

ARTICLE

QUACKENBOS AS AN ANTIDOTE TO ORTIZ & PARDAL: THE TEACHING OF PORTUGUESE GRAMMAR IN RUY BARBOSA'S OPINION, 1882MIRIAN JORGE WARDE¹ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1119-6729>FERNANDO RODRIGUES DE OLIVEIRA²ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5609-550X>

ABSTRACT: The purpose of this article is to contribute to the already advanced research in Brazil regarding the intuitive method. We examine two books cited by Ruy Barbosa in his 1882 Opinion about primary education in the Municipality of Corte: *Illustrated lessons in our language; or how to speak and write correctly. Designed to teach English grammar, without technicalities*, by George Payn Quackenbos, recommended by Barbosa as an antidote to *Grammatica analytica e explicativa da língua portuguesa* (Analytical and explanatory grammar of the Portuguese language), by José Ortiz and Candido Pardal, in circulation in the 1870s and 1880s, especially in the elementary school of Rio de Janeiro. About *Grammatica analytica* (Analytical Grammar), we highlight its organization based on the concept of grammar as the art of writing and speaking well, which denotes its affiliation to the general and philosophical Greco-Latin model, therefore, its disagreement with the scientific renovation that was occurring in Linguistics in the 19th century. For contextualized presentation of the *Illustrated lessons...* - and considering that its author has not yet gained studies in Brazil on the teaching of grammar, composition and adjacent areas, and on the intuitive method -, the article situates this book in relation to Quackenbos' other publications, as well as his intellectual roots in the Scottish "enlightenment" and his declared adherence to the *object lessons*. Thus, we can verify that Ruy Barbosa's criticism against the linguistic conservatism present in the Court's Primary Instruction is reasonably consistent and up-to-date in relation to the most recent studies that provide the basis for new, so-called modern, pedagogical proposals.

Keywords: George Payn Quackenbos, intuitive method, Ruy Barbosa, grammar, Portuguese language.

QUACKENBOS COMO ANTÍDOTO A ORTIZ & PARDAL: O ENSINO DA GRAMÁTICA DA LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA NO PARECER DE RUY BARBOSA, 1882

RESUMO: O objetivo deste artigo é contribuir para as já avançadas pesquisas, no Brasil, referentes ao método intuitivo. São examinados dois livros citados por Ruy Barbosa em seu Parecer de 1882 sobre o ensino primário no Município da Corte: *Illustrated lessons in our language; or how to speak and write correctly. Designed to teach english grammar, without technicalities*, de George Payn Quackenbos, recomendado por Barbosa como antídoto a *Grammatica analytica e explicativa da língua portuguesa*, de José Ortiz e Candido Pardal, em circulação nos anos de 1870 e 1880, especialmente nas escolas primárias do Rio de Janeiro.

¹ Federal University of São Paulo, Guarulhos, SP, Brasil. <mjwarde@uol.com.br>

² Federal University of São Paulo, Guarulhos, SP, Brasil. <fer.tupa@gmail.com>

Sobre *Grammatica analytica*, destaca-se sua organização fundada no conceito de gramática como arte de escrever e falar bem, o que denota sua filiação ao modelo geral e filosófico greco-latino, portanto, seu descompasso em relação à renovação científica que vinha ocorrendo na Linguística no século XIX. Para apresentação contextualizada das *Illustrated lessons...* – e considerando que o seu autor ainda não ganhou estudos no Brasil sobre o ensino de gramática, composição e áreas adjacentes, e sobre o método intuitivo –, o artigo situa esse livro em relação às demais publicações de Quackenbos, bem como o seu enraizamento intelectual no “enlightenment” escocês e sua declarada adesão às lições de coisas (*object lessons*). Com isso, verifica-se em Ruy Barbosa um grau razoavelmente alto de consistência nas críticas que enceta contra o conservadorismo linguístico presente na Instrução Primária da Corte e sua atualidade em relação aos estudos então mais recentes que dão base a novas propostas pedagógicas, ditas modernas.

Palavras-chave: George Payn Quackenbos, método intuitivo, Ruy Barbosa, gramática, língua portuguesa.

QUACKENBOS COMO ANTÍDOTO A ORTIZ & PARDAL: LA ENSEÑANZA DE LA GRAMÁTICA DE LA LENGUA PORTUGUESA EN EL PARECER DE RUY BARBOSA, 1882

RESÚMEN: El objetivo de este artículo es contribuir para las ya avanzadas investigaciones en Brasil, referentes al método intuitivo. Se examinan dos libros citados por Ruy Barbosa en su Parecer de 1882 sobre la enseñanza primaria en el Municipio de la Corte: *Illustrated lessons in our language*, de George Payn Quackenbos, recomendado por Barbosa como antídoto a la *Grammatica analytica...*, de Ortiz y Pardal en circulación en los años de 1870 y 1880, especialmente en las escuelas primarias de Rio de Janeiro. Se destaca en *Grammatica analytica*, su organización fundada en el concepto de gramática como arte de escribir y hablar bien, lo que denota su proximidad al modelo general y filosófico grecolatino; por tanto, su descompaso en relación a la renovación científica que venía ocurriendo en la Linguística en el siglo XIX. Para la presentación contextualizada de las *Illustrated lessons...* – y considerando que su autor aún no ganó estudios en Brasil sobre la enseñanza de gramática, composición y áreas adyacentes, y sobre el método intuitivo –, el artículo situa ese libro en relación a las demás publicaciones de Quackenbos, bien como a su enraizamiento intelectual en el “enlightenment” escocés y su declarada adhesión a las lecciones de cosas (*object lessons*). Se verifica así en Ruy Barbosa, un grado razonablemente alto de consistencia en las críticas que enceta contra el conservadorismo linguístico presente en la Instrucción Primaria de la Corte y su actualidad en relación a los estudios entonces más recientes que dan base a nuevas propuestas pedagógicas dichas modernas.

Palabras clave: George Payn Quackenbos, método intuitivo, Ruy Barbosa, gramática, lengua portuguesa.

INTRODUCTION

In 1882, Ruy Barbosa, then a deputy and member of the Commission of Public Instruction, presented to the Chamber of Deputies of the Empire of Brazil two opinions, one on primary education and the other on secondary and higher education. With regard to the first opinion, which was about primary education in the Municipality of Corte, Ruy Barbosa divided it into 18 parts. The seventh part was dedicated to the "School Methods and Program", considered by Barbosa one of the most important pillars of the whole school reform (BARBOSA, 1883). The seventh part, in turn, was divided into 12 paragraphs, of which the fourth - "Object lessons. Intuitive method" - and the fifth - "Mother tongue. Grammar" - are the ones of interest here.

To deal with "Mother tongue", Barbosa cites approximately 32 authors and 40 titles in footnotes. In this part, there are many more references to what might be called "academic essays" or "scientific reports" than to work and observation reports. With this, Barbosa mobilizes a larger number of scholars who have gained, over time, the profile of "experts" on the subject.

As to the nationality of the authors, by birth or adoption, Barbosa refers to: 16 French; three Swiss, and an identical number of Belgians and Americans, as well as two Englishmen and one German³. George Payn Quackenbos is one of the three Americans in the notes to the fifth paragraph; his name and the title of his manual - *Illustrated lessons in our language; or how to speak and write correctly. Designed to teach English grammar, without technicalities* - appear in only two notes. Author and work could remain unnoticed were it not for the strategic place Ruy Barbosa gives them when dealing with the teaching of the mother tongue. Quackenbos' book is used to rebut *Grammatica analytica e explicativa da língua portuguesa* (1872), by José Ortiz and Candido Pardal, whose names, it should be noted, Barbosa does not even mention.

Ruy Barbosa points to the *Grammatica Analytica...*, by Ortiz and Pardal, as the "corpus delicti" of the errors they would be committing in the teaching of the mother tongue through grammar and indicates Quackenbos' *Illustrated lessons in our language...*, as the antidote.

The purpose of this article, in discussing the two books, is to add new elements to the studies already advanced in Brazil on the intuitive method, especially those of Valdemarin (2020; 2001; 2000a; 2000b; 1998) who, in many cases, refers to the opinions of Ruy Barbosa. The originality of this study falls especially on G. P. Quackenbos and his illustrated lessons, since the *Grammatica analytica...* or its authors have already been the object of research incorporated here to the extent appropriate (BORGES, 2014; 2008; LEMOS, 2011; 2006; MARTINEZ, 1998; TEIXEIRA, 2016; 2008; SCHUELER, 2009).

