



The Miguel Maria Jardim's *Syllabario Escolar* and the mnemonic doctrine for learning to read (1878)

O *Syllabario Escolar* de Miguel Maria Jardim e a doutrina mnemonisada para o aprendizado da leitura (1878)

El *Sillabario Escolar* de Miguel Maria Jardim y la doctrina mnemonizada para aprender a leer (1878)

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Abstract

The objective of this article is to analyze the production, materiality, and circulation of a still little-known syllabary titled *Syllabario Escolar*, created by Miguel Maria Jardim, born in Portugal in 1841 and naturalized as a Brazilian citizen in 1877. A graduate of the Escola Normal de Niterói, Jardim worked as a teacher, literary delegate, bookseller, press collaborator in Rio de Janeiro, and author of educational books. The *Syllabario Escolar*, consisting of 64 pages, presents syllables sequentially, without being divided into separate lessons. The work was published in 1878 by Imprensa Industrial, in Rio de Janeiro. Anchored in the contributions of Cultural History and using the syllabary as its central source, cross-referenced with newspaper articles available in the Digital Hemeroteca of the National Library of Brazil, this study aims to examine the *Syllabario* considering the debates of its time, as well as the trajectory of its author.

Keywords: Syllabary; Reading instruction; 19th century.

Resumo

O objetivo desse artigo é analisar a produção, a materialidade e a circulação de um silabário ainda pouco conhecido, denominado *Syllabario Escolar*, produzido por Miguel Maria Jardim, nascido em Portugal em 1841 e naturalizado brasileiro em 1877. Formado pela Escola Normal de Niterói, atuou como professor, delegado literário, no comércio de livros, colaborador na imprensa fluminense e autor de livros. O *Syllabario Escolar*, com 64 páginas, apresenta de modo sequencial as sílabas a serem aprendidas, sem lições separadas. A obra foi publicada em 1878 pela Imprensa Industrial, no Rio de Janeiro. Ancorado nas contribuições da História Cultural e tendo como fonte central o silabário, entrecruzado com as notícias publicadas em jornais disponíveis na Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira da Biblioteca Nacional, busca-se problematizar o silabário em relação às discussões de sua época, bem como seu autor.

Palavras-chave: Silabário; Ensino da leitura; Século XIX.

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar la producción, materialidad y circulación de un silabario aún poco conocido, denominado *Syllabario Escolar*, producido por Miguel Maria Jardim, nacido en Portugal en 1841 y naturalizado brasileño en 1877. Graduado en la Escuela Normal de Niterói, se desempeñó como docente, delegado literario, en el comercio del libro, colaborador de la prensa de Río de Janeiro y autor de libros. El *Syllabario Escolar*, con 64 páginas, presenta las sílabas a aprender de forma secuencial, sin lecciones separadas. La obra fue publicada en 1878 por la Imprensa Industrial, en Río de Janeiro. Anclado en los aportes de la Historia Cultural y teniendo el silabario como fuente central, entrelazado con noticias publicadas en periódicos disponibles en la Hemeroteca Digital de la Biblioteca Nacional, se busca problematizar el silabario en relación con las discusiones de su época, así como de su autor.

Palabras clave: Silabario; Enseñanza de la lectura ; Siglo XIX.

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Introduction

The 19th century was marked by several initiatives by the Empire to organize education at Court and in the Provinces. In 1827, a general law was instituted to regulate national education, and in 1834, the Empire transferred the legal and pedagogical administration of schools to the Provinces. Initially, reading for primary schools had a clear religious nature, which, according to Tambara (2003), was a result of the legal and institutional orientation of the political system of the Brazilian Empire associated with Catholic religious doctrine, such as the Law enacted in 1827:

Article 6: Teachers will teach reading, writing, the four operations of Arithmetic, practice of fractions, decimals and proportions, the most general notions of practical geometry, the Grammar of the National Language and the principles of Christian Morality, and the Doctrine of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Religion, provided for the understanding of children, preferring for readings the Constitution of the Empire, and the History of Brazil (Brazil, Law of October 15, 1827).

The Executive Branch sought to model, both in primary education regulations and in school manuals, mechanisms for controlling the reading process in schools, subjecting them to vehement processes of doctrinal censorship and proposing a reading system that sought to unite the act of reading and writing with the Catholic faith and obedience to the State (Tambara, 2003).

In the last three decades of the 19th century, a rebellious culture against the Empire intensified, mainly from the São Paulo Law Academy, and education, previously a territory occupied by imperial centralism and the powers of the Catholic Church, became a field of fierce ideological disputes and struggles for hegemony among the various groups that sought to consolidate their power (Panizzolo, 2006).

In this way, new reading materials began to circulate in Brazil, proposing different learning formats. Many artifacts were produced and used in Brazil between the 19th and 20th centuries to teach reading: tablets, tables, syllable cards, alphabets, ABC cards and syllabaries, names often used as synonyms or indicating similar material. In this sense, tablets and tables often appear as being the same material or having the same use, in the same way that syllable cards, ABC cards, alphabets and syllabaries can designate loose sheets, often cardboard or small printed books, whose purpose was to teach reading through spelling. Although the names sometimes seem to designate the same material, we insist on a search, albeit subtle, for differences, and we do so by revisiting two important texts for the history of literacy, that of Frade (2010) and that of Vojniak (2014).

According to Frade (2010), in the text *Uma genealogia dos impressos para o ensino da escrita no Brasil no século XIX*, tablets and tables were used to teach reading and writing, especially for the institutionalization of the mutual monitoring method, also known as Lancasterian, in the first decades of the 19th century. The tablets or tables should “be at eye level for a class, which, organized in large benches” (p. 267), should thus look closely at the commands of the student monitor, “who shows letters, names them and asks for their reproduction in sandboxes: we are, then, between permanent reading and ephemeral writing” (p. 267).

In a text entitled *O império das primeiras letras: epítome de uma história de cartilhas de alfabetização no século XIX*, Vojniak (2014) explains that throughout the 19th century, those who dedicated themselves to teaching reading and writing had a certain variety of printed materials at their disposal, such as alphabet cards, “which were organized pamphlets, in most cases, with

different forms of printed letters – capital, lowercase, round and cursive” (p. 29), and which were accompanied by “combinations of syllables and apparently simple words or people's names” (p. 29). This material printed on a few pages, generally *in folio*, relied more on visual appeal than on moralizing discourses.

Alphabets and illustrated alphabets are presented by Frade (2010) as “picture books that aim to encourage young children to enjoy learning to read” (p. 274). Although the sequence is from A to Z, “they can be consulted in any order, in a non-linear way, like a picture book” (p. 274), and once they are known, they can be taught without a pre-established sequence.

Regarding ABC Letters, Frade (2010) states that they can “present only the alphabet, the syllable chart and secular texts” (p. 275), probably for domestic circulation, “these materials had a predictable structure and permanent content and if the usage procedures are typified” (p. 276), they may have been favored through their transmission outside the school environment.

