these, there was the *Allan Kardec Asylum*, founded in 1922 by José Marques Garcia.

In Franca, the asylum status of this institution dates back to its creation. The creation of the hospital is related to the activities of the Esperança e Fé Spiritist Center, now known as Nova Era, at the beginning of the 20th century. The spiritist center, located in the city center and close to the municipal market, was therefore at the heart of the modernization promoted by the municipal elite, as Fransérgio Follis (2007) points out. Over time, the needy population began to gather in front of the above-mentioned spiritist center in order to collect minimal financial subsidies from donors - for whom welfare is a fundamental part of spiritism - to buy food from the municipal market next door. The fact that many destitute people occupied the central part of the city, not conforming to the city's beautification project, bothered the elite, who were financing the urbanization, as well as other groups in the city. José Marques Garcia, concerned about the clashes between the spiritist center and the public administration, tried to relocate the beggars by creating a home for the destitute and needy. Located on the outskirts of the municipality at the time, far from the embellished urban center, he founded a kind of asylum that would later be transformed into a House of Health and then a psychiatric hospital. Figure 2 shows the *Allan Kardec Asylum* in the early days of its construction:

Figure 2 - Allan Kardec Asylum



Source: Municipal Historical Museum of Franca 'José Chiachiri' (MHMF), undated.

In fact, we can see that the asylums were the initial function of Garcia's initiative and continued to be, in some way, the institution's concern. It's interesting to ask ourselves about the period in which the municipality's care homes were set up - as we've seen, during the 1920s - and also to ask ourselves about the motivations that stipulated the second decade of the 20th century as the borderline between tolerable city behavior and other repudiated behavior, where society gave up taking parsimonious containment measures and began to isolate individuals who were out of place; those who were a nuisance behind the shutters of the modernizing city, individuals who didn't behave according to the dictates of civilization - barefoot people, unable to work, without access to the new consumer goods, who crowded in front of the (newly built) Municipal Market to try to quell the physiological effects of hunger in their stomachs - and therefore, in the eyes of many, more susceptible to the auspices of madness.

The recent republic: docile bodies in the country, Belle Époque

Under the scrutiny of society, cities were the target of comprehensive policing with a view to protecting man himself, whose danger was evident in his behavior, seen

as unruly and driven by instinctive passions, in his agglomerated dwellings where these unregulated relationships were enforced. The countryside was thought of by medical knowledge as the complete opposite; the atmospheric conditions were more suitable, the air purer, and the dwellings more natural. On the other hand, the medical discourse about life in large cities showed that they were highly dangerous; life in the city was a threat to the physical health of its inhabitants, and some form of control of these immanent risks was necessary. Social medicine arose within the urban scenario, where a whole theory of the city was devised by doctors with the aim of normalizing the city (Machado et al., 1978).

The physical changes that swept through modern cities were just one instance of the modernizing requirement. The morality of urban behavior, appropriate to the new ways of existing and living in the city, affected the social body in a comprehensive way. The idea of civilizing the country, in the French and European way, permeated the Republic's behavioural sphere. Any kind of sociability that did not conform to the civilized way of behaving was expressly repudiated by the press and the legislation of the time. Traditional parties and gatherings, serenades and bohemia all suffered restrictions. Even popular religious services were subject to drastic intervention measures. Similarly, poverty became the focus of concern; urban centers had to be beautified. As a result, marginalized groups - the vast majority of whom were black and poor - were purged from the heart of the cities (D'incao, 2004).¹³

The first *Municipal Code of Ordinances*¹⁴ in Republican France was published in 1890. Over the years, this first code regulating behavior became outdated, prompting numerous criticisms in the press about its archaic model, which did not incorporate many of the new laws and decrees that were already in force.¹⁵ There were many demands for reform of the *1890 Code*, which only saw its new version officially published in 1910. The beginning of the 20th century was a time of great urban flourishing in Franca, far surpassing the archaic prescriptions of the Code: houses increasingly began to conform to bourgeois housing architecture,¹⁶ this led residents to rebuild their houses, leaving sand and cement exposed to the dusty midday heat on the sidewalks, which in turn existed in some places and not in others, or were built in irregular ways, preventing passers-by from getting through (*A Nova era*, Franca-SP, 'A Poeira', 01.08.1929).

New laws emerged to mitigate the irregularities of a city that was increasing both its physical proportions and the social contact of its population, which resulted in

the obsolescence of the *1890 Code*. After 12 months of incessant production, the new draft *Code of Ordinances*, written in 40 notebooks of foolscap paper,¹⁷ was finally discussed in the City Council and, with a few amendments, was approved *in totum* (*Tribuna da Franca*, Franca-SP, ‘O Código’, 18.02.1910).