CONTROVERSIES SURROUNDING ORTIZ & PARDAL'S *GRAMMATICA ANALYTICA...*: RUY BARBOSA'S CRITICISM

Ruy Barbosa sees in foreign examples demonstrations of the "immense progress" that is being made in the teaching of native languages. In all of them, the traditional teaching of grammar to children was being criticized and, in some, the suppression of its teaching in primary schools was being recommended, reserving it for secondary schools. The abstract grammatical notions that were still being taught in Brazil would be out of the children's reach. Children should be taught only concrete grammatical notions and practical examples.

While this orientation was spreading among Europeans and North Americans, in Brazil, Barbosa is forced to confess "the routine is safe, nurtured, applauded, benefited by the education authorities" (BARBOSA, 1883, p. 172). The body of such an offense is *Grammatyca analytica...* which "with all its cleats and deletions of official approval" would be running "through the hands of children, from school to school" (BARBOSA, 1883, p. 172).

³ M. Bréal is by far the most quoted author. Adding the fourth and fifth paragraphs, he appears in 26 notes, without considering the times he is mentioned only in the body of the Opinion. Another article will be devoted to him.

In a note, Barbosa reports having consulted the 4th edition of this grammar, and despite the great fame that José Ortiz and Candido Matheus de Faria Pardal enjoyed beyond the circles closest to educational matters, their names are left out of the Opinion.

Studies give account of the success that Ortiz and Pardal would have obtained in their respective teaching careers, held not only contemporaneously, but also very close geographically, although nothing foreshadowed this closeness at the beginning of their adult lives.

José Ortiz was born in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul - at an unknown date - and died in Rio de Janeiro in 1880. Taught first letters in the village of Itapemirim, Espírito Santo, where he founded and directed a high school; Professor of French, History and Geography at the Liceu⁴ de Vitória; Professor of the Escola Normal⁵ de Vitória; later Professor of the Liceu Niterói in Rio de Janeiro; free teacher of languages and philosophy and author of textbooks⁶ (BLAKE, 1899; PIROLA, 2013).

Candido Matheus de Faria Pardal was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1818 and died there in 1888. He taught in various types of schools; he accounted for different subjects in primary, secondary, and professional education. Lemos (2006) highlights the drawing teaching at the Externato do Colégio Imperial de Pedro II⁷ since 1864, besides having taught primary school at Freguezia de Santa Rita. Once retired from these functions, he directed the schools of the municipality and wrote books for use in schools. There is also a record of intense associative activity between the 1870s and 1880s, including the signature of the Manifesto of the Court Teachers of 1871⁸; participation in the Pedagogical Conferences⁹; participation in higher bodies of public education, among which, member of the Board of Directors of the General Inspectorate of Primary and Secondary Education of the Court, in addition to many other activities on different social and political fronts (BLAKE, 1899; LEMOS, 2006; BORGES, 2014).

The partnership of Ortiz and Pardal in *Grammatica analytica...* would have been preceded by the work published in 1862, *Novo systema de estudar a grammatica portugueza por meio da memoria, intelligência e analyse, ajudar-se mutuamente* (New system to study Portuguese grammar by means of memory, intelligence and analysis, helping each other), released by Typography of Pedro Antonio D'Azeredo, Vitória - but there is controversy about this dual authorship¹⁰.

⁴ Liceu was an equivalent to high school; that school existed in the city of Vitória, actual capital of Espírito Santo state.

⁵ Escola Normal was the teacher training school, in high school level.

⁶ Although in the biographies of Ortiz and Pardal it is stated that both were authors of "didactic books", we found besides *Grammatica analytica...* only two other titles: *Novo systema de estudar a grammatica portugueza por meio da memoria, intelligência e analyse, ajudar-se mutuamente* (New system to study Portuguese grammar by means of memory, intelligence and analysis, helping each other), whose authorship will be commented later on; and by Candido Pardal and Luiz Antonio Vieira de Barros e Vasconcellos, *New Syllabary*.

⁷ The Colégio Pedro II was the model high school at Rio de Janeiro, the Imperial Capital, since 1834. The externato was the "day school". It is still in activity nowadays.

⁸ "The complex picture of primary education [in the Municipality of the Court] was denounced in 1871, by the Manifesto of the Public Teachers of Primary Education of the Court addressed to the Emperor and the Minister of the Empire, in which they pointed out the precarious situation in which they worked, accusing the government of damaging the fight against ignorance and requiring the recognition of the role of teaching in the work of civilization. In 1872, in the middle of this movement, intending to know and control the movement of the teaching, the government organized the special instructions to regulate the execution of the Pedagogical Conferences" (BORGES, 2008, p. 102). Candido Pardal was one of its signatories. Other authors have examined the aforementioned Manifesto and Pardal's participation in its elaboration, such as Martinez (1998), mentioned above; Lemos (2006; 2011); Borges (2014) Teixeira (2016).

⁹ The pedagogical conferences were foreseen by Decree n. 1331, art. 76, of February 17th 1854, of the so-called Couto Ferraz Reform, aimed at primary and secondary education in the Municipality of Corte. However, they were only carried out in 1872, whose Regulation of the same date established that: "all public teachers of elementary school of the Municipality of the Court, will be summoned eight days in advance by the General Inspectorate of Public Instruction, to meet during the Easter vacations and in the month of December, in order to confer on all points of interest: internal regime of schools; teaching methods; system of rewards and punishments for students, exposing the observations that they have gathered from their practice and from the readings of the works they have consulted" (BASTOS, 2003, p. 2). The authors cited in the previous note also examine the pedagogical conferences held in Rio de Janeiro in 1873.

¹⁰ The authorship of this 1862 book is recorded in two ways; some works present Ortiz and Pardal as coauthors and others indicate Ortiz as sole author. An example of the proposition of co-authorship is found in Castilho (1962) and Polachini (2013; 2018). In Pirola's (2013, p. 107) thesis, there is a photograph of the 1862 book cover and in it Ortiz appears alone. Pirola (2013) and Polachini (2018) provide detailed analyses of this book.

Grammatyca analytica... was published for the first time in 1871, in Rio de Janeiro, by Typ. Universal Laemmert. In 1872, in an ordinary session on August 3, the Board of Directors of the Inspectorate General of Primary and Secondary Education of the Court was concerned with the "critical judgment" of the examiners of *Grammatyca analytica...*, in order to point out "the slight defects that it generally recognized to exist in the compendium, in order to be expurgated from them, when printed for the use of students in public primary schools." (BRASIL, 1872, p. 62).

After notifying the authors of the necessity of these adjustments and having them accepted to adapt the referred grammar, in session of September 24th 1872, the Directive Council of the General Inspectorate of Primary and Secondary Education of the Court approved the grammar of Ortiz and Pardal, with the determination that it would substitute the grammar of Cyrillo Dilermando da Silveira (BRASIL, 1872). In view of this process, *Grammática analytica...* had its 2nd revised edition published in 1873, by Livraria Nicolau Alves, being immediately supplied in this re-edition to the elementary school of the Court through a contract signed between the General Inspectorate of Primary and Secondary Education of the Court and the authors. After the 2nd edition, the 3rd edition was published in 1876, the 5th edition in 1884, and the 6th edition in 1888, all by Nicolau Alves/Alves e Cia Editores, all with reformulations and extensions¹¹.

Printed in hardcover, small format, with pages varying between 100 and 150, according to the edition, *Grammática analytica...* starts from the definition that grammar is the "art of speaking and writing correctly", subdividing the study of this "art" into four parts: "etymology"; "syntax"; "spelling"; and "prosody".

The first part, the study of "etymology", focuses on the knowledge and classification of words, defined as "the expression of an idea, represented to the ear by one or more sounds, and to the eye by one or more letters, forming syllables" (ORTIZ; PARDAL, 1884, p. 3)¹².

In classifying words as to their formation - primitive or derived by affixes -, it is clarified that they can be divided as to their nature into ten "species" or "parts of the sentence," namely, "the noun or name, the article, the adjective, the pronoun, the verb, the participle, the adverb, the preposition, the conjunction, and the interjection." (ORTIZ; PARDAL, 1884, p. 4). The first six types are classified as variable, because "they change their ending," and the final four types as invariable, "because they never change their ending."

Through this explanation, the definitions, characteristics, variations (only for variables), properties and forms of classification of each of the "word types" are presented, and the general rules for understanding them are clarified. At the end of this explanation, which occupies most of the compendium (about three quarters of the text), 28 exercises of "grammatical analysis" and "logical analysis" are presented, which indicate a progressive process of complexity regarding the possibilities of sentence construction according to the types of verbs - "nouns", "virtuous", "impersonal" or "unipersonal" -.