Regarding syllabary, Frade (2010) warns that several meanings can be attributed to it: “(i) a type of book; (ii) a table or a set of tables with varied syllabic series, presented within the pages of a book; (iii) a method for teaching literacy” (p. 276); in short, a book for teaching reading.

This article aims to present and discuss the production, materiality and circulation of a still little-known syllabary, called *Syllabario Escolar*, produced by Miguel Maria Jardim, born in Portugal in 1841 and naturalized Brazilian in 1877. Graduated from the *Escola Normal de Niterói*, he worked as a teacher, literary delegate, in the book trade, collaborator in the Rio de Janeiro press and author of books.

The source and object is the *Syllabario Escolar* published in 1878 by *Imprensa Industrial*, in Rio de Janeiro, located in the National Library of Lisbon, intertwined with the news published in newspapers available in the Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira da Biblioteca Nacional.

The syllabaries are understood as privileged sources for the History of Education because they are situated at the intersection between the prescriptions imposed by official programs and the singular discourses of teachers. Chartier (2004), when referring to the role of reading in the life of societies, states that the publication and circulation of books and their reading have put into action, from a societal matrix, a set of dispositions aimed at imitation and learning. It is also worth clarifying that the analysis carried out in this article is anchored in the fertile dialogue between Cultural History (Chartier, 1996, 1998, 2004) and the History of Education (Choppin, 2002).

The text is organized into three sections, in addition to the Introduction and Final Considerations. The first seeks to introduce Professor Miguel Maria Jardim, his training and career in public education in Rio de Janeiro; the second, the author's book production and promotion strategies; in the third, a study is undertaken on the materiality and contents of the work studied and, finally, some final considerations on the adoption of the *Syllabario*.

Professor Miguel Maria Jardim: training and career in public education in Rio de Janeiro

Miguel Maria Jardim was born on December 2, 1841, on the island of Graciosa, in the Azores Archipelago, territory of Portugal. In an entry entitled “Miguel Maria Jardim (1841-1925)” in the *Dicionário de autoras(es) de cartilhas e livros de leitura no Brasil [Século XIX]* Silva and Oliveira (2023) present important data on the author's life. Son of the couple João Gonçalves Jardim and Agueda Victorina Jardim, he began his studies “in literary education in his homeland” (p.736) without, however, completing them due to the move to Brazil.

Maria Jardim became a naturalized Brazilian citizen through the “Imperial Letters” published in 1865, a fact reported in the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* - RJ (02/05/1865, p. 1). According to Silva and Oliveira (2023), naturalization provided Jardim with the necessary conditions to continue her studies at the *Escola Normal de Niterói*¹, where she obtained certification to practice primary school teaching, or as it was called at the time, primary education.

In addition to the certification, the Regulation of April 30, 1862 of the Province of Rio de Janeiro, in its article 27, defined:

Art. 27: Only Brazilians of either sex may practice public teaching if they prove that they are over 21 years of age, regardless of their marital status, are well-behaved, profess the religion of the State and have the necessary physical and professional suitability.

Maria Jardim, like other teachers in the Province of Rio de Janeiro, was expected to adhere to a certain standard of conduct related to morality and the Catholic religion, which should be proven by means of a certificate. Castanha and Bittar (2009), in the text “The role of teachers in Brazilian social formation: 1827-1889”, in search of a better understanding of this supporting documentation, refer to the report written by Justiniano José da Rocha, from 1851, in which he states: “The proof of morality would be the document stating that she had never been the subject of a defamatory accusation, and the certificate from the vicar, the block inspector or the fathers of families in her neighborhood that she behaves as a peaceful citizen” (apud Castanha and Bittar, 2009, p. 61).

The professional capacity of candidates for primary school teaching should be proven by means of a public exam. This practice was established by the law of October 15, 1827, in its article 7, when it defined that, in order to hold the position of teacher, the candidate would have to take a public exam before a panel composed of the president of the province or appointed by him. According to Castanha and Bittar (2009), “the theoretical test covered dictation, reading, grammatical interpretation, resolution of mathematical operations, prayers, religious doctrine” (p. 9), among other specific knowledge.

Although there was no news of participation in the competition, on February 9, 1867, the appointment of Miguel Maria Jardim as a permanent public teacher of the parish of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Paquequer*, Nova Friburgo (*Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 09/02/1867, p. 1; *Administrative, Commercial and Industrial Almanack of Rio de Janeiro*, 1867, ed. 0004, p. 231).

In 1868, Professor Jardim requested a transfer to the *Escola de Ponta da Areal*, in Niterói (*Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 15/12/1868, p. 1). And the following year, according to the *Administrative, Commercial and Industrial Almanack of Rio de Janeiro* (1869, ed. 0026, p. 53) he was appointed “public teacher of primary education for the *Parish of N. S. da Conceição de Paquequer* (*Sumidouro*)”.

In an act published on June 17, 1872, he was appointed public school teacher in *Carvão*, Campos (RJ) (*Jornal do Commercio*, 06/21/1872, p. 3). And in that same year, according to the *Almanack Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro*, he was appointed “public school teacher of primary education for *Ponta da Area in Nitheroy*” (1872, ed. 0029, p. 55). In the same year, he was moved again, this time from Area to S. Domingos, both in Niterói (*Jornal A Instrução Publica: Publicação Hebdomadaria* (RJ), 1872, ed. 00014, p. 115).

¹ The *Escola Normal de Niterói*, founded in 1835, was the first institution intended for teacher training, followed in the following years by the creation of normal schools in Bahia (1836), Minas Gerais (1842), São Paulo (1846), Espírito Santo (1860), Piauí (1864), Rio Grande do Sul (1869), Paraná (1870), Sergipe (1870), Rio Grande do Norte (1873), Ceará (1878), Santa Catarina (1880), Corte (1880), Paraíba (1883), Goiás (1884). In this regard, see Martins (2012), in the text *Breves reflexões sobre as primeiras escolas normais no contexto educacional brasileiro, no século XIX* (Ecar, 2011).

The many moves Jardim made are worth mentioning, sometimes returning to a school where he had previously taught. Could the reason have been the proximity to his home? Or operating reasons, such as lack of students and closing of classes and later reopening? Or even the search for schools whose location and number of students would earn a higher salary? There are several questions for which no answers have been found to date.

Still in 1872, another novelty in Miguel Maria Jardim's professional life: promotion to lifelong teacher (A Patria; Folha da Província do Rio de Janeiro, 06/23/1872, p.2; A Instrução Publica: Publicação Hebdomadaria (RJ), 1872, ed. 00012, p. 95).

According to the Imperial Law of 1827 and the Regulation of 1837 of the Province of Rio de Janeiro, a teacher who was approved with the concept² of “fully approved” could be appointed as a permanent teacher³. In the case of Professor Jardim, the interval between his entry in 1867 and his promotion to tenured professor for life in 1872 was probably due to a probationary period established in the province of Rio de Janeiro by the Regulation of Primary and Secondary Education in the Province of Rio de Janeiro on December 14, 1849.