The first prescription of the second part of the *Código* deals with the necessary regulations for a city in a state of rapid modernization, defining the city's perimeters as well as the rules for building new streets, squares and their nomenclatures. The first observation refers to the width of the avenues, whose size was prescribed at fourteen meters, observing the straightness and parallelism of their layout. This was probably a long-standing demand from residents, especially those from the upper classes who owned motor vehicles.

Tired of competing with carts and horses through narrow alleyways, cars didn't have the same versatility as they did on dirt roads. As well as raising dense curtains of dust, the vehicles were also damaged by the uneven conditions of the earthy surface. Another observation prescribed by law referred to the bulging of roads with side gutters to allow rainwater to run off. The avenues, places of greatest circulation, and sometimes the link between the central perimeter (which includes the commercial area) and others further away should also have adequate width (20 meters) in order to facilitate the flow of goods and traffic between the central and suburban perimeters (CMF. *Municipal Code of Franca*, 1910).

Concerns about pedestrian traffic were also incorporated into the *Code*. There were many cases of pedestrians who, at the very beginning of the emergence of motor vehicles and without the necessary care, inadvertently circulated through the streets in fierce competition with vehicles and ended up suffering setbacks that were published in the newspapers. Furthermore, as the footpaths became more common, the educated population itself ended up discriminating against those who still insisted on walking on the carriageways like dogs loose in the street,¹⁸ resembling the savagery of the latter, because ‘only people from the countryside walk in the street’.¹⁹ Thus, the *Municipal Code of Ordinances* prescribed the mandatory presence and minimum and maximum size of footpaths, which had to be at least one meter long and at their ends two meters. Always observing the parallelism and uniformity of the sidewalks, the law also established, for those who lived within the urban perimeter, the material from which the paving of the front areas would be made, always paying attention to perfect squaring. The paving should be ‘[...] made of stones in perfectly squared slabs, artificial stones,

mosaics, common stones covered in cement, or wooden cobblestones with asphalt' (CMF. *Municipal Code of Franca*, 1910).

The bourgeois model of separating the public and the private through physical enclosures that separated the home - the idealized refuge where the family lived - from the 'horrors of the public domain', as Richard Sennett (2014, p. 22) argues, seems to have its legitimacy in the pages of the *Code of Ordinances*. From the 19th century on, the public domain of immorality began to have different meanings for men and women, even though they were united under the yoke of immorality. If for women the public space was the only place where they threatened to lose their virtue, for men the public sphere, 'outside the home' had a double connotation. Some actions, such as a man dining out with a lower-class woman, were tacitly accepted by public opinion, which avoided at all costs raising the topic as a conversation among those close to them. A woman who was seen publicly sharing a dinner table with several men was quickly rejected. The attempt to separate the spheres of the public event from the private one, protected by the ideal conception of the family, appears in the *Code* through the obligation to build walls that separate the view from the houses to the streets, both in the central areas and on the rural perimeter.

The *Code* stipulates not only the existence of dividing walls of the appropriate height, making it impossible for passers-by to see through, but also the types of walls allowed, listing what is considered to be a ruralized (and therefore 'uncivilized') feature, such as rudimentary mud walls, and what conforms to the 'modern systems' approved by the town hall. Roughly speaking, brick and stone walls, duly filled with cement mortar, plastered and painted, and meeting the minimum height of two meters, were more welcome. Iron railings were also allowed, but in second place, as long as they were 'regular and symmetrical'. In last place came the earth wall. But no simple earthen wall raised by the farmer from the earthy sediments excavated from the edges of the land was allowed. Earthen walls had to be carefully covered with a thick layer of bricks, so as not to resemble the old rammed earth houses that were so common in pre-modern Brazil. Simple earthen walls, without the previous requirements, were reserved for the suburban perimeter, which had been left on the brink of modernity and was not yet equipped with electric lighting, sidewalks, or regular streets.

Although the *Code of Ordinances* forbade the discharge of water into the streets and provided for buildings to be constructed in such a way as to facilitate the flow of water through drainage systems, preventing the formation of puddles and swampy land,

the reality was quite different from what was written in the law. Connections between buildings and sewage systems only began slowly in 1910, so it was common practice for residents to dispose of dirty fluids (called ‘waste water’) in the street.²⁰ A local newspaper described the inconvenience caused to passers-by, who had to inhale the putrid air in such a way that it was impossible to walk ‘without putting a handkerchief to your nose, such is the stench exhaled by the putrid water that runs through the gutters for months on end! ...’; in addition, the terrible spectacle of the ‘black sludge’ caused dangers to the health of the population, as they were ‘carriers of bad fevers and other infectious diseases’ (*Tribuna da Franca*, Franca-SP, ‘Hygiene,’ 12.05.1907).

Building architecture is a frequent topic in the *Code*, especially in those topics that deal with urban construction. In addition to the health and hygiene that housing should promote by facilitating the flow and collection of waste, it becomes noticeable that there is a direct concern for the beautification of the city as a whole, especially when it comes to the urban perimeter, the residence of the urban elites, and the placid resting place of the various guests from other cities. In Franca it was common for these visitors to stay on the urban perimeter, especially after the construction of the lustrous Hotel Francano, which offered all the amenities provided by electricity and whose news satisfied readers' curiosity about these illustrious travelers who passed through the city, causing a stir.