The "grammatical analysis" consists in the identification of each type of word used in a given sentence, therefore, it corresponds to the classification of them in relation to their grammatical value. The "logical analysis" consists in the definition of the words according to the function they exercise within the sentence, focusing on the identification of subject, verb, attributes and complements.

Still with regard to the "grammatical and logical analysis" exercises, it is worth noting that the sentences used have a moral and religious connotation, in line with the model of elementary education established since 1854. Sentences are analyzed, such as: "God is just"; "To glory in a fault is to aggravate it"; "Cain killed Abel or the Abel"; "Eat with moderation"; "I repent of sin"; "Peter is the most modest of men". Thus, associated with grammar teaching, there is a kind of reinforcement of teachings aimed at Christian moral and religious formation, with direct reference to biblical content.

After the presentation of the "etymology" exercises, the second part of Ortiz and Pardal's compendium begins, this one destined to the "syntax".

¹¹ No information was located about the 4th edition.

¹² As it was not possible to access the 1st edition, the oldest edition available was consulted: 5th edition, from 1884.

The "syntax" is defined as "the part of *Grammatica* that teaches how to compose the sentence and the grammatical period," this period being understood as "the meeting of words that will form one or more sentences having a perfect sense and ending with a period." (ORTIZ; PARDAL, 1884, p. 107). In the study of "syntax" the simple period and compound period clauses are explored, in order to proceed to the definition and characterization of each of them. In view of this, the concepts of "subject", "complement", "attribute", "apposition", and "vocative" are presented. Elements of "natural" and "figurative" agreement and regency are also exposed, as well as vices of language. After the concepts of "syntax", some models of "syntax and logic analysis" are presented.

The third part, concerning "orthography", develops the part of the grammar that is intended to teach how to write words, making correct use of letters, punctuation marks and accents. In view of this, the spelling rules, rules for the use of capital letters, rules for separating syllables, figures of speech, the use of punctuation and accents are presented.

In the fourth and last part, "prosody" is addressed, defined as "the part of grammar that teaches how to pronounce words well." For this, aspects concerning the sound value of syllables are explored, in order to teach the counting and identification of the value they have in poetic texts.

With this content, *Grammática analítica* ... is finished, without presenting specific exercises for the last two parts. There are only a few examples in reference to the concepts explored about "orthography" and "prosody". In the consulted edition, and the same should be true of the others, no illustration appears.

Therefore, there is nothing to indicate that *Grammatica analítica*... presented any significant innovation in comparison to the grammars that had been adopted in the past. It was far from incorporating central precepts that then characterized, in Brazil, the first steps towards the Pestalozzian method, the intuitive one, and its analytical expression in the scope of elementary knowledge - reading, writing and counting¹³. Perhaps not even in relation to the rejected grammar of Cyrillo Dilermando da Silveira, replaced probably because he was already deceased at the time and had no representative to defend it¹⁴. On the other hand, Ortiz and Pardal enjoyed political and social prestige. In Pardal's case, it was more than prestige, since he held positions of power that allowed him to decide which textbooks schools should use in the Municipality of Corte.

Having been adopted even before its approval by the Board of Directors of the General Inspectorate of Primary and Secondary Education of the Court, the *Grammatica analítica* received an early evaluation of its adjustment and acceptability and for the elementary primary education of the Court during the Pedagogical Conferences held in 1873 (BRASIL, 1873). However, in the report on "Teaching Compendiums and Materials", by Antonio Felix Martins, General Inspector of Primary and Secondary Instruction of the Municipality of the Court, prepared at the end of 1872 and presented to the Councilor General Inspector of Primary and Secondary Instruction in 1874, another evaluation is recorded.

When explaining the importance of verifying the compliance with the legislation in force about the use of books and compendiums at Court, it is stated in this report that Ortiz and Pardal's compendium, as also highlighted by Teixeira (2008), was the target of complaints from teachers, because it was understood to be too extensive:

The compendium adopted is that of teachers Dr. Ortiz and Pardal. Part of the primary teaching staff is against the book, considering that it is too extensive and that it should be reserved for

¹³ Valente (2015), examining methods for teaching mathematics in the primary school from 1890-1930, verified two variants of the intuitive method: the intuitive-synthetic and the intuitive-analytical. It is worth checking them in relation to the teaching of reading and writing.

¹⁴ "Cyrilo (Cyrillo) Dilermando da Silveira - Born in Icó, son of Manoel Dilermando Paz. Employee of the Provincial Treasury. He taught in the provinces of Espírito Santo and Rio de Janeiro. He founded a college in Valença (RJ). Served in the Reception of the Neutral Municipality. He published: *Collection of transcripts offered for the use of Brazilian youth*; *Compendium of grammars of the Portuguese language for the first age* (1855; work adopted by the Conselho da Instrução Pública); *Exercises of lexicographical or grammatical analysis and syntactical or logical analysis* (1970). He died in Rio de Janeiro". Accessed on 24/11/2020: http://portal.ceara.pro.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1864&catid=293&Itemid=101.

the 7th and 8th grades, preferring Cyrillo's and Polycarpo's grammars for the lower ones. (MARTINS, 1874, p. 49).

In this context, regarding specifically the teaching of grammar, the commission affirmed in its report that this had been "the most repulsive study" when it should have been one of the most "lively and pleasant" (MARTINS, 1874, p. 43). Thus, although the teaching of grammar was understood as one of the most competitive for the development of intelligence, the commission evaluated that the school did it purely by memorizing definitions and rules, without explanations that would break with the "monotony of sterile recitation". The commission adds in its report that: "To study like this is not learning, to accumulate precepts without application is to overload the memory without any benefit. This study needs a complete reform, especially in girls' schools where, so to speak, it does not exist". (MARTINS, 1874, p. 43).

In view of these aspects, the commission evaluated that much of the inadequacy of grammar teaching was related to the different norms related to this subject, since the decree of 1854 established teaching limited to the "essential notions"; the internal school regiment fixed the "grammatical analysis" and the subject distribution table indicated the "logical and grammatical analysis" (MARTINS, 1874, p. 43). In view of this "confusion", the commission positioned itself in favor of the provisions of the 1854 decree, understanding that

The elementary school does not have for mission to teach and to devastate grammatical difficulties; its object is limited to make the boys speak, with due correction, which is obtained, not by means of analyses and complicated rules, but by practical means, and simple definitions and rules, which the boys, being well directed, will arrive to formulate, by themselves. (MARTINS, 1874, p. 44).

In conclusion, the commission presented recommendations on how the teaching of grammar should be conducted in all schools of the Court, emphasizing that its basis should be reading, as a way to focus the study of the "parts of speech":

Reading can serve as a basis for the study of grammar: After reading a passage and explaining it properly, the teacher will call the attention of the students to the various parts of speech contained in this passage, and will show the function of each one; then he will make the application that his experience and knowledge indicate, and will end the lesson by making the students expound, one by one, the subject they have just read, taking the opportunity to correct any defects in diction, grammar, and construction that they may have committed. (MARTINS, 1874, p. 44).

Newspapers also welcomed criticism to *Grammatica analytica...* by Ortiz and Pardal. "A Província"/The Province - organ of the Liberal Party, from Recife, reserved space between July and August 1874, in four editions, for Albino de Meira's criticism of the grammar. According to Borges (2014)¹⁵, Albino de Meira was a teacher of "national language" in a prestigious public school in the capital of Pernambuco. His criticism begins with the principle by which Ortiz and Pardal conduct their lessons:

They say, ladies and gentleman, that grammar is the art of speaking and writing correctly. This definition is bad, because it overly restricts the defined object, reducing grammar to its practice, to a gross materiality, stripping it of its philosophical and scientific side [...] (MEIRA apud BORGES, 2014, p. 263).

Borges (2014) completes on the same page:

¹⁵ Borges (2014) tracked news about Pardal in 400 19th-century periodicals digitized by the National Library Journal, covering the period from 1837 to 1893. In them were found criticisms, praises, recommendations, advertisements, and satires on Pardal and his grammarian

This first sentence was enough to yield subject matter for Albino de Meira's entire first article, which occupied three columns of the periodical. The professor also made severe criticisms to the method used to approach the topics and the definitions presented, commenting each disagreement thoroughly, as well as making indirect condemnations to the inspectorate that approved the grammar. Albino mainly presents issues concerning the way of conceptualizing that he considers imprecise, superficial or incomplete (BORGES, 2014, p. 263).

Despite the criticism, *Grammatica analytica...* remained in use at least until the end of the 1880s, when its 6th revised and expanded edition was published with the seal: " Adopted by the General Inspectorate of Public Instruction, with the approval of the imperial government, for the compendium of primary schools " of the Court Municipality¹⁶.

