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PESTALOZZI:

HIS AIM AND WORK.

BY

BARON ROGER DE GUIMPS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE EDITION OF 1874,

BY

MARGARET CUTHBERTSON CROMBIE.

Abridged and Adapted for Students.

“He was a man, take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again.”

HAMLET.



SYRACUSE, N. Y.:

C. W. BARDEEN, PUBLISHER.

1889.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

“IN half a century the foundations of society shall be shaken.”

So, seventy years ago, said Pestalozzi : a man, who, wishing to save the poor, “lived as a beggar among beggars,” in order to teach beggars how to become men ; and after probing the intellectual and moral misery which underlies our brilliant civilisation drew thence the dreaded anticipation for the future of humanity ; but at the same time prescribed the remedy.

During his long life of eighty years he was absorbed by one idea, namely, the regeneration and elevation of the people by *Elementary Education* : this idea was his ruling passion and dominated all other feelings ; he loved the poor, the weak, and the ignorant in spite of their vices which shocked him, and he strove to instruct and make moral the masses before people had learned to fear them. In his passionate love of humanity he used all the means in his power to serve his fellow-creatures. For their sake he *tried to be* a minister of

the gospel, a lawyer, a farmer, a manufacturer; and he became an author, a journalist, and a schoolmaster. He never allowed the neglect, ingratitude, or bad treatment he received from others, nor considerations of personal interest, to influence him in regard to his aim. He was the boldest, the most original, and the simplest of men.

Such was Pestalozzi. At another period of the world's history he would have been canonized; and the Catholic Church has few saints who were purer or greater.

His life was full of contrasts, eccentricities, awkwardness, and errors of judgment arising from his childlike confidence in everybody; and as his want of knowledge of affairs led to the ruin of his undertakings the world condemned Pestalozzi.

But posterity will justify him; his memory is venerated, his devotion admired, and to him is due the reform of Elementary Education; a reform begun but far from being accomplished in spite of all the progress already made.

Meanwhile Pestalozzi is little understood; people have but a vague idea of the principles which actuated him, and the aim he pursued so perseveringly during his long career in spite of mistakes which many times threatened to crush his indefatigable activity for ever.

His aim was always the same, but his idea developed as he advanced in age and experience, and to the last he was striving to complete and perfect it.

The character of Pestalozzi is unique. It has been said to resemble that of the eagle and the dove, the lion and the lamb, the woman and the child, rather than the man.

* * * * *

Germany adopted the principles of Pestalozzi after the battle of Jena and organized her public instruction to which she owes her present greatness. This education not only makes people learned but strengthens the capacity to appreciate and apply all instruction. Gradually, however, the schools of Prussia have come to neglect the doctrine of Pestalozzi, especially from the moral point of view; and it is said that they will not develop men of such strong moral fibre as those of the present age who are the result of the true Pestalozzian training.

During the Easter holidays of 1872 there was a Congress at Berlin of delegates from Teachers' Societies of Brandenburg, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse-Nassau; and it decided upon the formation of a National Society of German Teachers whose centre was fixed at Berlin.

On April 4th the deputies of the assembly were received by the Minister of Worship and Public Instruction, and they submitted three requests to him.

This was the third:

“Extension of the programme of teachers, and organization of schools according to the pedagogic principles of Pestalozzi which had formerly enjoyed

much favour in Prussia, under the protection of Queen Louise, Stein, William von Humboldt, Fichte, &c., and had contributed so evidently to the regeneration of the country."

Up to the present time France has profited only in an indirect manner and in a feeble measure from the works of Pestalozzi, the reformer of education.

Nevertheless their merit had been recognised by a great number of the most distinguished persons of all shades of opinion; such as Mme. de Staël, George Cuvier, &c.

But France has not organised her] elementary education upon rational principles; she has not yet adopted the *Natural Method*.*

Every superior mind admits and deplures this, feeling that it would be the true means of the regeneration she needs now more than ever, and tries to lead her into this way of safety.