To meet the requirements of hygiene and aesthetics, so desired for the visual comfort of the discerning traveler, the articles of the Regulations foresaw the plastic stability of buildings, postulating the residents' obligation towards the age of the coloring of the external facades and internal walls of the buildings. In order to prevent noise, the Code also required care to be taken with the oiling of doors, windows and ceilings—an effective measure, when complied with, to prevent the usual clanging sounds propagated by rusty porches, which, beyond the window sills, invaded the streets and disturbed the common welfare (CMF. *Municipal Code of Franca*, 1910).

The pages of local newspapers print some of the demands made by the population for the state to look at urban building needs. As early as 1935, a writer complained that Franca was a ‘city without buildings’. For the columnist, it was absurd that a city with 18 thousand inhabitants at the time would be abandoned by state public authorities, who failed to provide a single decent school building with spacious classrooms and adequate furniture to meet the hygienic and pedagogical requirements of

the students (*O Francano*, Franca-SP, 'Franca, the city of groups without buildings,' July 03, 1935).

In his phase of interest in power devices, Foucault (1999) considers the 'biopolitics' of the human species. This biopolitics acts on the various borderline instances of human life; birth, longevity and mortality will be its first targets. Endemics, diseases that affect the masses of humanity, are treated as factors that diminish human production capacity, causing costs and subtracting potential. In this way, medicine was introduced as a public hygiene function, normalizing knowledge and medicalizing the masses. The *Code of Municipal Ordinances* contains a significant section on the 'Sanitary Police'. By laying down the responsibilities of the Mayor, the municipal doctor and the sanitary agents, the *Código* establishes the obligations of these officials towards public health. The figure of the doctor appears here as a notorious city inspector in everything to do with the hygiene of the population and the city's public environments, from restaurants to stables. The role of the doctor and sanitary agents in taking the necessary precautions against epidemic diseases is also noted. The health officer is responsible for:

[...] the hygiene of streets, squares and public places; private and collective dwellings; food, including food stores, bakeries, bars, restaurants, butchers, greengrocers, markets and public slaughterhouses; stables and stables; laundries and bathrooms; immediate precautions against epidemic and transmissible diseases; public assistance; hospitals, health centers, cemeteries, morgues and burials (CMF. *Municipal Code of Franca*, 1910).

In *The Birth of the Clinic*, Foucault points to the historical individuality present in epidemics, which, in the 18th century, was in the process of becoming institutionalized. In France, each sub-delegation had a doctor and surgeons who were assigned to follow the route of epidemics.²¹ In fact, a notification was sent out as soon as four or five people were reported to have been attacked by the same disease. The alarm signaled by the liquidator was immediately noted by the sub-delegate, who assigned a doctor to indicate treatment. The French philosopher draws attention to the police nature of the epidemic prevention and remediation system, where

[...] There could only be epidemic medicine if it was accompanied by a police force: to monitor the installation of mines and cemeteries, to obtain, as often as possible, the incineration of corpses instead of their burial, to control the trade in bread, wine and meat, to regulate

slaughterhouses and dyehouses, to ban unhealthy housing (Foucault, 2020, p. 26).

If we follow the police record of the siege against epidemics observed by Foucault, we will see that the *Municipal Code of Franca* provides for a no less forceful siege when it comes to monitoring the health of public establishments and personal dwellings. In an often invasive way, the city inspector responsible for monitoring public health was allowed and, according to the *Code*, advised to make home visits when the health status was normal. In times of altered health status due to epidemic diseases, a doctor specially commissioned by the mayor would be appointed to carry out the visits. In houses or establishments, the designated inspector or doctor had to be attentive to the regular hygiene conditions laid down in the *Code*, and at the end of the visit he had to issue the necessary summonses to the tenant, resident or owner in order to bring the building into line with the appropriate health conditions. The inspector also indicated the fines that could be imposed for infractions in a siege model that to a large extent resembled a police mechanism, equipped with a technical apparatus, surveillance missions and punishments in the event of non-compliance with the law.

The mechanism set up to surround epidemics and prevent their spread has an exclusive section within the *1910 Code*. In addition to being tasked with checking that residents were up-to-date with their vaccinations and, if not, inoculating them with the missing doses, clinicians who diagnosed the existence of a disease and failed to report it to the municipal doctor or the mayor would incur an act of negligence under penalty of a \$50,000 fine.²² The same fine could be imposed on the owner of a hotel or inn who, upon noticing the appearance of any suspicious illness among his guests, fails to notify the competent authorities within 24 hours. In general, the law obliged anyone to notify the authorities and be hospitalized for appropriate treatment if there was any suspicion of contamination by contagious diseases.²³ The case of vaccinations and revaccinations also has a separate paragraph.