The year 1873 presented a new professional challenge for Jardim, through Decree No. 1988, of December 12, 1873, in its article 7 the creation of a night school was established and Miguel Maria Jardim was assigned to it with an annual bonus of 800\$000 (Diario do Rio de Janeiro, October 16, 1874; Jornal do Commercio, May 26, 1873).

Through a detailed study of Regulations and Reports from different provinces, Castanha and Bittar (2009) offer quite enlightening data. In 1862, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, the salary⁴ of a primary school teacher was around 1:000\$000, and in 1877, it was 1:200\$000, so Professor Jardim received an annual bonus below the average salary for the period. If we include data from other provinces, such as Mato Grosso, in 1858 it was 840\$000, and in Paraná, in 1867, it was 800\$000.

The explanation for the lower than expected (or desired by teachers) salary was probably due to the provisions of article 3 of the law of October 15, which defined that earnings could vary between 200\$000 and 500\$000 *reis* per year, depending on the location of the school and the number of students enrolled and attended.

In the newspaper *A Reforma: Orgão Democrático* (RJ), from 1873, the Public Education notice exempting teachers from taking a professional capacity test to teach or open primary and/or secondary schools is presented, and in the case of Miguel Maria Jardim, the authorization to teach primary education and teach the metric system, without taking the test (A Reforma: Orgão Democrático (RJ), 05/27/1873). Considering that the aforementioned teacher had already taken a test in 1867, this exemption refers more directly to the opening of schools and the offering of classes.

² The concepts adopted in public competitions were: excellent, good, poor or even fully approved and simply approved.

³ Castanha and Bittar (2009) state that there was a heated debate about lifelong tenure, citing the report of the inspector of public education for the Province of Rio de Janeiro, Josino do Nascimento Silva: “Ordinarily, the candidate for the teaching profession is ignorant of, or has little knowledge of, the doctrines in which he has to be examined. As soon as the competition is announced, he looks for a tutor who, in the few days between the announcement and the act, takes charge of him and promises to prepare him to appear decently. Luck is favorable to the candidate: the exam he takes is passable, he passes and obtains a chair with the character of tenure. He enters his practice and rests: studying is not a habit for him and less a necessity, since he has already achieved what he wanted; the rest will come with time. Teachers who have been asked if they prepare themselves to lead their classes the next day are surprised that, in order to teach ignorant children, such work is necessary. There is no book that holds their attention; if they were ignorant, when they received the appointment effective teacher, the more ignorant they are when they become lifelong teachers” (Province of Rio de Janeiro, apud Castanha and Bittar, 2009, p. 46).

⁴ The salary issue, as stated by Castanha and Bittar (2009), was a serious problem that persisted throughout the imperial period, and was present in the speeches of various political figures, such as the ministers of the Empire, general and provincial deputies and inspectors of Public Education.

In 1875, Miguel Maria Jardim was considered a 2nd class teacher (Diario do Rio de Janeiro, 08/10/1875). What does this mean? It is possible that it refers to the distinction created between schools and their locations, that is, schools in parishes and villages were called 1st class, schools in towns, 2nd class and schools in cities, 3rd class. This distinction implied a salary increase, with 1st class being the lowest, 2nd class being intermediate and 3rd class being the highest.

In 1876, there was another change in Jardim's professional career, with the closure of the “night school located in the neighborhood of *S. Domingos*, because it was not very attended and was not located in a place where it could benefit the majority of the population of Niterohy” (Diario do Rio de Janeiro, 20/06/1876, p.2).

There was silence in the press about Professor Jardim's new assignments until, in April 1878, the admonition that the inspector recommended should be given by the inspector of the district of Niterói was made public in the press, as it reads:

It was recommended to the 2nd district of Niterói that he draw the attention of Professor Miguel Maria Jardim to the judgment made by the general inspector of the moral state of his students during the visit. It is necessary that he maintain order and discipline in the school, without which there will be no progress; the gentleness recommended by the regulations does not exclude energy, and this, used with circumspection and criteria, will put an end to the disorder and indiscipline of children who are always easy to direct (O Cruzeiro, 17/04/1878, p. 4).

In September 1878, a note about his request for a one-year leave for health treatment with pay (Jornal do Commercio, 09/24/1878, 09/27/1878); and then notes about the granting of the leave (Jornal do Commercio, 10/15/1878, 10/23/1878, 10/24/1878, 10/31/1878, 11/01/1878, 11/09/1878 and 11/10/1878; O Cruzeiro (RJ), 11/16/1878).

In 1879, the newspaper *O Fluminense* announced his return: “The distinguished professor Miguel Maria Jardim, who was in Europe, where he had gone, on leave from the government to treat a health problem, is now among us” (O Fluminense, 1879, p. 3), and added that he had returned to the school in the *S. Domingos* neighborhood.

A few months later, news of the professor's retirement: “The annual salary of retired professor MM J was set at 538\$330, corresponding to 13 years, 5 months, 15 days of service” (O Fluminense (RJ), 12/24/1880, p. 3). It is likely that he retired, taking advantage of the benefit guaranteed by the Regulations of the Court and the Provinces, so that “after seven or ten years of service, due to health problems, the teacher could be proportionally retired” (Castanha and Bittar, 2009, p.47).

However, retirement did not mean that he would be removed from educational issues. In 1893, he was invited to act as a district delegate for the municipality of Niterói (Jornal do Brasil, 01/06/1893), whose main function was to monitor and supervise schools. The list with the appointments was published in the same newspaper a few days later, listing the names of the teachers responsible for a total of ten schools (Jornal do Brasil, 07/06/1893).

In addition to teaching, Jardim developed management activities, such as that of inspector and literary delegate in the school districts of the city of Niterói, with the responsibility of “inspecting the classes in his district; suspending teachers who did not follow the rules of morality; to give possession to teachers; to propose the appointment and dismissal of school inspectors” (Feitosa; Siqueira Filho, 2019, p.5).

The press reports on the teacher's work as head of the Miguel Maria Jardim Bookstore (Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ), 1915, p. 4219). Silva and Oliveira (2023) highlight the place as being "of distinct importance for the city of Niterói and, in turn, a meeting place for friends (p.741)". Another highlight of his professional career was the creation of *Caixa Econômica Escolar*, focused on financial education in public elementary schools in Niterói. The initiative was widely publicized in the press:

Caixa Econômica Escolar

The teacher at the S. Domingos public school in Niterói, Miguel Maria Jardim, founded a school savings bank in his school. The funds from this bank *escolar* amount to only 11\$180, a small amount without a doubt, but enough to introduce into the province of Rio de Janeiro is an institution so useful as a principle of economic education, already advantageously known in Europe.