Thus, Ruy Barbosa's criticisms of the grammar in question were preceded by these and many others scattered in official documents and in the widely circulated press. In Barbosa's analysis of the need to reform the language teaching at the Court in face of the "immense progress" resulting from the intuitive orientation at the end of the 19th century, this author emphasizes that a situation of shame was identified in the schools of Rio de Janeiro, "applauded", "benefited" and "honored" by the authorities.

The body of this "offense", according to him, was found in the use of *Grammatica analytica ...*, since this book, while committing the "old sin" of associating grammar to the art of speaking and writing well, did so by means of a characteristic trait of the "old pedagogy", namely: the disconnection between reality and the correct forms of saying and writing.

Barbosa explains that Ortiz and Pardal's grammar had as a funding, a teaching based on the definition of rules and concepts in a synthesis form, in order to "deviate" the study of the language from the facts that constituted its plot. For him, this book disregarded the "absolute origin" of all grammar, turning its study into an "extrinsic", "formalistic" and "conventional" activity of already established texts.

Barbosa asserts that, at the time, modern philology was against this tendency, refraining from the "erroneous" concerns and the "useless" way of understanding grammar as an "art" of writing and speaking well. For this reason, when analyzing the way *Grammatica analytica...* systematized its contents, Barbosa characterizes it as a "ticket" of "enigmatic locutions" that "baffles" and "stifles" the childish spirit. For him, this grammar produced a "radical tyranny" against children's intelligence, resulting in "mental apathy", "imbecility" and "cretinism" for the new generations.

In addition to these aspects, Ruy Barbosa adds that Ortiz and Pardal's grammar was full of "pitiful symptoms" of an "unfortunate" "metaphysical" concern, centered in "monotonous" and "useless" classifications, indicating grammatical operations without any usefulness or sense for a child. With that, the then deputy concludes that *Grammatica analytica...* consisted of a:

[...] useless chaff that is worked by exhausting the intelligence of the boy, subjected by this inept pedagogy to a symptomatic regime of mental fatigue, through an inextricable haze of rules and enumerations, which the spirit will reject of itself with aversion, only age will free it from the violence of the school. (BARBOSA, 1883, p. 175).

AN EXAMPLE OF THE INTUITIVE METHOD: *ILLUSTRATED LESSONS IN OUR LANGUAGE...*, BY QUACKENBOS

Once the mistakes of Ortiz and Pardal's grammar had been exposed, Quackenbos' "precious little book", *Illustrated lessons in our language; or how to speak and write correctly. Designed to teach English grammar, without technicalities*, is presented by Ruy Barbosa as an eloquent example of the use of intuition as the essential basis of all teaching.

¹⁶ Borges (2014) found in the examined periodicals 480 references to Pardal; few mention *Grammatica analytica...* and its adoption in other provinces: in São Paulo it was adopted in the College of Our Lady Mother of Men and in the Boarding School of São João de Ypanema (Paulistano Mail, 11/06/1878) and in Goiás in the Normal School (Paulistano Mail of Goyaz, 3/5/1884). References to Ortiz and Pardal's grammar were found in the catalogs of bookstores in Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, Ceará and two in Rio de Janeiro between 1876 and 1889, which suggests that there was a demand for the title in these places.

It is by *exercising* the language, that he [the student] will prepare himself, to deduce the theory of its laws. Of the application of this process, we have before us an example in the illustrated lessons of language, by Quackenbos [sic], designed to teach grammar by the objective method [note for the *Illustrated lessons...*]. This precious American booklet avoids "the formidable legion of inflections and conjugations [note to quote at length from B. Berger, *L'enseignement ...*], divisions and subdivisions and exceptions [note to an equally long quotation from M. Bréal, *Mélanges de...*] which *d'earlier* was deemed indispensable, and constantly seeks from the beginning to familiarize the disciple with the use of language as an everyday reality of first importance, not as a compound of theoretical abstractions; replaces the arid routine of verbal regency, with its endless circle of definitions and rules, by a series of oral and written exercises, inductively teaching the art of expressing thought, and substantially develops the whole course by simple *lessons of things*" [note to *Illustrated lessons.* , p. 3] (BARBOSA, 1883, p. 176).

The edition cited by Barbosa (1883) of *Illustrated lessons ...* is from 1880, but its release was in 1876. The "little book" obtained eight editions by 1888 by D. Appleton & Company, which edited practically all the books by G. P. Quackenbos¹⁷.

George Payn Quackenbos was born in 1826 in New York City and died in 1881 in the same city. He received his Bachelor's degree from Columbia College in 1843 and his Master's degree from Columbia College in 1864. He taught at the Collegiate School in New York City. He founded a school. He earned a Doctor of Laws degree from Wesleyan University in 1863. Until 1868, he maintained teaching activities. Throughout his professional life he contributed to several academic journals and for two years (1848-1850) edited the *Literary American* magazine. He gained notoriety as an author of books of diverse nature, mainly didactic, including grammar, history, rhetoric, natural philosophy and arithmetic series¹⁸ (THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION, 1900; WELSCH, 1994).

By the time *Illustrated lessons...* was released, Quackenbos had already published 16 other teaching titles, as well as a novelette - as he called the booklet of "crime and mystery" (1846) - a book of short stories (1855), and a poem (1872). His name was also already circulating outside the United States, as evidenced by the publication in 1874, by an Athens publisher, of *History of the United States of America*. He subsequently published three more didactic books, in addition to the reissues/ reprints¹⁹ that followed for years and the new foreign language publications, such as *History of the United States*, published about 1888 by a Tokyo publisher²⁰.

Illustrated lessons..., the author's last textbook on the subject, this time for children, was preceded by five didactics on composition, rhetoric and grammar, and a dictionary of English and French²¹ pronunciation, intended for high school and college students. Over time, he also published, in English, six didactics on history - in addition to the translations already mentioned; one on natural history - with international circulation - and six on arithmetic.

Except for the illustrations - central to the intuitive method as disseminated in the United States - one does not find in *Illustrated lessons...* innovative features that were not already present in his five previous books on composition, grammar, and rhetoric. They were the first two - *First lessons in composition, in which the principles of the art are developed in connection with the principles of grammar; embracing full directions on the subject of punctuation; with copious exercises (1851)* and *Advanced course of composition and rhetoric: a series of practical*

¹⁷ In 2016, the book was reissued as a "classic" by Wentworth Press.

¹⁸ In the rare biographies of Quackenbos, it is stated that his books on Arithmetic "were prepared upon the basis of the works of George R. Perkins [...], Doctor of Laws, and published by [...] D. Appleton & Co, of New York" (THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION, 1900, p. 787). On The Online Book Page there is an almost complete list of titles published by Quackenbos, as well as their reissues. There are current reissues of some of his books, especially Arithmetic. In Japan he is still in circulation with publications for that discipline.

¹⁹ In the US editions it is not easy to discriminate the reprint from the reprint.

²⁰ There are many references to the circulation of GPQ textbooks in Japan (NISHIHIRA, 1972; HANE, 1957).

²¹ Of all the titles intended for schools, or which were, in time, adopted in schools, none surpassed in reissues the dictionary, co-authored by A. Spiers and Gabriel Surm, *Spiers and Surene's French and English pronouncing dictionary: newly composed from the French dictionaries of the French Academy, Laveaux, Boiste, Bescherelle, Landais, etc., and from the English dictionaries of Johnson, Webster, Worcester, Richardson, etc.* issued about 1852 and republished continuously at least until 1912. Later editions have been found, but in discontinuity.

lessons on the origin, history, and peculiarities of the English language. ...Adapted to self-instruction, and the use of schools and colleges (1854/1864) - which produced the greatest impact reflected immediately in the wide adoption in schools and colleges and, consequently, in subsequent reissues. Their mediate repercussions can be gauged by the many scholarly works devoted to analyzing them to the present day²². Like the first two books mentioned above, the 1876 book was reissued many times - according to Schultz (1999), there were 40 -, but, unlike them, *illustrated lessons...* has so far received little attention from scholars.

In the Preface, from 1876, the author presents *Illustrated lessons...* as "the result of an earnest effort to teach young children" (QUACKENBOS, 1876, p. 3). Young children, but not beginners. The audience to which this booklet is dedicated is children who, in principle, already knew how to read and write. In other words, it is not a "primer" or a "speller". It consists of 90 lessons, averaging two pages each. Despite the title of the book, only 12 lessons are illustrated. The lessons are always accompanied by exercises. At the end of the booklet is a complete alphabetical index of the subjects treated, which, according to the author, would dispense with a summary.