After the Vaccine Revolt of 1904, Rio de Janeiro saw its worst smallpox epidemic as a result of the suspension of compulsory vaccination due to the demands of the rebels.²⁴ In 1908, more than 9,000 deaths were recorded. In 1909, Oswaldo Cruz and Plácido Barbosa published a compilation dedicated to the consecration of Jenner's vaccine - with a somewhat morbid triumphalism in the face of the deaths due to the collapse of vaccination.²⁵ The *Code* of the municipality of Franca made it compulsory to

vaccinate animals against smallpox within the first 30 days of the birth of babies, and revaccination was compulsory every 7 years until the age of 45. At the beginning of implementation, still in the 19th century, arm-to-arm vaccination was preferred to animal vaccination due to doctors' fears of contamination of the vaccinated with other livestock diseases. However, and the French *Code* confirms this position, it was found that hand-to-hand vaccination often ended up spreading diseases such as syphilis, and the Jennerian method of inoculating animals with animal vaccine became the most suitable and safest (Chalhoub, 1996).

The behavior of citizens was also taken into account by the law. In a still provincial city like Franca, which was slowly undergoing the introduction of urbanity at the beginning of the 20th century, it was common for large families living in the suburban districts to move to the central area and start living together on a daily basis with the urban dwellers, who had already adapted to the new conveniences of dressing, speaking, eating and the new ways of socializing in cafés, bars and restaurants. It was common thinking, mainly spread by urban elites - intellectuals and politicians - that those rural habits, seen as crude and barbaric, had to be civilized.²⁶

One local habit that lasted from the time of the Empire was hunting. Varnhagen (1860), in his manual on hunting in Brazil, shows us how the habit of hunting was conceived in Empire Brazil. Linking the habit to the civility so vehemently displayed in European countries, the author points out the great advantages of promoting the practice among the youngest, 'strengthening the body and generally the heart', as well as inhibiting idleness, which not infrequently leads 'to sloth and other vices'. However, it was important for the author to differentiate between hunting by the 'noble hunter' and hunting by means of the most varied types of apparatus, such as [...] nets, snares, scratches, ribs, boizes, esparrelas, ichóes, bretes, albardilhas, arapucas, juquiás and so many other traps'. In France, there was even a pejorative term for the cowardice of these men who devised all sorts of devices to treacherously capture animals: *braconnier*. A different view was taken of those who, resting the butt of the gun on their arm, wielded the rifle towards the 'harmful' animal. He then showed all his boldness, his manly intrepidity and, giving grace to the outbursts that overtook his body, brought the ferocious animal crashing to the ground, occupying his natural position of sovereignty among living beings.

In the 20th century, the first social counterpoints arose in relation to hunting on national territory. In 1912, Eugenio George published his book 'As caçadas, o que eles

exprimem moralmente' (Hunting, what it expresses morally), which condenses the speech given at the inauguration of the 'Sociedade Protetora dos Animais' (Animal Protection Society) in 1911. Other important works on the subject were published during the first decades of the 20th century, such as 'Por campos e Matas (Hunting, Hunting and Hunters)' by Bento Arruda, published in 1925. Although it had already appeared briefly in Varnhagen's work (1860), Arruda was the first to delve more deeply into the issue of the lack of specific legislation covering the national territory to regulate the practice of hunting. The discussion around the legitimacy of hunting persisted for a long time in Brazil until a concrete stance was actually taken on the subject, influenced by the movements of environmental preservation groups (Ferreira, 2014).

The fact is that in the first half of the 20th century, in spite of the hunting statute laid down by the *Franca Municipal Code* - the practice of hunting still persisted. As entertainment for children and young men, perhaps influenced by some work by Monteiro Lobato,²⁷ or for the sale of caged birds at fairs, the birds suffered all kinds of misfortunes at the hands of their tormentors. Figure 3 shows a group of men who, with the help of dogs and armed with their rifles, gathered in huts in the middle of the forest for the traditional hunts that took place in Franca:

Figure 3 - A group of hunters led by Abílio Nogueira on the Água Limpa farm



Source: Municipal Historical Museum of Franca 'José Chiachiri' (AMHMJC), 1921.

Expressly prohibited by the municipal law, which forbade the use of traps to kidnap animals or the use of weapons to kill them, hunting continued to be a frequent practice despite the public indignation of some men. This is suggested by the protest of a local writer who, back in 1926 (16 years after the publication of the *Code*), complained about the ‘wild amusement’ in which, in defiance of the law, ‘idle individuals’ entertained themselves in the pursuit of innocent birds:

Harmless birds are the victims of gunshots, snares and stones, mistletoe and trapdoors, traps of every kind!... Hunting is an inveterate habit! I revolt against the hunters and against all the vagabonds who bring poor, treacherously caged poultry to the fair [...] Killing birds is wild fun. I see no pleasure in the cruel, bloody, criminal art of venality... [sic]. We have no right to have fun experimenting with weapons at the expense of the suffering [sic] of the irrational (*A Nova Era*, Franca-SP, ‘In defense of the little birds’, 05.02.1929).