The aforementioned professor notes the distrust on the part of the depositors of the school fund, a natural child of bad custom; but at the same time he recognizes that the children willingly contribute, taking great care to please the teacher.

On Thursdays of each week, the day on which the amounts deposited are noted, the student who brings his penny to the school fund comes to school happier.

Of the 35 students of this school, only 16 are contributors to the school savings bank. And of these 16, only 10 have passbooks, because the sum of the entries has reached the amount of 1\$ per month that the court savings bank receives, where the deposits are made as soon as they reach this figure.

From the other six contributors, the largest has 200 *reis* in deposit in the school fund and the smallest has 20 *reis* (O Cruzeiro, 04/15/1878, p.2).

On May 3, 1873, professor Miguel Maria Jardim participated in the creation of the *Instituto Pedagógico do Rio de Janeiro*, a society of public teachers based in Niterói. The board of directors was composed of José M. da Veiga Nobrega, as president; Alberto Luiz dos Reis, vice-president; Miguel Maria Jardim, 1st secretary; and Pedro Jorge Vidal, as 2nd secretary (Almanack Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro, 1883, ed. C00040, p. 425). In 1879, Jardim was president of the Institute, with the renowned professor Felisberto R. Pereira de Carvalho⁵ as vice-president (Jornal do Commercio, 12/30/1879).

It is worth mentioning his participation in associations. In 1883, he became a member of the *Sociedade União Beneficente Nictheroyense* (O Fluminense, 3/30/1883), and also served on examination boards, such as those of the *Collégio Santa Josepha* (O Fluminense, 7/22/1883); the *Primeira Escola do sexo masculino do Rio de Janeiro* (O Fluminense, 12/6/1882); and the committee of the *Congresso Literário Guarani* (O Fluminense, 1/28/1883). In 1896, he was elected president of the *Sociedade Concordia Beneficente Vinte Oito de Abril* (O Paiz, 1/31/1896).

The *Boletim do Grande Oriente do Brasil: Jornal Oficial da Maçonaria Brasileira* (RJ) reported on M. M. Jardim's change to the 32nd degree, as well as his role as secretary at the Acácia-Niterói Lodge (ed. 00009, p. 279). In 1886, he was elected city councilman for Niterói (O Rio de Janeiro, 08/28/1886) and in 1892 he ran for the political office of deputy for the *Partido Operário Socialista* (O Combate (RJ), 04/21/1892).

⁵ Regarding Felisberto de Carvalho's professional career, see Oliveira, Souza (2000); Valdez (2005).

Book production and dissemination strategies

Professor Miguel Maria Jardim also dedicated himself to the production of books and materials for public primary schools. He wrote *Taboada Metrica*⁶ (1872); *Arithmetica Elementar*⁷ (1872); *Tabella Metrica Commercial* (1873); *Exercícios de Contar adaptados classe dos principiantes das escolas primarias*⁸ (1879) and; *Cathecismo da Doutrina Christã* (1880) and the *Syllabario Escolar* (1878).

In 1872, when publishing *Arithmetica Elementar*, he adopted the strategy of donating copies to various newspapers as a means of publicizing the work, as shown in the news below:

Arithmetica Elementar - With this title, the public teacher Miguel Maria Jardim has just published a compendium, which was approved by the normal school of the province of Rio de Janeiro. We are grateful for the gift of a copy of *Arithmetica Elementar* (A Reforma: Orgão Democrático (RJ), 06/11/1872, p.1).

Arithmetica Elementar by Miguel Maria Jardim

A very useful work for primary school students; and also - *Taboada Metrica* - or *Resumo Facilimo do Systema Metrico, Interrogatório da Doutrina Christã*, following the catechism of various authors, are sold in this printing house (A Patria: Folha da Província do Rio de Janeiro (RJ), 07/30/1874).

In the same way, *Taboada Metrica* (1872) was published; *Tabella Metrica Commercial* (1873):

Sistema métrico- We were given his commercial metric table by Mr. Miguel Maria Jardim, from Rio de Janeiro. It is a concise work, but very precise and extremely useful for people who are dedicated to commerce.

We recommend it to the public and thank you for the gift. (O Cearense (CE), 04/16/1873).

This was done in the province of Rio de Janeiro, through newspapers with quite divergent ideological positions, such as the newspaper *A Reforma: Orgão Democrático* (05/27/1873; 11/09/1873, p. 2) and the newspaper *O Conservador: A verdade será sempre o nosso pharol*, (12/22/1879); in the province of São Paulo, through the newspaper *Diario de S. Paulo* (02/19/1873; 05/30/1874); *Gazeta de Campinas*, 02/27/1873); and *Correio Paulistano* (02/19/1873); in the province of Santa Catarina with the newspaper *O Despertador* (04/15/1873); in the province of Minas Gerais, through the newspaper *Diario de Minas* (02/18/1873).

⁶ According to Silva and Oliveira (2023), “*Taboada Métrica* was a kind of synthesis of the metric system of weights and measures and aimed to facilitate children's understanding of this mathematical content [...] This book was in circulation from 1872 to 1880. In total, six editions were published. This expressive quantity, published year after year, indicates the acceptability of *Taboada Métrica* and emphasizes the importance of this material for primary education in the late nineteenth century. And this probably encouraged Jardim to continue in the business of producing printed materials for public education” (p.742).

⁷ *Arithmetica Elementar* is a “didactic compendium structured on the bases of the synthetic method for teaching mathematics in Brazilian primary education [...] For more than two decades it was present in primary schools in the second half of the 19th century, contributing to the learning of mathematics” (Silva and Oliveira, 2023, p.742).

⁸ According to the newspaper *O Povo* (1880) from Rio de Janeiro, *Exercícios de contar* “is a collection of easy and progressive calculations and problems for children” (01/01/1880, p.1).

In addition to books about mathematics, Miguel Maria Jardim published *Cathecismo da Doutrina Christã* (1880), presented by the press as “an Interrogation of Christian doctrine according to the catechisms of Fonseca Lima, *Associação Catholica, Pinheiro and Montpellier*, for the purpose of recalling studies” (A Instrução Publica: Publicação Hebdomadaria (RJ), 1872, ed. 00026, p. 227), whose structure was similar to a questionnaire to systematize learning.

The dissemination strategy remained the same, that is, donations to the press, as in the case of the province of Espírito Santo, through the newspaper *O Espírito-Santense* (02/06/1880); of the province of Ceará, through the newspaper *O Cearense* (16/04/1873; 06/08/1880); in the province of Maranhão, with the *Diario do Maranhão* (07/06/1884) and *O Paiz* (25/05/1880); in the province of São Paulo, through the newspaper *A constituinte: orgam liberal* (12/05/1880).

In addition to works about mathematics, Miguel Maria Jardim published *O Syllabario Escolar*, in 1878. He maintained the dissemination strategy, donating copies to the newspaper *Diario de Pernambuco* (PE), on 26/11/1879, p. 1; 29/01/1879; for the province of Pará, through the *Diario de Belem: Folha Política, Noticiosa e Commercial* (PA), 24/04/1879, p. 2; 25/04/1879; 29/04/1879; 30/04/1879.