Would that the book we are now publishing might contribute to the success of these efforts.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IN presenting this book to the public the Translator begs to state that it is intended for junior students. The material contained in the work has been used by her for several years in the training of young teachers in the History of Education.

Unlike the author of *Levana*, who was too busy writing upon Education to be able to educate his own son, the Translator is too actively engaged in the work of teaching to find sufficient time to write. She has always hoped to be able to expand and render the translation more worthy of the original; but, foreseeing no greater leisure, and learning that there is need for such a work at this time, she ventures to offer it in its present form.

She would call attention to the Notes, at the same time stating that their brevity will show that they are merely suggestive; and she would advise those who are studying the life of Pestalozzi to make themselves acquainted with the more important features of his time—the government and geography of Switzerland, the French Revolution, the career of Napoleon, the

social and political state of England and its attitude towards these events, the aspirations of France and America, the condition of Prussia before and since its adoption of a rational system of education; also the greatest names in German and Swiss literature.

Something of all this is required to understand the relation of the master to his age; for Pestalozzi was first a philanthropist in the widest and best sense of the word, and then an educator.

The great reformer of elementary education has been too long taken at his own estimate—a very humble one; whilst others, perhaps, have been unduly lauded. Baron Roger de Guimps, one of Pestalozzi's most illustrious disciples, has best interpreted the master's Life, Aim, and Method.

Much of the beauty of a work is lost in translation, and the *Life of Pestalozzi* by Baron Roger de Guimps cannot fail to suffer. But if the reader of these pages is led by them to study the original, this book will have attained its end.

MARGT. C. CROMBIE.

LONDON, SEPT., 1888.

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PESTALOZZI.

ERRATA.

| PAGE. | LINE. | |
|-------|-------|---|
| 10 | 6 | <i>read</i> " Nibelungen " for " Niebelungen." |
| 56 | 34 | <i>insert</i> (after " shephcrd ") " who was blind of one eye and deaf of one ear." |
| 88 | 5 | <i>read</i> " cord " for " string." |
| 106 | 2 | „ " <i>protégé</i> " for " <i>protégé</i> ." |

CHAPTER I.

PESTALOZZI'S CHILDHOOD.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Influence of home. | 3. Influence of visits to the country. |
| 2. Influence of School. | 4. Pestalozzi wishes to be a village pastor. |

1. In 1567, Antoine Pestalozzi and his wife, an Italian couple from Chiavenna, settled in Zurich, having been exiled from their country for having adopted the Reformed faith.

Zurich had been the scene of Zwingli's labours and the Reformation had been firmly established there in 1522.

From these refugees was descended André Pestalozzi, pastor of Höngg, near Zurich.

The son of André was called Jean-Baptiste. He was a good surgeon and oculist in Zurich. His wife's name was Suzanne Hotz, sister of a clever doctor at Richtersweil, and niece of General Hotz. Henry Pestalozzi, the son of Jean-Baptiste, and the subject of our study, was born on January 12th, 1746, at the sign of the Black Horn (every house had a sign). When he was five years old his father died, leaving little provision for the family, which consisted of the widow and three little children. The elder boy soon died, and the daughter was married in course of time to a merchant in Leipsic, and continued throughout her life to correspond with her brother. Madame Pestalozzi was an admirable mother, devoting her whole thoughts and energies to the education of her children. Her limited means required the strictest economy to be observed in the house,

but her efforts were aided by the devotion of a faithful servant named Babeli or Barbara, in whom "did well appear the constant service of the antique world." This faithful creature, a simple peasant girl, had promised her master when he was dying that she would never forsake her mistress; she kept her word, and throughout her whole life her conduct was marked by the greatest patience, devotion, and good sense. She had a share in the upbringing of the little Henry, who speaks of her in the most affectionate and grateful terms. He attributes her fidelity and the dignity of her character to her piety and simple elevated faith. Her economy made the most of their slender means. For example, she deferred going to market till late when the prices were lower as the market-people were tired and wanting to go home; and she was most careful in regard to the dresses of the children, encouraging them to stay indoors as much as possible in order to save their best clothes, as the family maintained a good position in spite of poverty. Henry tells us that they had fine clothes which they wore on Sunday and changed when they returned home; and, when visitors were expected, their only room was arranged by tasteful hands as a little drawing room. They found a way to help the needy, and the gifts they gave at the New Year and at other times were out of all proportion to their means. This could only be done at the cost of great self-denial on the part of all members of the family, and the spirit of unselfishness thus fostered became second nature to them.