The author's main objective is to teach the student "in a natural and common-sense way", in an intelligent and practical way, to speak and write correctly according to the principles of English grammar but eliminating its "technicalities". For this reason, it leaves aside the endless "inflections and conjugations, divisions and subdivisions, observations and exceptions", seeking from "the very outset to familiarize the learner with the use of language as an every-day reality of prime importance - not as a mere theoretical abstraction". With this purpose in mind, assures the author still in the Preface, to replace "the dry routine of verbal parsing, with its endless round of definitions and rules, a variety of oral and written exercises teaching the art of expression inductively" (QUACKENBOS, 1876, p.3).

Therein lies a key to understanding Quackenbos' proposal: the use of induction as the logical principle of the teaching method. On the other hand, he proposes to "do away with rote-learning and make the language-lesson a vehicle for valuable mental discipline" (QUACKENBOS, 1876, p.3).

As for his adherence to inductive teaching, Quackenbos soon gives a name to the method he adopts: **Object-lessons**. Therefore, for him, in his method induction and intuition are combined. The booklet offers the "correct models"; the teacher writes them on the blackboard; the students think about them and discuss them. The teacher takes care not to divert attention from the essentials by asking the students questions, thus leading them to reach their own conclusions. The exercises are repeated so as to ensure memorization. "Pictorial illustrations from new designs made expressly for the work aid in this object-treatment of the subject, and will prove [...], not less useful than attractive" (QUACKENBOS, 1876, p. 3).

The emphasis on illustrations as much as on the exercises, extensive and varied, prove, according to the author, his interest in turning a study, of "proverbial dryness", into an activity within the student's reach and at the same time pleasant (QUACKENBOS, 1876, p. 3). The exercises perform yet another function: they are the ones that mark the continuity of the stages: the next lesson can only be started when the previous text has been perfectly understood; no new lesson should be started until the previous one has been mastered.

Quackenbos also offers a parameter for the position of his *Illustrated lessons...* among the didactics that began, at the time, to be sold in profusion in the United States: it is not part of a series; it is a book "complete in itself"; everything needed for learning grammar is there, considering who it is

²² Studies of Quackenbos' history and natural history textbooks are also found, but to a lesser extent (BECHTEL, 1968). From the *Illustrated lessons...* many advertisements and reviews were located. By way of illustration: "The author has written a very simple book to instruct children in a very simple way in the use of language. The lessons are inductive and progressive, and leave out of sight all forms of inflections and conjugations, rules and exceptions. It might have been as well, perhaps, to have placed the rule, the statement, the inference, or the conclusion at the close of each lesson for the pupil to memorize, but the author, probably remembering the hard memory toils of his own boyhood, has seen fit kindly to spare weary hours and worthless efforts to the children. We hope he has not made a mistake in the other extreme. Memory must be exercised, and if it is not made a beast of burden will do the child an infinite deal of good service. The theory of this little book is good, and now if practical teachers will tell us its value in the classroom, we shall gladly hear what they have to say." (NEW ENGLAND JOURNAL OF EDUCATION, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 60, August 12, 1876). Schultz (1999) is one of the few authors who examines *Illustrated lessons...* among Quackenbos' books concerning the subject.

intended for and a teacher who is intelligent in its handling. Everything one needs for learning the English language, "the leading principles of good style, oral criticism, business correspondence with a variety of mercantile forms, and especially *the means of securing fluency of expression*, receive careful attention." (QUACKENBOS, 1876, p. 4. Italics in the original). But even if it is intended to be used in a series,

these Lessons will be found a fitting introduction, as they cover a much wider field than is usually embraced in the Elementary Grammars, and, dealing with no controverted points, are adapted to any system the teacher may prefer. It is believed that they will teach more grammar than these Elementary text-books, for which they are offered as a substitute, and do it more thoroughly and easily. (QUACKENBOS, 1876, p. 4)

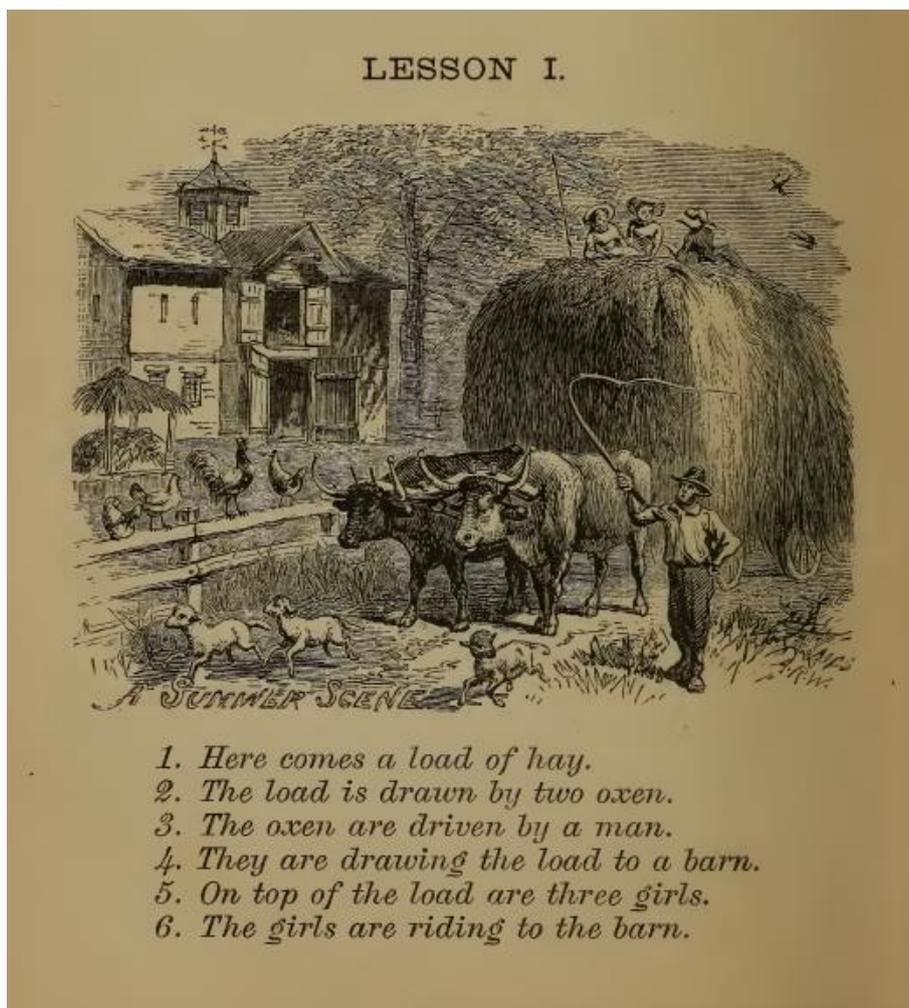
Before the first lesson, Quackenbos introduces a preliminary, Lessons in Our Language, in which he establishes connections between thought, word, sentence, the means of expressing them - written and oral - and, finally, exercises. This preliminary has no illustration. Although long, the quotation is necessary:

We all know how to talk. We talk in order to express some **Thought** that is in our minds. We express thoughts with **Words**. Each word means something. By putting words together, we can make them express any thought we wish. When a child begins to speak, it uses single words. But it soon learns to put two or three words together - then more - and thus it forms **Sentences**. We can form *sentences without speaking a word*. When Captain John Smith was taken prisoner by the Indians, soon after Virginia was settled, he told them that, if they would agree to release him, they should find in a day or two, in a certain place in the woods, a number of articles which he named. On going there at the appointed time, they found just what he had promised; and taking him for a great magician, they let him go. But he was no magician. He did no more than any of us could do. He had managed to send a letter to his friends, telling them what he had promised, and they distributed things around. Thinking that he had not spoken to his friends, he had expressed his thoughts to them. Thoughts, therefore, can be expressed both by writing and by speaking. When we speak or write our thoughts, we must use words correctly. How to do this, we will learn. (QUACKENBOS, 1876, p. 5. Italics in the original)

Following are the questions to guide the exercises:

Questions.—Why do people talk ? When did you learn to talk ? How did you learn to talk ? What do you use, to express your thoughts ? Besides talking, what other way is there of expressing thoughts ? Of what three letters is the written word *far* made up ? Give the sound of each of these letters. Of what three sounds is the spoken word *far* made up ? Of what is a written word made up ? Of what is a spoken word made up ? What do letters represent ? What do words express ? What are made up of words ? Do you ever hear sentences used, and when ? Do you ever read sentences, and when ? What are we going to (QUACKENBOS, 1876, p. 6. Italics in the original)

On the following pages, lesson 1 with illustration (takes up pages 6 and 7). Like the others, this one has no title.



Single Figure: Illustration of Lesson I from the book *Illustrated lessons...* by G. P. Quackenbos, 1876.