A very emblematic example is the publication in the newspaper *O Dia: órgão do Partido Republicano Catarinense* (1901), in which the newspaper explicitly recommends the adoption by public primary education:

The illustrious professor Mr. M. M. Jardim sent us three interesting pamphlets, intended for use in primary schools.

The *Arithmetica elementar* for the 1st and 2nd years, the 1st book comprising a 60-page pamphlet, and the 2nd a 164-page volume, have been definitively adopted by the Public Education Councils of the States of Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pará, Alagoas and Espírito Santo and constitute a useful and necessary book in elementary schools.

The subjects are treated clearly and properly, in order to facilitate their study. The third pamphlet is a *Syllabario Escolar*, coordinated by the same illustrious professor, according to the methods of modern pedagogy.

Thanking you for sending such useful books, we recommend them to members of the primary school teaching staff in Santa Catarina. (*O Dia: Orgão do Partido Republicano Catharinense* (09/22/1901, p. 2).

A second strategy was also adopted by Jardim, sending copies followed by a request for approval in that specific province. He did this with the book *Arithmetica Elementar*, sent to the Province of Espírito Santo: “requesting that it be submitted to the Central Council of Public Instruction of this province, to give an opinion on his work on *Arithmetica Elementar* appropriate for primary schools” (*O Espirito-Santense* (ES), 04/10/1877, p. 1). He proceeded in a similar way in the province of Pernambuco: “A letter from the general inspector of public education requesting an opinion on the merit and convenience of adopting the little book *Syllabario Escolar*, by M. M. Jardim” (*Diario de Pernambuco* (PE), 1879, ed. 000275, p. 2).

And finally, but no less important, the third strategy, donating copies to the Primary Education services of the Provinces, and on a smaller scale to Societies for the Propagation of Education and Associations linked to education.

For the province of Ceará, the sending of “200 copies of the *Syllabario escolar* offered by its author, professor Miguel Maria Jardim” (*O Cearense* (CE), 11/16/1879, p. 1); for the province of Piauí “donated 200 copies of the *Syllabario Escolar* to Piauí” (*A Imprensa: jornal político* (PI), 12/20/1879, p. 1); for the province of Goiás, “200 copies of the *Syllabario Escolar*” (*Correio Official de Goyaz* (GO), 12/03/1879, p. 2); for the

province of Santa Catarina, “140 copies of the *Syllabario escolar* to be distributed to public schools” (O Despertador (SC), 11/08/1879, p. 1); for the province of Pará 1,000 copies (O Liberal (PA) 07/16/1879, p. 1); for the province of Paraná 1,000 syllabaries (Dezenove de Dezembro (PR), 11/13/1879, p. 4).

The donation made to the province of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo deserves special mention, as the largest donations made. In the case of Rio de Janeiro “The Imperial Government thanked Professor Miguel Maria Jardim for the donation he made of 11,000 copies of the *Syllabario escolar* published by him, to be distributed to the primary schools of the Empire” (Gazeta de Notícias (RJ) 10/27/1879, p. 1); and after 10 years, the donation of another 100 copies (Gazeta de Notícias, 20/09/1888). For the province of São Paulo, he also donated 11,000 *Syllabarios* (The Constituent Assembly: Liberal Organ, 1879, ed. 00050); and in 1896 another 10,000 copies (O Paiz, 25/03/1896).

Professor Jardim also donated to the Society for the *Sociedade Propagadora da Instrução Popular* “25 copies of *Arithmetica Elementar*, by Miguel Maria Jardim (Diario de S. Paulo, 30/05/1874, p.2); and to the *Casa de Assistencia de S. Luiz Gonzaga*, the donation of “100 copies of *syllabario escolar*” (Gazeta de Notícias, (RJ), 09/20/1888, p. 1).

Regarding the acquisition of Professor Jardim's books by the provinces, further research is needed. For now, information has been found that the province of Pernambuco received a shipment from the Ministry of the Empire of “900 copies of the *Syllabario Escolar* to be distributed to public primary schools” (Diario de Pernambuco (PE), 11/26/1879, p. 1); the same happened in Ouro Preto (MG): “...which will be accompanied by 1,000 copies of the *Syllabario Escolar*, published by Professor Miguel Maria Jardim and offered for use by schools in this province by the Honorable Counselor of the Minister of the Empire, to whom we are grateful for the offer” (A actualidade: organ of the Liberal Party (MG), 01/15/1880, p. 1).

Undoubtedly, the dissemination strategy adopted by Professor Miguel Maria Jardim favored his national projection. However, we still lack information about the origin of the resources to make so many significant donations. What we do know is that this commercial strategy was adopted by other authors in the 19th century. Bittencourt (1993), in his doctoral thesis, stated that it was a common practice, “when authors took charge of publishing their own texts [...] sending a copy to newspapers” (p. 114), and incorporating the praise published in the press into subsequent editions of the books.

It is also worth noting that the study by Boto, Rocha and Albuquerque (2024) about the teaching of reading and writing in the 19th century identified a similar strategy adopted by João Vicente Martins, and presented Abílio Cesar Borges, the Baron of Macahubas, as an exemplary author when it came to disseminating his own writings. The author's dissemination reached several provinces, “since he sent copies to different locations, which led to the purchase of large print runs of these printed works by provincial governments to be distributed in schools” (p. 4). Another author presented is Antônio Pinheiro de Aguiar, author of the book *Bacdafá ou methodo de leitura abreviada*, who opened schools “as a space to promote the method and [...] hold public exhibitions to promote it” (p. 5).

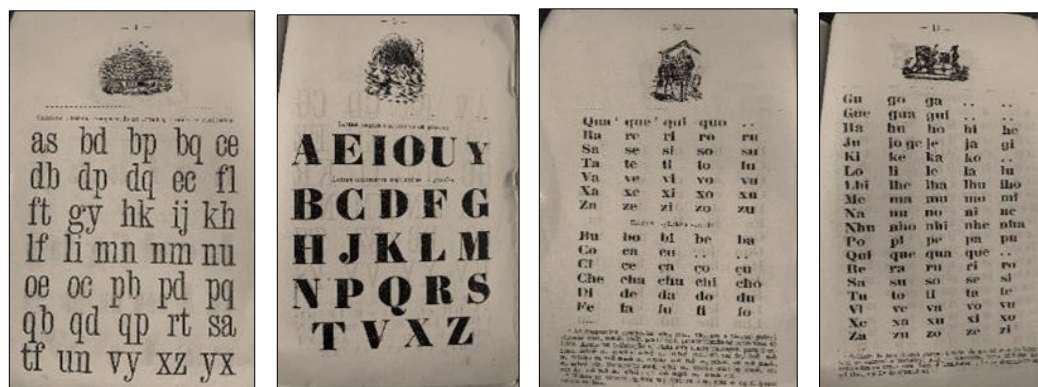
The *Syllabario Escolar*, by Miguel Maria Jardim

The *Syllabario Escolar*, taken as the object of study in this article, is a publication from 1878. The cover contains the title, the name of the author M. M. Jardim; just below the image represents three angels reading a manuscript; the price of 100 réis and the typography *Imprensa Industrial*, from Rio de Janeiro. On the title page, a brief explanation about the mnemonic method adopted by the author is added to the data on the title page (figure 1).