An incident is related of Henry at this time. One day having a little pocket money given him he went to spend it upon sweets that tempted him in the shop of a rich bon-bon merchant named Schulthess, who lived at the sign of the Plough. The merchant's daughter, Anna, who was present, told Henry that he might do something better with his money, and he took her advice. This story is interesting and characteristic. The same little girl, years after, became his wife and best friend through life.

Henry was a mother's child; the atmosphere of his home was peaceful and affectionate and in it were practised

unostentatiously many acts of self-sacrifice. The curbing of the desire for play outside with other boys must alone have cost the boy many a struggle between inclination and duty. In the midst of his sedentary life his imagination had full play. He listened eagerly to stories and reading, never forgetting a word and thinking over all he heard; imagining himself in the place of his heroes, and altering and re-arranging the circumstances. But the good influences under which he lived were not sufficient to develop all sides of a manly character. The close confinement to the house, the want of opportunities of roughing it with boys of his own age encouraged his natural weakness and left him timid, clumsy, restless and impressionable; and his collaborateur Niederer has well said that "In Pestalozzi there was as much of the woman as the man."

2. Pestalozzi was deeply conscious of these defects which he never was able to correct. He says he was deficient in sustained attention, reflection, circumspection and forethought, as well as in vigour and skill in muscular exercises. His views of life and the world, taken from his mother's parlour were necessarily limited. The want of practice in boyish sports made him awkward and helpless when he went to school. But although his schoolfellows took advantage of and laughed at him, calling him Harry Oddity of Foolstown, they liked him for his good nature and obliging disposition. He gave some signs of ability at school, but his work was usually so bad—his writing and spelling especially—that his master took him for a dunce.

The influence of his home was never forgotten by Pestalozzi; and to him the mother ever was the ideal educator. Surrounded as he was by good influences he took home as his standard, and believing that all people were like-minded with his family, he trusted everybody; when he went out into the world he was often mistaken and deceived.

3. From the time that he was nine years old he spent his holidays with his grandfather, the minister at Hönegg, a beautiful country place near Zurich. Here he visited the sick and the poor, and came to learn something of the

locality, which is diversified with fields, and vineyards and fine orchards. The manse which adjoins the church was surrounded by gardens which rose in terraces, and from the dining room window there was a charming view of the valley of the Limmat. Here Henry passed many happy days and his love of nature was aroused.

4. Here, too, he saw much in the state of the people that touched him with compassion ; and from this time he looked forward to becoming a village pastor like his grandfather.

CHAPTER II.

PESTALOZZI'S STUDENT DAYS

- | | |
|--|--|
| 5. The Academy of Zurich in the eighteenth century. | 7. Pestalozzi gives up the ministry for law. |
| 6. Its spirit and influence upon Pestalozzi. | 8. He gives up the law and burns his MSS. |
| 9. Sole remnant of his early writings: <i>Agis</i> . | |

5. Zurich in the middle of the last century was famous for its schools. The higher education there was remarkable for its elevation, and originality. The philosophy of Wolff, who preached a return to nature, had given the students a three-fold enthusiasm, for simplicity of manners, revival of literature, and public liberty.

Pestalozzi shared in this enthusiasm which led him, unfortunately, into many youthful enterprises which retarded his finding his vocation. Theology, medicine and law were taught at the College of the Humanities.