Bullfighting also suffered from a process very similar to that of hunting. Highly popular in 19th century France, bullfighting seems to have lost its place in local periodicals due to the bloodthirsty incivility of its spectacles. With cold blood, the bullfighters of the arenas were welcomed amidst the uproar of the audience. Enraptured by the public sagration of the spectators' frenzy, these artists, like a certain Mr. Francisco Branquinho, popular as a bullfighter. Francisco Branquinho, popular as a bullfighter in the news, was highlighted by the press chroniclers for their bravery inside the bullfighting circuses and outside the enclosures, for their ‘chivalry, politeness and sociability’ (AMHMJC. ‘Certificate of good behavior of Mr. Francisco Branquinho’, 22.04.1924).

Figure 4 shows the figure of Branquinho, who led the group of bullfighters whose displays of bravery and virility found a stage on Sundays in the arenas of Franca and the region:

Figure 4 - Bullfights in Franca



Source: Municipal Historical Museum of Franca 'José Chiachiri' (AMHMJC), 1930.

Bullfighting was banned by the *Municipal Code of 1910*. Despite this, they continued to take place, although they were less reported. A local writer ranted in the pages of the Spiritist newspaper against the atrocious bullfighting events that persisted throughout the 1930s in Franca and nearby towns, even though they were banned by municipal statute. The editor uses as an example the tragic event that seriously injured a man, who died shortly afterward.

A 'religious' festival was being held in Crystaes, and one of the traditional festivities was 'bullfighting'. On the 26th of this month, the bullfighters 'ran' a wild cow, and the circus was full of people who happily watched this barbaric spectacle that debases us so much. At 4.30 p.m., the bullfighter Alfredo Mariano de Souza, married and 30 years old, 'caught' the cow, which drove him into the circus fences, hitting him hard in the chest and causing serious injuries. His companion came to his aid and twisted the neck of the cow, which then died. Alfredo was transported in serious condition to the local Santa Casa and died soon afterwards (*A Nova Era*, Franca-SP, 'Bullfights tragic: with a view to our city hall', 30.05.1929).

The writer then continues his scathing criticism, demanding that Franca's city hall, using the fateful example of what happened in the neighboring city, take a more drastic stance to curb the spectacles that, despite being harshly criticized in the press, persevered freely in the city:

Here is a fact that serves as an example.

Our city hall should ban this kind of sport among us who want to be a civilized people.

There is even a provision in our Municipal Cod. Municipal Code, which prohibits bullfighting, but it hasn't been respected here. (*A Nova Era*, Franca-SP, 'Touradas trágicas: com vistas à nossa prefeitura', May 30, 1929).

In the eyes of the local public authorities, committed to modernizing, the education of a population that was migrating from rural areas to city environments was highly necessary; bringing a city's *habitus* into line with the new interrelational modes typical of cities was urgent. This typically educational process is disseminated in various instances: it is educated by the very rules of population and market transit imposed by the physical-structural conditions of the city; it is educated by the phenomenon of alienism,²⁸ it is educated by formal education,²⁹ through legislation, as we have seen, and it is also educated by the press, where conduct appropriate to the morality of the period will be disseminated through the printed pages.

In the June 1924 issue, the chronicler of *O Aviso* laments the fall in marriages and the decrease in the number of children in an article called 'These Socia'. For the author, there need to be public policies to encourage procreation within marriage. As an example, he uses religious 'moralization' as the only possible remedy, including in politics, by promoting public jobs only to those who get married:

How sad! More graves than cradles! And to cure such an evil, many projects have been put forward, some absurd and even immoral, such as equal rights for legitimate and natural children or, even worse, polygamy and free love; [...] The only remedy is religious moralization. To this can be added the preference of legitimately married people for public jobs. This would promote marriages, and if the preference were in direct proportion to the number of children, it would be gold over blue (*O Aviso*, Franca-SP, n. 23, 1924).

Another example of the educational bias disseminated by the press and which has its results in social behavior is shown in the repudiation of the modern fashion of the period, which was called a 'terrible corrupter' of social modesty and especially of young people, seen as the future of society:

Today, young people of both sexes, especially boys, forgetting that in the coming society they will have to build families, the social basis,

unconsciously slip into abusive, indecorous acts, dragging themselves into the mire of inevitable moral decadence (*A Nova Era*, Franca-SP, n. 55, 1929).