Source: Quackenbos, 1876, p. 6.

Induction and mental discipline. Quackenbos adopts the method that leads students to formulate a concept, a category, a general idea from particular cases. His starting point is experience, "contact" with things and "relationship" with people. He embraces the understanding that experience does not "deliver" to the intellect fragments of reality, but reality already reasonably "codified" by intuition. We will come back to this topic later on.

As for mental discipline, he apparently does not refer in a strict sense to the "theory of mental discipline" whose roots would be in Christian Wolff's deductive rationalism, which affirmed the mind as a set of hierarchical faculties. Although he does not explain his understanding in detail, everything indicates that for him "mental discipline" referred specifically to persistent exercises that could improve abilities such as speech, calculation, and particularly memory and attention. This, after all, was how, in everyday school life, most teachers translated this theory into classroom use²³.

Quackenbos was neither rationalist nor deductive in a strict sense. The studies about him as the author of textbooks on rhetoric, composition and grammar - later summarized in a single expression: English - place him at the convergence of other philosophical strands. Quackenbos would have brought together in himself both elements of the so-called "new rhetoric" and elements of Pestalozzian pedagogy - expressed particularly through his adherence to the lessons of things. Quackenbos would have

²³ This understanding of the "mental discipline" to which Quackenbos refers can be refined in his earlier works in which he is more explicit on the subject (WELSCH, 1994).

accomplished this synthesis in a peculiar, one might say innovative way, and would thus have opened the way for other didactics of these and other subjects based on the same methodology.

The *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition* confirms Quackenbos' affiliation to the New Rhetoric²⁴, particularly to George Campbell.

As an educator and author of educational works focusing on composition, rhetoric, and grammar, Quackenbos would have stood out for his manifest ability in the mid-nineteenth century to offer more practical applications of highly theoretical but widely disseminated New Rhetoric ideas [...] While many of his contemporaries strove to create American versions of these highly influential imports from Britain, Quackenbos synthesized the most prominent features of New Rhetoric, presenting them in decidedly practical terms. The result - the *Advanced Course of Composition and Rhetoric* (originally published in 1854) - was a rhetoric that approached the process of composition based on Campbell's college psychology and, in doing so, treated the process of invention as composed primarily of selection and "careful, deliberate, and concentrated thought."

Quackenbos was among the first composition textbook authors to attenuate the selection process by providing lists of subjects (topics) for composition. Quackenbos' notion of "thought" most clearly demonstrates the epistemology of New Rhetoric by the way it appears to be only a filter for the phenomenon: "This is an analysis of the subject, or a drawing of the various heads that suggest themselves to the mind as appropriate to the subject of the discourse." Quackenbos signaled the practical nature of his book by including an exhaustive section on grammar, a subject typically ignored in the more abstract treatises on rhetoric. At the same time, he nodded in the direction of Hugh Blair and the beletrist tradition by including lengthy discussions of taste, sublime, and prosody.

Some scholars have suggested that Quackenbos was the originator of the modes of discourse (description, narration, expositions, argumentation), while others maintain that this distinction belongs to Alexander Bain, Henry Day, or Samuel Newman. Regardless of who rightly deserves credit (or blame) for developing such an influential pedagogical approach, it seems fair to propose that Quackenbos was certainly one of the first to make modes an integral part of composition pedagogy (ENOS, 2011, p. 579)²⁵.

Quackenbos' debt to Campbell's "psychology" and rhetoric is accepted by other scholars of the subject²⁶. George Campbell is one of the prominent names of the so-called Scottish Enlightenment which, although it spread, had few epicenters beyond Edinburgh and Aberdeen; an eighteenth-century movement, as occurred in other European countries, although Scotland, besides being isolated, was poor and crossed by political and religious conflicts, directly or indirectly arising from its relationship with England²⁷. Unlike what happened in other European countries, the Scottish Enlightenment was not anti-religious or particularly anti-Christian. The Scottish church led by clergymen like Campbell and Blair

²⁴ The articles by Thomas O. Sloane and Chaim Perelman in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* do not refer to the generation of Campbell, Whately, and Blair as representative of the New Rhetoric; that nomenclature is reserved for a later movement, in which C. Perelman himself and Kenneth Burke stand out at once. Available at: <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/rhetoric/The-Renaissance-and-after>>, Accessed: 10/08/2020.

²⁵ Scotland united with England in 1707 and ended its autonomous parliament. George Campbell (Aberdeen, Scotland, 1719-1796), Richard Whately (London, 1787-Dublin, Ireland, 1863 and Hugh Blair (Edinburgh, Scotland, 1718-1800); three Protestant clergymen, are three of the most prominent theorists of the so-called New Rhetoric. Most prominent works; George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776); Richard Whately, *Elements of Rhetoric* (1828), and Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783). G. Campbell (Aberdeen, Scotland, 1719-1796) graduated from the University of Aberdeen, was professor of theology at the same university, then at Mareschal College in the same city. Linguist, translator, philosopher, theologian. Richard Whately, born in London, 1787 and died in 1863 in Dublin, Ireland; he was an economist, logician and theologian. He was Anglican Archbishop of Dublin. Hugh Blair was born and died in Edinburgh, Scotland (1718-1800). He was a minister of the Church of Scotland and holder of the Chair of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at Edinburgh University, an author and rhetorician, considered one of the first great theorists of written discourse, with repercussions within and outside religious circles.

²⁶ "Psychology" here is to be understood in the broad sense, incorporating a part of what was traditionally considered "theory of knowledge" and partly "epistemology."

²⁷ Scotland joined England in 1707 and ended its autonomous parliament.

contributed significantly to the "enlightenment"²⁸ in that country; the two Presbyterians considered "moderates." Campbell was a very special spokesman for tolerance, for reason in the service of faith against the religious fanaticisms of both Catholics and Evangelicals. "All his sermons appeal to the common sense of the hearers, and avoid carefully any appeal whatever to superstition. or fanaticism" (McKAY, 1951, p. 88)²⁹.

In 1776, Campbell first published a two-volume book, *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, which would become internationally known within and outside religious circles, and which would enshrine him (McKAY, 1951). Campbell's writings, like Adam Smith, Lord Karnes and Hugh Blair, spread to Scotland, throughout England, "and helped to make rhetoric a leading branch of study in all the American colleges" (McCOSH, 1875, p. 241).

In this work, besides discussing eloquence, rhetoric, and grammar, Campbell deepens his understanding of logical truth. He details the three levels of "intuitive evidence" - intellection, conscience and common sense - as well as the levels of "deductive evidence" and the "syllogism". It is the "intuitive" that is of interest here.

The "intellection," says Campbell, is evidence of propositions such as "one and four add up to five" (CAMPBELL, 1808, p. 89). In fact, all the axioms of arithmetic and geometry fall under this rubric. A second kind arising from "consciousness," from which "every man derives the perfect assurance that he hath [sic] of his own existence" (CAMPBELL, 1808, p. 92). And a third is "common sense," called "an original source of knowledge common to all mankind" (CAMPBELL, 1808, p. 95).

According to Campbell, the difference between these types of "intuitive truth" is great. While mathematical axioms and the guarantees of consciousness are so certain that:

[...] their negation implies a manifest contradiction, this is not true of the primary truths of the third order, common sense [...] "It must be recognized that holding propositions, the converse of the primary truths of common sense, do not imply a contradiction, they imply only insanity." (CAMPBELL, 1808, p. 97)

The prominence given to "common sense" as a guarantee of the truths provided by reason and the universal scope, he attributes to it projected George Campbell as one of the leading members of the common-sense school of philosophy (STANFORD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PHILOSOPHY, 2017). To the universality of intuitive truths, Campbell counterposed grammatical rules: these are always particular. He was thus countering the Cartesian grammar of Port-Royal.

It is on intuitive truths, common sense in particular, that the speaker must build his rhetoric and win over his audience, whether by written or oral discourse.

The debt to rhetoric and the so-called "psychology" of George Campbell provided Quacknebos with the platform on which he erected his program of teaching rhetoric, composition, and grammar. It provided him with the substratum to translate into textbooks the operations for the proper everyday management of the English language, written and oral.

The available studies on his textbooks, especially the first ones of 1851 and 1854, provide convincing evidence of the innovative character that Quackenbos imprinted on his school and academic materials, in relation to his predecessors and American counterparts; more than that, Quackenbos greatly contributed to the creation of disciplines destined to the teaching of composition and rhetoric and,

²⁸ Other names projected themselves far beyond the Scottish borders, such as Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, and David Hume, whose relevance was reaffirmed by Campbell's polemic with him. Hume had published the much-celebrated *Essay on Miracles* in 1748. Campbell published in 1762 his *Dissertation on Miracles* in which he thoroughly opposed Hume's skepticism in defense of miraculous "evidence". With the *Dissertation...*, Campbell's notoriety as a philosopher/theologian was extended beyond the Scottish horizons and supported the University of King's College in awarding him, in 1764, the degree of "Doctor of Divinity".