Students entered at the age of fifteen. Amongst the many eminent men of Zurich were three famous professors: Zimmermann, who was professor of Theology; Breitinger, of Greek and Hebrew; and Bodmer, of History and Political Economy. Zimmermann had introduced a milder discipline into the College than had prevailed before; Breitinger treated his students like his children; and Zurich owes to Bodmer, who was professor there for nearly fifty years, the men of talent who were so numerous. His teaching had reference chiefly to History and the institutions of Switzerland; and he inspired in his hearers' minds a strong love of justice and liberty. He criticised the manners and social organization of the time and urged his listeners to struggle against them and seek to restore the ancient virtues. He preached the reducing of our needs, "plain living and high thinking," and that true happiness was only to be found in simple home-life. His views can be gleaned from the following passage from the *Dialogues of the Dead*:

"What did you do when on earth?"

"I sought for happiness."

"Did you find it?"

"Alas, too late."

"Where did you seek it?"

"In Persia, India, Japan and the uttermost parts of the earth."

"Where did you find it?"

"In my own village, it was in my father's house, whilst I had gone to search for it thousands of miles away. I found it on my return after countless dangers. My father had it in his heart, without stirring a step to seek it. I only saw it—and I died."

Bodmer also taught his students modern literature, making them acquainted with the chief works of English authors especially. He and Breitinger shared in making Zurich with Leipsic the starting point of the movement which gave Germany her fine literature.

Klopstock was the guest of Bodmer who had been the first to appreciate the merit of his Messiah. He was followed by Wieland and Kleist. The last wrote to Gleim, "Zurich is indeed a wonderful place, not only on account of

its magnificent position but also for the men who are here. Whilst in the city of Berlin there are hardly three or four men of genius and taste, in little Zurich there are twenty or thirty."

6. The influence of such men led the students to have a contempt for riches and luxury, and to exalt intellectual and spiritual pleasure, simplicity of life and manners, and the constant pursuit of justice and truth. For a long time Pestalozzi and his friends wished to lie on the ground in their clothes, and to live on vegetarian diet.

This was the spirit of the Academy which Pestalozzi entered at the age of fifteen. His elementary education had prepared him for it badly, yet he distinguished himself and made rapid progress. While yet very young, he translated a harangue of Demosthenes which was much admired by good judges and was put into print.

This is what he says himself later on about his academical studies :

"The spirit of the public teaching in my native town, admirable as it was from a scientific point of view, led us to lose sight of the realities of life. The flower of our youth, not excepting Lavater, indulged in dreams.

"Our only wish was to live for freedom, beneficence, sacrifice and patriotism ; but the means of developing the practical power to attain these were lacking. We despised all external appearances such as riches, honour, and consideration ; and we were taught to believe that by economising and reducing our wants we could dispense with all the advantages of citizen life.

"We cherished but one aim namely, the possibility of enjoying independence and domestic happiness, without having the strength to acquire and maintain them. These visions dominated us the more as they appealed to the best feelings of our nature, urging us to re-act against the weakening of the old Swiss spirit of simplicity, dignity, and fidelity which had been the glory of our Fatherland but which was gradually disappearing from our manners."

No one was more under the spell of this utopian dream than Pestalozzi ; but it was while pursuing this ideal that

he made the discoveries that have immortalised his memory.

7. Wishing to become a minister of the Gospel, he studied theology and got the length of preaching his trial sermon; but it was not a success. He therefore gave up the idea of entering the Church and determined to study law. He thought that as a lawyer he would be able to deal with the condition of the poor. From a child he had a horror of injustice and oppression and a strong desire to help the people in the country districts.

One day when at school, he took to task an unworthy assistant master who had been guilty of injustice, and by his energy gained the day, to the great astonishment of the whole class. At another time, in the anonymous letter addressed to the scholastic authorities he unmasked the faults that undermined an establishment of public instruction. The authorship being discovered roused violent hatred against him; and although investigation confirmed the facts as stated, he was obliged to flee to his grandfather's home at Höngg.