By investing in the use of certain clothing, the printed newspaper defends good clothing (bearers of morality) as opposed to indecent clothing, which violates public morality. The prohibition is even aimed at readers who have daughters, with the aim of transmitting what can (or cannot) be worn within the family dome:³⁰

Anyone who observes today with a certain curiosity the transformation of our customs and the evolution of our habits feels a strong pang in the heart [...] And anyone who talks about modesty, shame, respect for modesty and morality makes a fool of themselves in the face of a society that calls itself high and lofty. Fashion, the terrible corrupter, has even attacked books! And family girls, barely out of school, my God! in a condemnable exhibitionism, dressed without decency or modesty... (*O Aviso*, Franca-SP, n. 25, 1924).

Indignation against vagrancy seems to be a common topic in local newspapers, causing discomfort among the population. In the October issue of 1920, the newspaper *Tribuna da Franca* used part of its editorial space to publish its usual section of letters from subscribers. Under the pseudonym *Norma de Ingady*, the reader used the space to send a letter in which she expressed her indignation against the ‘vagrants’ who were crowding the city centers, congratulating the editor of the newspaper for the article published the previous month, called ‘Repression of the vagrants’. Accentuating her position as a housewife, the reader reported on the difficulty of finding maids who could do basic household chores and who were forced to do double duty: looking after the house and the children, due to the scarcity of available labor. On the other hand, there was an accumulation of vagrants ‘with no obligation to work, manifestly prone to vice, living an immoral life, and offensive to good customs’ (*Tribuna da Franca*, Franca-SP, 24.10.1920).

The reader also observes ‘hundreds of black women wandering the streets of the city who could be used for work, if there were someone to force them to do so’ (*Tribuna da Franca*, Franca-SP, 24.10.1920). The account taken from the local newspaper shows us the other side of modernization, seen from the angle of the excluded, those for whom modernity and material progress had no effect other than social exclusion.

Final considerations

On the heels of the modernization of Brazil's major urban centers, the city of Franca underwent a vast process of physical and structural changes. *The Municipal Code* of Franca was created, in its first version in 1890 and soon after in the updated version of 1910, primarily to meet the need for technical standardization in a city that was ostensibly growing, and which saw its dimensions grow disproportionately over the first few years of the 20th century. The metrified width of the avenues, the need for walls in the houses in the central circle, the hygiene regulations for houses and public buildings, the trade in dead people, the epidemic health problems, the lack of health in bathhouses and barbershops... A whole range of rules were devised to deal with the natural problems arising from a municipality undergoing marked structural expansion.

The fact that the 1920s were the decade when care homes - such as the *Allan Kardec Asylum*, created in 1922 - were set up is no mere historical accident. The city of Franca went through a period of increasing modernization during this period. Added to this, along with the large urban centers where the economic elite settled, there was also the configuration of footwear production financed by businessmen from Rio de Janeiro who stayed in Franca³¹. The tolerance previously observed towards those who deviated from the rules of coexistence came to be seen in a different light at the beginning of the 20th century. Faced with the arrival of businessmen who settled in the city looking to invest capital in the footwear sector, any disturbance to the beautiful landscape would be targeted. The gaze of the outside visitor, who judges the archaic 'ugliness' of the city center, begins to bother the 'hosts.' There is an urgent need to isolate these elements that disturb the image of a clean and hygienic city, in keeping with the great modern centers.

We are interested in asking about the instances of power that demanded the 'beautification' of urban centers in the face of the arrival of these young investors visiting the region; who were these hosts concerned about the foreign gaze that, seeking a supposed sanitization of the centers, swept from urban circles an entire marginalized population that would have, if not through the corrective means of prison (through the legal means), the status of the insane, incorrigible in the face of the attempts of the society that punishes.

Local newspapers are full of these representations and seem to show the same intransigence towards those who deviate from a project of modernity financed by the

local elites. Giving voice to countless sectors of society that called for the elimination of everything that didn't fit into the 'modern' discourse, the periodicals served as a stage for the education of corporealities that didn't conform to the modern, which was intended to be clean, orderly and capable of demonstrating the signs of modernity - even if for many it was highly exclusionary.

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Article received in March 20, 2023

Accepted for publication in August 15, 2023

¹ ‘Docile’ refers to the well-known formulation of ‘docile bodies’ created by Foucault in *Surveillance and Punishment* (2014), in which the author refers to the disciplinary process found in various spheres of society, which ends up regulating bodies, shaping gestures and making them docile.

² For example, the press published municipal codes. It was through these publications that the population became aware of the legislation in force and that the government, in turn, could act to regulate not only what was allowed under the ban, but also the aesthetics of the district. By way of example, the municipal codes of 1910, which serve as our source of analysis, were published in the French press; more precisely in the *Tribuna de Franca* newspaper, in its February 2, 1910 edition.

³ It is no coincidence that the *Allan Kardec Asylum* was founded in 1922 to take in the needy and homeless of all kinds who had once settled in urban centers, as can be seen from the institution's first records. In the asylum, purposely built far from the centers where the elite settled, these individuals are hidden, no longer visible to the gaze of the foreigner who is staying in the city to invest his capital in the rising footwear sector.