²⁹ In a 1789 writing, *Translation of the Gospels with Preliminary Dissertations and Note*, considered one of his finest literary pieces, Campbell calls out to listeners, "Common sense urges that if God has condescended to speak to man, it is man's duty to attend to what He says; if, in any writing, God has revealed His will to man, it is man's duty to read that writing carefully and do his best to understand it correctly. The object of all investigations of the Scriptures, then, is to get hold of God's truth."

consequently, to the renewal of grammar teaching. In his wake, other authors and other textbooks emerged that reproduced his pattern, with greater or lesser updates.

Once we have identified Quackenbos' debt to Campbell, we still have the complex task of identifying the roots of his relationship with Pestalozzian pedagogy, especially with object lessons, the main means by which this pedagogy was present in American classrooms - including, especially, its artifacts.

In the first decades of the 19th century there are already references to Pestalozzian pedagogy. From the 1810s there are already study trips and internships in schools guided by this pedagogy, both in Switzerland, with Pestalozzi himself or his direct disciples, and in other countries, where schools affirmed the incorporation of his educational proposals and guidelines for the treatment of children.

The most typical American appropriation of Pestalozzi's pedagogy occurred in the mid-19th century, through what they called "object-lessons" or "object teaching".

The encounter of "object lessons" with the "new rhetoric" seems to have happened, in the case of Quackenbos, in the confection of *Illustrated lessons*... In the earlier booklets - on the subject, it must be stressed - there are no references to this system of work. At that time, Quackenbos was already competing in "America" with many publications that declared their adoption of the "object-lessons" that had become the great vogue in public elementary schools since the mid-1860s, when the unified nation was being built through the victory of the North over the South at the end of the Civil War. Thus, market-wise, Quackenbos needed to win over the public by declaring adherence to Pestalozzi and to that methodology considered the faithful translation of Pestalozzism. Quackenbos for the first time launched a textbook aimed exactly at young students, considered then as the captive clientele of the Pestalozzian pedagogy. The great proof of the adoption of teaching through things, through experience, was expressed through the incorporation of illustrations of scenes in the lessons. Quackenbos had not previously used them to teach grammar, rhetoric, or composition. It is not accidental, therefore, that the prominence in the book's title is given to the illustrations contained in the lessons gathered there.

It is also not negligible that, by this time, the initial books that Quackenbos had released in 1851 and 1854 were already losing audience to new teaching proposals, particularly in rhetoric.

We must also consider the hypothesis, perhaps more central, that Quackenbos understood that the method of "object-lessons" contained the same philosophical substratum that he had glimpsed in the rhetoric he had learned from Blair and especially from Campbell: the call to experience, to immediate life, the appeal to the empirical Now, it was a matter of going to "things," not ideas; remembering that, like the latter, the former present themselves to the mind by means of words.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The opinion of Ruy Barbosa, elaborated from the perspective that legislation should function as the central instrument of sociocultural changes, is an important piece in the disputes around the teaching of Portuguese language in 19th century elementary school, defending the renewal of this teaching based on the "modern" pedagogical and linguistic principles disseminated in Brazil in the late 19th century.

By electing *Grammatica analytica*... as an example of the offenses committed in the teaching of the language and *Illustrated lessons*... as an antidote to renew this teaching based on the progress already tested in other places, Ruy Barbosa credits the intuitive method with the mission of effecting modernity in Education in Brazil, while denouncing and opposing the linguistic, pedagogical and administrative conservatism present in Primary and Secondary Education at the Court. Ruy Barbosa's analysis of these books exemplifies the obscurantism present in the schools of the Court at the end of the 19th century and indicates the path to be followed in the pedagogical renovation.

In this sense, the offense highlighted by Ruy Barbosa through Ortiz and Pardal's grammar, adopted by the Imperial Government in 1872 to replace Cyrillo Dilermando da Silveira's grammar, are reinforced precisely because the approval of that book did not represent any kind of renewal in the teaching that had been in place until then. On the contrary, contrary to the scientific renovation of

Linguistics, of historical-comparative orientation, which was gaining strength in the second half of the 19th century, *Grammatica analytica...* kept itself grounded on the perspective of general and philosophical grammar of Greek-Latin model, founded on the "art" of teaching the virtues of speaking and writing well.

Added to this problem is that of grammar teaching in primary school. As Barbosa argues, since the 1860's the "scientific" study of language was applied in countries such as France and Germany only for the "last" classes. For the primary school, practical language study should be offered, leading the students to a "natural" knowledge of grammar. That is, a very different proposition from the one materialized in Ortiz de Pardal's grammar which already indicated, through its title, the intention of a descriptive and prescriptive grammar based on the definition and explanation of grammatical concepts and laws.

These aspects allow us to presume that the substitution of Dilermando da Silveira's grammar by Ortiz and Pardal's did not happen in the wake of any pedagogical debate or the need for changes in the teaching that had been going on until then in the schools of the Empire's capital. Very possibly, this change was due to the projection that Pardal enjoyed in the administration of the Court's Public Instruction and the positions he held there, among them that of member of the Board of Directors of the General Inspectorate of Primary and Secondary Instruction, which was responsible for reviewing all the books adopted in the municipality of Rio de Janeiro, correcting them and, if necessary, replacing them with new ones.

Despite the criticism, *Grammatica analytica...* continued circulating for a while longer in the hands of adults and children; but apparently it was buried, before the last decade of the 19th century, by the propaganda in favor of the intuitive method and by the launching of new titles related to this method. But Ruy Barbosa's praise for the illustrated lessons of Quackenbos were not enough to put them into circulation in Brazilian school circles or to plant the author's name among the grammarians and grammar teachers of the late Empire; at least this is what the surveys carried out so far indicate. More extensive research may provide new clues, including the circulation of the name of Quackenbos as an innovator in the teaching of Arithmetic and the paths that would have led Ruy Barbosa to meet this American heir of the Scottish "enlightenment".

* The translation of this article into English was funded by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de Minas Gerais – FAPEMIG – through the program of supporting the publication of institutional scientific journals.

REFERENCES

BARBOSA, Ruy. **Reforma do ensino primário e várias instituições complementares da instrução pública**. Parecer e projecto da Comissão de Instrução Publica composta dos deputados Ruy Barbosa, Thomaz Bonfim Espínola e Ulysses Machado Pereira Vianna. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1883.

BASTOS, Maria Helena C. As Conferências Pedagógicas dos professores primários no Município da Corte: permuta das luzes e idéias (1873-1886?). *In: XXII SIMPÓSIO NACIONAL DE HISTÓRIA – ANPUH*, 2003, João Pessoa. **Anais....** João Pessoa: UFPB, 2003, s/p.

BASTOS, Maria Helena C. Ferdinand Buisson no Brasil: pistas, vestígios e sinais de suas ideias pedagógicas (1870-1900). **Revista História da Educação**, v. 4, n. 8, p. 79-109, 2000.

BASTOS, Maria Helena C. Leituras da Ilustração Brasileira: Célestin Hippeau (1803-1883). **Revista Brasileira de História da Educação**, n. 3, p. 67-112, 2002.

BASTOS, Maria Helena C. Método intuitivo e lições de coisas por Ferdinand Buisson. **Revista História da Educação**, v. 17, n. 39, p. 231-253, 2013.

BECHTEL, Donald L. **An Analysis of Selected Civic Attitudes in High School American History, Geography, and Civic Textbooks, 1885-1914**. 1968. 265f. Dissertation (Doctor of Education) - University of South Dakota, Vermillion, 1968.

BLAIR, Hugh. **Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres**. London; Edinburgh: W. Strahan; T. Cadell ..., and W. Creech, 1783.

BLAKE, Augusto V. A. Sacramento. **Dicionário bibliográfico brasileiro**. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1899.

BORGES, Angélica. **A urdidura do magistério primário na Corte Imperial: um professor na trama de relações e agências**. 2014. 415f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação, USP, São Paulo, 2014.

BORGES, Angélica. **Ordem no ensino: A inspeção de professores primários na Capital do Império brasileiro (1854-1865)**. 2008. 287f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Programa de Pós-graduação em Educação, UERJ, Rio de Janeiro, 2008.