Figure 1 - Title page of the *Syllabario Escolar*

Source: Jardim, 1878, title page.

There is no indication of the number of copies printed or a preface. The book is made up of 64 pages, each of which contains an illustration (figure 2), often with no relation to the content taught. For example, on the page where lowercase letters are presented, the image is of a beehive, bees and flowers (p. 4), or on the page where uppercase letters are presented, a lake with two swans. However, it is possible to assume that, in some sections, there is a correlation, such as on the page where the exercise with various syllables is proposed, including “co, ca, cu”, the image of a horse(cavalo); the image of a Venetian gondola, on the page where “gu, go, ga” is taught. In any case, the teacher's intervention would always be necessary to establish these correlations, although no guidance in this regard appears in the *Syllabario*.

Figure 2 - The illustrations

Source: Jardim, 1878, p. 4, 5, 10, 11.

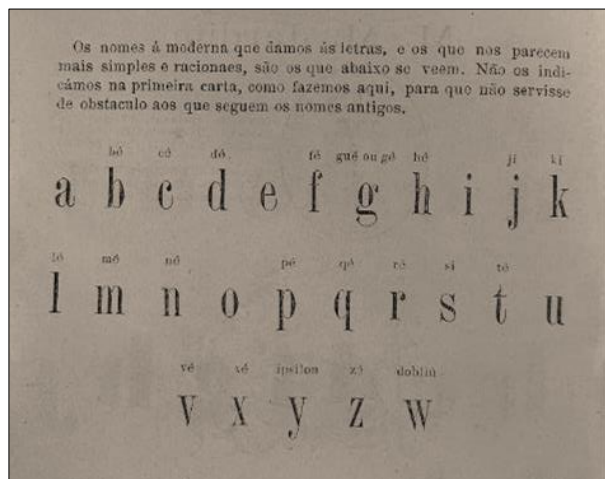
For a better understanding of the presence of illustrations in 19th century books, we used the chapter by Bittencourt (2004) entitled *Livros didáticos entre textos e imagens*. According to the author, the history of books intended for schooling bears the French mark in the illustrations:

The French presence in the production of Brazilian books occurred because we were based, for many years, on French curricular proposals, but also because of the relationship between Brazilian publishing houses and this country, with most national books being printed in Paris until the 1930s of this century (Bittencourt, 2004, p. 76).

In his research, Paulino (2019) states that throughout the 19th century there was an increase in textbooks in Brazil, mainly when incorporated by booksellers-publishers from Portugal and France with their machinery and production style, but also by authors who sought to have their works published directly in Europe. In the case of Miguel Maria Jardim, although the *Syllabario* was published in Rio de Janeiro, it is possible that he acquired the illustrations in Europe. There are no credits or authorship, but in one of the images of the *Syllabario* two words are shown written in French: *Plan* and *Geographie* (Jardim, 1878, p. 3).

The *Syllabario* begins with the presentation and identification of the letters by their names (figure 3). On this page, the author presents a prescription on how to teach and name letters: “The modern names that we give to letters, and those that seem to us to be the simplest and most rational, are those shown below. We did not indicate them in the first letter, as we do here, so that they would not serve as an obstacle to those who follow the old names” (Jardim, 1878, p. 2).

Figure 3 - The letters of the alphabet



Source: Jardim, 1878, p.2.

Between pages 3 and 8, the author presents vowels and consonants in lowercase, uppercase, italic, handwritten, round (shape) letters, in addition to proposing a comparative exercise of letters that are commonly confused in their appearance, such as a/s, b/d/, b/p, among many others (see the first image in Figure 2).

The author proposes guidelines for teachers on how to teach the “career” (Jardim, 1878, p. 8) of syllables through the vocalization of syllables aided by clapping, according to the diagram presented below:

Tap the sound of the first letter over the others.

So, for example, if we had to teach the career of *tê a, ta*: we would say:

Sounding with *tê* over a, makes *ta*.

Sounding with *tê* over e, makes *te*.

By tapping the letter t over the i, you make *ti*.

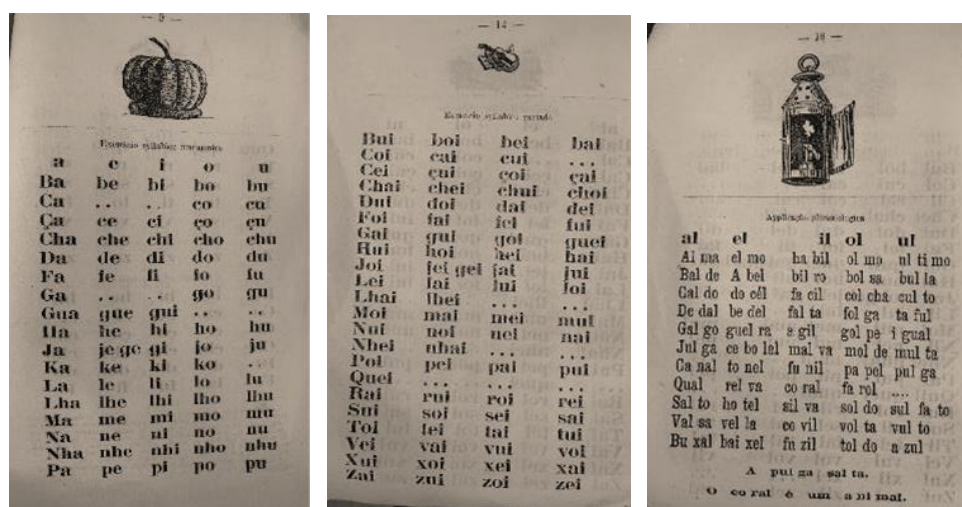
By tapping the letter t over the o, you make *to*.

By tapping the letter u, you make *tu*.

(Jardim, 1878, p. 8).

According to the author, this same procedure should be adopted to teach any letter, until “the child understands how to connect the sounds of two or more letters” (p. 8). Continuing, there are several combinations of syllables beginning with vowels in association with the letters “b, c, ç, ch, d, f, g, gu, h, j, k, l, lh, m, n, nh, p, qu, r, s, t, v, x, z”, ending with the presentation of syllabic families, such as “*bi, ba, be, bu, bo*”. All letters are presented in lowercase letters, and from this stage onwards the material is structured into three exercises (figure 4) that will be repeated throughout the book. The first, called *mnemonic syllabic exercise*, consists of presenting the syllables, which students should know very well before moving on to the next exercise. The second varied syllabic exercise consists of changing the sequence of syllables, which instead of always following the structure of consonant + a, consonant + e, consonant + i, consonant + o, consonant + u, inverts them, for example, “*bu, bo, bi, be, ba*”; “*na, nu, no, ni, ne*”. The third exercise is a *phraseological application* that consists of joining two known syllables that form a word. The syllables are presented in block letters, capital and lowercase letters separated from each other.