⁴ ‘[...] instead of continuing to be, as in the past, a dreary and sterile ‘sandbank’, Franca is steadily conquering elements promising to be, in the not too distant future, a true eden of São Paulo, a pleasant nest of poetic charms.’ (*Tribuna de Franca*, 25.12.1903).

⁵ On miasmas in France, see: CORBIN, Alain. Knowledge and odors: smell and the social imagination in the 18th and 19th centuries. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1987.

⁶ According to Moraes (1994 apud Follis, 2007, p.14), the city of Rio de Janeiro jumped from 522,651 to 1,157,873 inhabitants between 1890-1920, while in the same period the city of São Paulo also saw a significant increase in population: from 64,934 it jumped to 579,033 inhabitants, making it the second largest city in the country.

⁷ On modernization in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, see: SEVCENKO, Nicolau. Literature as Mission: social tensions and cultural creation in the First Republic. 2ed. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003; SEVCENKO, Nicolau. Orfeu extático na metrópole: São Paulo, sociedade e cultura nos frementes anos 20. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992.

⁸ Roughly speaking, the term translates the ‘beautiful era’ experienced in Europe in the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Symbolized as the ‘best of eras’, the Belle Époque was characterized by a taste for the modern and a flood of new material technologies that invaded the daily lives of Europeans.

⁹ Franca's urban population was around 7,000 in 1903. In 1921, it had around 11,051 inhabitants, rising to 18,072 in 1937 and 22,000 in 1943 (FOLLIS, 2004).

¹⁰ These included 2,889 Italians, 2,281 of Spanish origin, 617 Portuguese, 34 Germans, 28 Japanese and another 344 of other nationalities (FALEIROS, 2002).

¹¹ Located on the banks of the Córrego Cubatão, situated on the extension of Rua Saldanha Marinho (FOLLIS, 2004).

¹² The Municipal Code of 1910 also prohibited the movement of animals through the municipality (Art. 733 - It is forbidden to roam the streets of the city with any animal of the vacum, cavallar, muar, caprina, suina, canina and other analogous species), with those found roaming the streets of the city being subject to collection by the municipal authorities and their owners subject to fines. If the owner failed to show up on time, the animal would be sold in a public square; in the case of dogs, they would be ‘killed by the process adopted by the Prefecture, the use of poisoned balls being prohibited’ (CMF, 1910).

¹³ On the black population as a target of biopolitics: CARNEIRO, Aparecida Sueli. The construction of the other as non-being as the foundation of being. Thesis (Doctorate in Education) - University of São Paulo, São Paulo, 2005.

¹⁴ *The Rules of Conduct, Municipal Codes of Posture* or just *police postures*, as they were initially called, were created in the 19th century with the aim of normalizing society through a process of constant observation of individual acts. Just like the prescriptions defining conduct, the *Rules of Conduct* also prescribed punishments in the event of non-compliance with the ordinances, serving as an agent for preventing urban diseases, sanitizing the urban environment and regulating city habits (SCHMACHTENBERG, 2008).

¹⁵ In 1893, that is, just three years after the *Code* was published, there were already 15 new laws and decrees in force that were not incorporated into the *1890 Code of Ordinances*, while in 1907 there were 250 laws of which the *Code* made no mention (*Tribuna de Franca*, Franca-SP, 'O Código', 18.02.1910).

¹⁶ The typical bourgeois dwelling provides the privacy of the couple's bedroom in relation to the children's bedroom, which is separated from the drawing room by a distant corridor; the building also separates the public from the private: the intimacy of the home, the private place, from the street, the public environment, by means of walls erected to prevent the outside eye from seeing what happens inside the walls of the home (CUNHA, 1986).

¹⁷ 'The Municipal Code was written in 40 notebooks of handmade paper with 25 lines and, in total, comprises 10 sections, 25 titles, 106 chapters, and 944 articles' (*Tribuna de Franca*, Franca-SP, 'O Código' Feb 18, 1910).

¹⁸ Despite the *1910 Code's* ban on animals running loose in the streets, it was common for newspapers to report on the frequency with which domestic dogs roamed the streets uncontrolled, sometimes resulting in bites that injured passers-by, causing panic with the threat of rabies transmission (*O Francano*, Franca-SP, 'Os cães soltos na rua', 26.06.1935).

¹⁹ '[...] let's take the sidewalk because only people from the countryside walk in the street' (*O Alfinete*, Franca-SP, 'Na Rua do Comercio', 12.04.1925).

²⁰ The *Municipal Code of 1910* required that, while the city was not yet equipped with sewage systems, residents had to hand over their waste water to the cleaning service. Where this service was not even available, it was recommended that residents somehow make the water converge so that there was no stagnation of standing water, the deleterious consequence of which was that mosquitoes ended up manifesting themselves and reproducing, especially during the summer.