BRASIL. Ministério do Império. **Relatório do ano de 1872 apresentado á Assembleia Geral na 1ª sessão da 15ª legislatura**. Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Nacional, 1872. Disponível em: <<http://bndigital.bn.br/acervo-digital/brasil-ministerio-imperio/720968>>. Acesso em: 25 de setembro de 2020.

BRASIL. Ministério do Império. **Relatório do ano de 1872 apresentado á Assembleia Geral na 2ª sessão da 15ª legislatura**. Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Nacional, 1873. Disponível em: <<http://bndigital.bn.br/acervo-digital/brasil-ministerio-imperio/720968>>. Acesso em: 25 de setembro de 2020.

CAMPBELL, George. **The Philosophy of Rhetoric**. Vol. I. Edinburgh: George Ramsay & Co. 1808 (1776).

CASTILHO, Ataliba T. Estudos lingüísticos no Brasil. Notas para sua história. **Alfa**, n. 2, p. 35-143, 1962.

ENOS, Theresa (ed.). **Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition**. Communication from Ancient Times to the Information Age. New York, London: Routledge, 2011.

HANE, Mikiso. **English Liberalism and the Japanese Enlightenment, 1868-1890**. 1957. 320. Dissertation (Doctor of Philosophy) – Faculty of the Graduate Schhol, Yale University, New Haven, 1957.

LEMOS, Daniel Cavalcanti A. **O discurso da ordem: A constituição do campo docente na Corte Imperial**. 2006. 189f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação), Rio de Janeiro, Programa de Pós-graduação em Educação, UERJ, 2006.

LEMOS, Daniel Cavalcanti A. **Professores em movimento: A Emergência do associativismo docente na Corte Imperial**. 2011. 545f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Belo Horizonte, Programa de Pós-graduação em Educação, UFMG, 2011.

LOURENÇO FILHO, Manoel B. **A pedagogia de Rui Barbosa**. Brasília: INEP/MEC, 1954.

MARTINEZ, Alessandra F. **Educar e instruir: a instrução pública na Corte Imperial (1870-1889)**. 1998. 241f. Dissertação (Mestrado em História) – Niterói, Programa de Pós-graduação em História, UFF, 1998.

MARTINS, Antonio F. **Relatório da Inspectoria Geral da Instrução Primaria e Secundaria do Municipio da Corte**. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia, 1874. (Apresentado em 18 de abril de 1874 ao Ilmo. e Exm. Sr. Conselheiro João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira, Ministro e secretario d'estado dos negócios do império).

McCOSH, James. **The Scottish Philosophy, Biographical, Expository, Critical, From Hutcheson to Hamilton**. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1875.

McKAY, Arthur Raymond. **George Campbell (1719-1796), His Life and Thought**. Thesis (Doctor of Philosophy and Theology) - University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1951.

NEW ENGLAND JOURNAL OF EDUCATION, v. 4, n. 5, August 12, 1876.

NISHIHARA, Isao. **Western Influences on the Modernization of Japanese Education, 1868-1912**. 1972. 485f. Dissertation (Doctor of Philosophy) - The Ohio State University, Columbus, 1972.

ORTIZ, José; PARDAL, Candido Matheus de Faria. **Grammatica analytica e explicativa da Lingua Portugueza**. 5ª ed. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Nicolau-Alves, 1884 (1871).

PARDAL, Candido Matheus de Faria. Resposta do Professor Candido Matheus de Faria Pardal. In: BRASIL. Ministério do Império. **Relatório do anno de 1872 apresentado á Assembleia Geral na 2ª sessão da 15ª legislatura**. Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Nacional, 1873. Disponível em: <<http://bndigital.bn.br/acervo-digital/brasil-ministerio-imperio/720968>>. Acesso em: 25 de setembro de 2020.

PIROLA, André Luiz B. **Lutas, leis e livros: professores de História na história do ensino no Espírito Santo (1850-1950)**. 2013. 275f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) - Programa de Estudos Pós-graduados em Educação: História, Política, Sociedade, PUC-SP, São Paulo, 2013.

POLACHINI, Bruna Soares. **O tratamento da sintaxe em gramáticas brasileira do século XIX: estudo historiográfico**. 2013. 221f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Semiótica e Linguística) - São Paulo, Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências, Letras e Ciências Humanas, USP, 2013.

POLACHINI, Bruna Soares. **Uma história serial e conceitual da gramática brasileira oitocentista de língua portuguesa**. 2018. 457f. Tese (Doutorado em Semiótica e Linguística Geral) - São Paulo, Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências, Letras e Ciências Humanas, USP, 2018.

QUACKENBOS, George Payn. **Illustrated lessons in our language; or how to speak and write correctly. Designed to teach english grammar, without technicalities**. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1876.

QUACKENBOS, George Payn. **Advanced course of composition and rhetoric: a series of practical lessons on the origin, history, and peculiarities of the English language...Adapted to self-instruction, and the use of schools and colleges**. New York: D. Applçeton & Company, 1864 (1854).

QUACKENBOS, George Payn. **First lessons in composition, in which the principles of the art are developed in connection with the principles of grammar; embracing full directions on the subject of punctuation; with copious exercises.** New York: D. Applçeton & Company, 1851.

TEIXEIRA, Giselle B.; SCHUELER, Alessandra F. Livros para a escola primária carioca no século XIX: produção, circulação e adoção de textos escolares de professores. **Revista Brasileira de História da Educação**, n. 20, p. 137-164, 2009.

SCHULTZ, Lucille M. **The Young Composers: Composition's Beginnings in Nineteenth-Century Schools.** Studies in Writing and Rhetoric. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999. Disponível em: <www.siu.edu/-siupress>. Acesso em: 12 de agosto de 2020.

SPIERS, Alexander; QUACKENBOS, George Payn. **Spiers and Surene's French and English pronouncing dictionary: newly composed from the French dictionaries of the French Academy, Laveaux, Boiste, Bescherelle, Landais, etc., and from the English dictionaries of Johnson, Webster, Worcester, Richardson, etc.** D. Appleton & Company, 1912 (1852).

STANFORD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PHILOSOPHY. **Scottish Philosophy in the 18th Century.** *First published Wed Jun 27, 2001; substantive revision Fri Sep 22, 2017.* Disponível em: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/scottish-18th/> Último acesso: 03 de dezembro de 2020.

TEIVE AURAS, Gladys Mary G. Manual de lições de coisas de Norman Calkins: operacionalizando a forma intuitiva de ensinar e de aprender. **Sarmiento**, n° 11, p. 79-92, 2007.

TEIXEIRA, Giselle Baptista. **A imprensa pedagógica no Rio de Janeiro: os jornais e as revistas como agentes transformadores da escola (1870-1919).** 2016. 350f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação). Niterói: UFF, 2016.

TEIXEIRA, Giselle Baptista. **O grande mestre da escola: os livros de leitura para a escola primária da capital do Império Brasileiro.** 2008. 237f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Rio de Janeiro, Faculdade de Educação, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2008.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION (THE). **Report of The Comissioner of Education for The Year 1898-1899.** Vol. 1. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900.

VALDEMARIN, VeraTeresa. Circulação de modelos para o ensino de Ciências Naturais: o método de ensino intuitivo na transição entre Império e República. **Cadernos de História da Educação**, v.19, n° 3, p. 1033-1050, 2020.

VALDEMARIN, VeraTeresa. Ensino da leitura no método intuitivo: as palavras como unidade de compreensão e sentido. **Educar**, n° 18, p. 157-182, 2001.

VALDEMARIN, VeraTeresa. Lições de coisas: Concepção científica e projeto modernizador para a sociedade. **Cadernos Cedes**, ano XIX, no52, p. 74-87, 2000b.

VALDEMARIN, VeraTeresa. Método intuitivo: Os sentidos como janelas e portas que se abrem para um mundo interpretado. *In*: SOUZA, R.F.; VALDEMARIN. V.T. e ALMEIDA, J.S. **O legado educacional do século XIX.** Araraquara: FCL/Unesp, 1998, p. 63-106.

VALDEMARIN, VeraTeresa. **O liberalismo demiurgo.** São Paulo: Cultura Acadêmica, 2000a.

VALENTE, Wagner Rodrigues. Como Ensinar Matemática no Curso Primário? Uma questão de conteúdos e métodos, 1890-1930. **Perspectivas da Educação Matemática**, v. 8, n° 17, p. 192-207, 2015.

WELSCH, Kathleen Ann. **Nineteenth-century composition**: The relationship between pedagogical concerns and cultural values in American colleges, 1850-1890. Dissertation (Doctor of Philosophy). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1994.

WHATELY, Richard. **Elements of Rhetoric**. Louisville, KY: Morton & Griswold, 1858 (1828).

Submitted: 20/12/2020

Approved: 03/05/2021