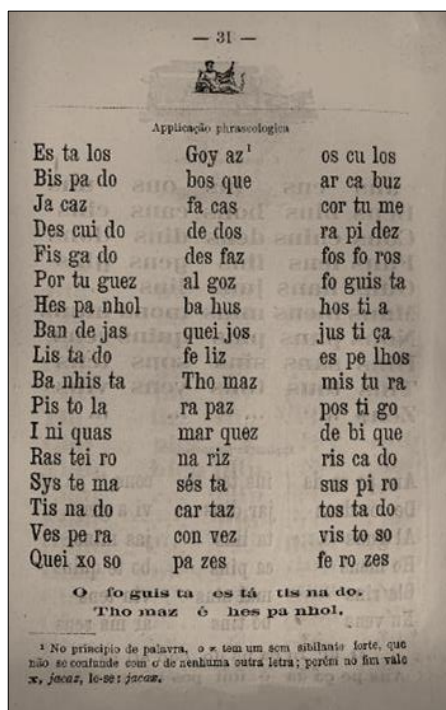
Figure 4 - Mnemonic syllabic exercise, varied syllabic exercise and phraseological application



Source: Jardim, 1878, p. 9, 14, 18.

Then, it presents the combination of syllables formed by vowel encounters with “*ai, ei, oi, ui*”; then, syllables formed from “*al, el, il, ol, ul*”. The structure remains the same, that is, mnemonic exercise, followed by varied syllabics and finally the phraseological application, now added with simple sentences: “*Beijeí papai. É quase noite*” (“I kissed daddy. It’s almost night!”) (Jardim, 1878, p. 15); “*a pulga salta. O coral é um animal*.” (“the flea jumps. The coral is an animal”) (Jardim, 1878, p. 18).

Continuing and following the same sequence of exercises, Jardim presents syllables composed of three letters, starting from “*am, em, im, om, um; an, en, in, on, un; ar, er, ir, or, ur; as, es, is, os, us; az, ez, iz, oz, uz*”. It is worth noting that in the application exercise there is a review of syllables learned previously (Figure 5).

Figure 5 - Phraseological application exercise

Source: Jardim, 1878, p. 31.

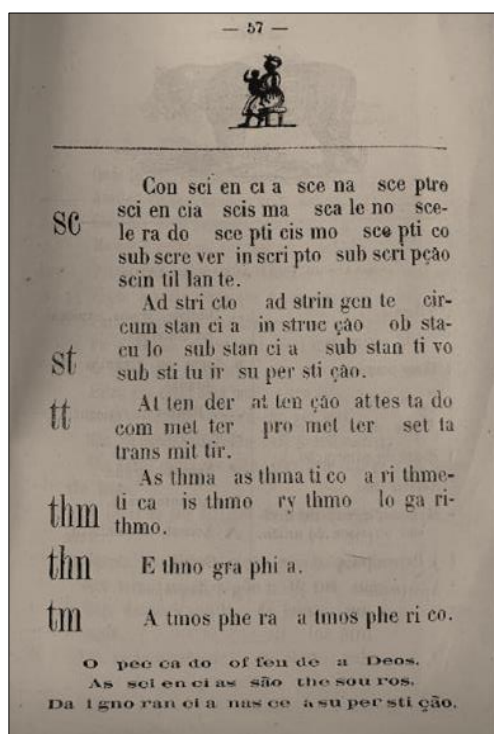
The following pages cover consonant clusters, such as ans, ens, ins, ons; clusters with *bl*, *cl*, *dl*, etc.; *br*, *cr*, *dr*, etc. with the formation of syllables composed of four letters, such as *bras*, *dral*, *frui*, *gram*, *trem*, *frar*, *gras*, *pris*. Although the sequence of exercises remains the same, the difficulty gradually increases, through an addition of words and phrases formed (Figure 6):

Figure 6 - Varied syllabic exercise

Source: Jardim, 1878, p. 41.

On the following pages, Jardim presents the use of *ph* (with the sound of *f*); *th* (with the sound of *t*); the oral diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *eu*, *ou*, *áo*, *eo*, *io*; the nasal diphthongs *âi*, *ão*; and the nasal vowel *ã*, making the phraseological application more complex. Between pages 52 and 58, Miguel Maria Jardim presents the doubled and compound consonants *bb*, *bd*, *cç*, *dd*, *dh*, *ff*, *gg*, *gm*, *gn*, *ll*, *mm*, *mn*, *nn*, *pp*, *pç*, *pn*, *os*, *pt*, *rr*, *rh*, *ss*, *sc*, *st*, *tt*, *thm*, *thn*, *tm*; and a section for punctuation and accentuation marks. Since they were left for the end, they were probably considered by the author to be more difficult to learn and memorize (Figure 7).

Figure 7 - Exercises with doubled and compound consonants



Source: Jardim, 1878, p. 57.

On the last pages, the author presents advice composed of longer sentences, after all, it was expected that the student, at this point, already knew how to write. The sentences are organized into five types of texts. The first is called Portuguese Adagios, that is, phrases from popular wisdom, such as “Each one reaps as he sows”, “You will not be loved if you only care for yourself” (Jardim, 1878, p. 59); the second is taken from one of the books of the Bible called Proverbs of Solomon, “A soft answer turns away anger; a harsh word stirs up wrath” (Jardim, 1878, p. 60); the third is Advice from the author to young readers: “Take slander and revenge in horror” (Jardim, 1878, p. 61); the fourth, called Maxims: “Laziness consumes life as rust consumes iron” (Jardim, 1878, p. 62); and finally, *Moral*: “Man must worship God, who created him; love, obey and respect his parents, who gave him life; pay attention to and consider his superiors, according to their merits and positions; venerate priests and old age...” (Jardim, 1878, p. 63).

Two comments are in order regarding the author’s precautions. The first, of a technical nature, is the author’s care in alternating the font in this final part of the *Syllabario*: upper and lower case, block letters, italics and cursive. And the second comment is of a formative nature, through his advice, even though it is named in five different ways, Miguel Maria Jardim seeks to mold his young reader into becoming a subject obedient to his parents, superiors, and here

we can include teachers and employers, civil and military authorities, because above all, this reader is expected to worship God, to seek in the Holy Scriptures, such as the book of Proverbs, teachings for his life. It does not go unnoticed that the image on the penultimate page is the symbol of Masonry, composed of the ruler, compass and Star of David. Would this be more advice for the newly qualified reader to be guided by thought and reasoning, always following straight and honest paths under the protection of God? Would this be an invitation to one day get to know Masonry? Would this be a way of showing his belonging to Masonry and, thus, being adopted by his “brothers” in the Masons? Or even an expression of recognition for the sponsorship received? (If it was).