²¹ The siege of epidemics in France took place, according to Foucault, in such a way that the medical space not only coincided with the social space, but went beyond it: it crossed it. The desire for control reached the minutiae of the need for statistical control of the health of each sub-delegation. In addition to the usual records of births and deaths, there was also the construction of true medical topographies of each region, covering everything from the number of people in each dwelling to descriptions of habits, clothing and the physical and moral education of the inhabitants of each district (FOUCAULT, 2020).

²² Schmachtenberg (2008) observes that the Codes of Posture functioned more as a mechanism of prevention than punishment, providing individuals with a positive parameter of what was permissible and what was forbidden. In this way, the fines functioned as a prior coercive inhibition, rather than as a correctional apparatus.

²³ Suspicions of contamination by: a) pestilential diseases (yellow fever, cholera and other plagues from the East); b) epidemic exanthematous fevers (smallpox, scarlet fever, measles); c) diphtheria; and d) whooping cough had to be reported to the authorities. The only exceptions were tuberculosis, infectious puerperal fevers, septicemic diseases and beriberi, which were optional (CMF. Municipal Code of Franca, 1910).

²⁴ On the Vaccine Revolt, see: SEVCENKO, Nicolau. *The vaccine revolt - insane minds in rebellious bodies*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1984.

²⁵ Chalhoub (1996) tells us about the history of the Jennerian vaccine - the vaccine itself. Its history is linked to the pastoral tradition observed by the physician Edward Jenner, which since the 16th century had indicated that those who worked with cattle could avoid contracting smallpox. Based on this popular belief heard by Dr. Jenner heard from a peasant woman, the doctor noticed that among those who milked cows, there was a kind of scraping similar to cowpox. Hence the term cowpox, which refers to ulcerations that affect the udders of cows and are highly contagious. Linking the popular belief to what the doctor had heard from the peasant woman, Dr. Jenner decided to carry out tests that would later prove immunization against smallpox by inoculating the vaccine.

²⁶ Marco Antonio Pamplona (2010, p. 91) shows the long journey that the city of Rio de Janeiro went through in its quest to 'civilize' the population. The Municipal Code of Ordinances of 1894 effectively fulfilled this mission: to civilize what was considered barbaric. The intellectual and political elites, eager to resemble European behavioural habits, supported the state's action in this civilizing endeavour. In fact, the codes acted precisely to modify the 'uncivilized' habits of a population that was mostly black. They prohibited: 'the sale of food in the street, made by street vendors, kiosks or frêges, the habit of spitting on the floor of streetcars, the sale of milk milked on the spot by cows pulled from door to door, the raising of pigs in the urban limits, the display of meat at the entrance to butchers' shops, the loitering of dogs loose in the streets, the lack of paint on the façades of buildings, the presence of entrudos and carnival cordons'.

²⁷ Aimed at a children's audience, Monteiro Lobato published a series of books involving cinogenetics, i.e. the art of hunting. Some of the works that the younger generation probably had access to, given the wide

dissemination of the author in Portugal, were: 'A Caçada da Onça: novas aventuras de Narizinho, Rabicó e demais companheiros' (1924) and 'Caçadas de Pedinho' (1933) (FERREIRA, 2014).

²⁸ Birman (1978, p. 344) points out that '[...] a process of standardization is necessarily a pedagogical process. Moral treatment is characterized as an operation of moral pedagogy, in which the alienated person's being-of-Nature is submitted to their being-of-Culture.'

²⁹ Machado (2010, p. 18), in his work on Rui Barbosa's work in education, attests that 'This [education] was conceived as the ideal space for the transmission of conservative principles throughout society, defining its role and its importance for social life. In the public school, content that served the public interest would be conveyed, content that ensured the preservation of order and bourgeois wealth, so its fundamental role was to prepare for work and citizenship.'

³⁰ On modernization and concern with the docilization of women's bodies: RAGO, Luzia Margareth. *Do cabaré ao lar - A utopia da cidade disciplinar- Brasil: 1890-1930*. Editora Paz e Terra, 1985; RAGO, Luzia Margareth. *Os Prazeres da Noite - Prostituição e códigos da sexualidade feminina em São Paulo (1890- 1930)* Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1991.

³¹ It was precisely on August 25, 1920 that the contract for the incorporation of a commercial company was registered, in which Carlos Pacheco de Macedo, a wealthy businessman who was already famous in Franca for his Jaguar footwear company in the 1910s, joined forces with men from the Rio de Janeiro leather sector (Josef Marx and Christiano Hechler), which had been signed a few days earlier in Rio. For Tosi (1998, p. 169), the association was 'the most important in sustaining the leather and footwear activities in Franca. Macedo's footwear company, Jaguar, had also been the target of investment from Rio years earlier. The arrival of assets from Rio de Janeiro indicates that the city of Franca became a focus for businessmen, who lived in the city and stayed in local hotels.'