Between new and renowned: some final considerations

Although widely disseminated by the author, through his donation strategies, the *Syllabario Escolar* is not considered a book with significant circulation. One indication is the 1898 São Paulo State Government *Registro de compras de materiais escolares*, which presents a list of authors with significant circulation from *Casa Alves e Companhia*, such as Köpke, Ribeiro, Galhardo and the Italian De Amicis.

Table 1- *Registro de compras de materiais escolares – 1889*

Author	Title	Quantity
João Köpke	<i>Primeiro Livro de Leitura</i>	460
João Köpke	<i>Segundo Livro de Leitura</i>	230
João Köpke	<i>Terceiro Livro de Leitura</i>	100
Hilário Ribeiro	<i>Cartilha Nacional</i>	24
Thomas Galhardo	<i>Cartilha da Infância</i>	100
Edmondo De Amicis	<i>Coração</i>	140

Source: *Registro de compras de materiais escolares*, 1889, APESP. E02150

Amâncio and Cardoso (2006) present a survey of primers that circulated in Mato Grosso between 1912 and 1932, highlighting the *Cartilha das Mães* and *Cartilha Analítica*, both by Arnaldo Barreto; the *Cartilha Nacional*, by Hilário Ribeiro; the *Cartilha Ensino-Rápido da Leitura* and *Nova Cartilha Analítico-Sitética*, both by Mariano de Oliveira; and the *Meu Livro*, by Theodoro de Moraes.

In a text entitled *A circulação de livros de leitura como cultura material escolar na institucionalização da escola primária: Maranhão, São Paulo and Sergipe na primeira metade do século XX*, Castellanos, Panizzolo and Freitas (2015) indicate that in Sergipe, at the beginning of the 20th century, the newspaper *Correio de Aracaju* (1908) reported the shipment of books produced by authors from São Paulo and other states, sold in Aracaju by *Livraria Brasileira*:

Livraria Brasileira has just received a varied assortment of books for primary education, all adopted in São Paulo and other states in the South. These are books that are well worthy of the purpose for which they are intended and the teacher will certainly not refuse them in his class. 1st, 2nd and 3rd Reading books by Arnaldo Barreto and R. Puiggari for \$1,500; \$2,000 and \$2,500; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Reading Books by João Cöpke (Rangel Pestana series) at 1\$500; 2\$000 (2nd and 3rd), 3\$000 and 4\$000; Exercise book by João Ribeiro,

organized to serve in the elementary course of the author's Portuguese Grammar, 1\$200; *Leitura Manuscrita*, by B.P.R, 1\$500; *Cartilha das Mães*, by Arnaldo Barretto (first letters, 1\$000); *Cartilha Infantil* by Arthur Thiré, \$500. *Arithmetica dos Principiantes*, by Arthur Thiré, 1\$500; *Geografia Elementar*, by Arthur Thiré, 2\$000; *Minha primeira viagem à volta ao mundo*, with 222 Engravings, translated by Carlos de Laet, easy to read and instructive, \$3,500. We also have an assortment of all the books for primary and secondary education adopted in this State. We offer large discounts to the Resellers. *Rua da Aurora*, 65 (Correio de Aracaju, 02/13/1908).

As for Maranhão, a decree published in 1911 determined the approved copies to be adopted in Maranhão schools, among them:

the *Cartilha Analytica*, by Arnaldo Barreto, for the initiation of reading in the first year; the 1st and 2nd *Livro de Leitura*, by João Köpke, for the second, and the 3rd *Livro de Leitura* (by the same author) and the 3^o *Livro* by Maria Guilhermina Loureiro de Andrade, for the third; for the fourth year, the 4^o *Livro*, by Felisberto Carvalho and the 4th Book, by Köpke; for the fifth, the *Florilégio Contemporâneo* (by this author) and the *Historia da America*, by Rocha Pombo; for the sixth year, the *Antologia Nacional*, by F. Barreto and Carlos Laet (Castellanos, Panizzolo, Freitas, 2015, p. 393-394) is recommended.

Although it deserves further study, it seems that Miguel Maria Jardim did not succeed in appearing on the list of the most widely used books in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to teach reading. The Jardim's *Syllabario* is an example of the synthetic method, whose organizational⁹ principle is the alphabetic method, which consisted of presenting minimal parts of writing, the letters of the alphabet, which, when joined together, formed the syllables that would give rise to words. According to Frade (2005), “learners should first memorize the alphabet, letter by letter, to find the parts that would form the syllable or other segment of the word” (p. 23) and only after a while would they come to understand that these syllables could be transformed into words. Another widely used feature was the spelling procedure, which generated exhaustive “singing” exercises, that is, singing with the names of the letters and their combinations, and repetitive training with possible combinations of letters in syllabaries.

The *Syllabario Escolar*, published in 1878, proposed exactly what was described above, at a time of fierce disputes between supporters of the then new method of teaching reading — based on word usage and represented by *João de Deus's Cartilha Maternal* — and supporters of the traditional synthetic methods, using spelling and syllabification, on

⁹ According to Frade (2005), “in synthetic methods, we have the election of differentiated organizational principles, which prioritize phonographic correspondences. This tendency includes the alphabetic method, which takes the letter as a unit; the phonic method, which takes the phoneme as a unit; the syllabic method, which takes a more easily pronounceable phonological segment as a unit, which is the syllable. The dispute over which unit of analysis to consider — the letter, the phoneme or the syllable — is what set the tone for the differentiations around phonographic correspondences. For this set of methods called synthetic, a distancing from the situation of use and meaning is proposed, in order to promote strategies for analyzing the writing system” (p. 22).

which, for example, the first primers produced by João Köpke¹⁰ are based, which appear on the lists as the most widely adopted.

The professor Miguel Maria Jardim, who dedicated most of his didactic production to teaching mathematics, when proposing the *Syllabario* probably faced a lot of resistance from supporters of the new method based on word usage to teach reading, which had been circulating in Brazil since the end of the 1870s, mainly in the provinces of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, as well as from those who appreciated the synthetic method, using spelling and syllabification, but who opted for renowned names such as João Köpke, Hilário Ribeiro and Thomaz Gualhardo.

The study of Miguel Maria Jardim's *Syllabario* allowed us to understand an aspect of the history of reading, writing and literacy that, beyond the classroom, points to strategies for institutionalizing schoolbooks, disseminating them and the making of a teacher-author, at the same time, inviting further deepening and developments.

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¹⁰ In this regard, see Panizzolo (2024) *O método rápido para aprender a ler* by João Köpke and the controversies surrounding spelling, syllabification and wording (1874-1879)

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