There he heard the complaints of the country people against the burghers of Zurich who ruled them and kept the monopoly of trade in the town, refusing to sell the right of citizenship to those inhabitants of the neighbouring villages who sought to acquire it.

He had often heard the same complaints made by the people of Richtersweil when he went to visit his uncle Hotz. The doctor spoke with great bitterness of the *gracious lords of Zurich*; and one day, when his nephew was boasting of the free Swiss peasantry, he answered warmly "Don't speak of their 'liberty'; they are no more free here than in Livonia."

Such were the impressions that the young Pestalozzi had gained from his visits to the country; they were the deeper as they were connected with the happy days spent with people whom he loved, for he was always welcomed among them and he enjoyed more freedom and a more varied and active life there than in the city of Zurich.

There was a saying frequently used at this time by the

country clergy that *Omne malum ex urbe*, (All the evil comes from the town). So, too, thought little Henry. "And," said he, "when I am grown up I shall support the country people; they ought to have the same rights as those of the city."

So, when he was at the academy and the teaching of Bodmer called his attention to the political state of the Fatherland he was one of the most ardent would-be-reformers of Zurich whose zeal for justice and liberty caused their families much anxiety and inconvenience.

At Zurich, as in most of the other cantons, the town ruled the country, and the town was governed by a number of privileged families. Thirteen abbeys or corporations had the monopoly of commerce and industry. The government was generally mild and paternal but the people had no share in it. The awakening to liberty manifested itself first among the students who were animated by the example of the Genevese.

For a long time the citizens of Geneva had complained of the domination of the patrician families who had gradually stripped the people of their ancient rights.

In 1738 the government of Geneva appealed to Berne, Zurich, and France, and their mediation was accepted by the magistrates and citizens.

It confirmed for the citizens the right of representation, petition, and veto upon constitutional measures.

In 1762 the government of Geneva, like the parliament of Paris, condemned the author of *Emile* and the *Social Compact*. The citizens warmly supported Rousseau and addressed a memorial to the magistrates demanding that their sentence should be reversed as unjust and unwarrantable. But the petitioners were shown out without obtaining a hearing.

This caused great indignation at Zurich and much agitation amongst the patriotic students whose sympathies were entirely with the people of Geneva. Henceforth they gave themselves up to Rousseau and his philosophy; for they found in his writings eloquent pleas for their favourite sentiments, love of nature, simplicity of manners, and country life.

These young liberals undertook to attack abuses and injustice. In 1763-4-5 they made formal complaints against three important officers. The facts were proved and the accused put out of office. But the government regarded with uneasiness the spirit that actuated these young people; they blamed their actions and punished them by detaining them a day or two at the Hotel de Ville.

In 1765, Bodmer founded the Helvetic Society, which met every week to discuss the essays of members upon questions of history, pedagogy, politics, and morality. Pestalozzi was one of its most zealous members. The same year the students started a weekly journal called *The Memorial*. It was not political but moral and local. Lavater and Fussli were the principal editors, Pestalozzi, who was now nineteen years of age, was also a contributor.

In 1766 an appeal was again made to the mediation of Berne, Zurich, and France by Geneva.

An arrangement was proposed which suited the magistrates but not the citizens, it was therefore rejected. A rumour spread that troops were to be sent to Geneva to compel the inhabitants to accept the mediation of the deputies. The most of the people approved, but the young patriots protested boldly against it. One, a young theologian named Muller, wrote a paper called the "Peasants' Proposal" which he read to a private circle of friends; here is an extract from it.

"The citizens of Geneva have the right of adopting whatever course pleases them; for the liberty of a people consists in their being able to organize their government as it suits them. Besides, it was formally stipulated that the citizens could adopt or reject constitutional measures. Now, they have rejected the mediation by a large majority.

And meanwhile we are going to compel them by arms to adopt it. But this would be treason, a shame, and a disgrace. We could have no confidence in a government that would give such an order. As for me, come what may, I shall not stir a foot."

Muller said that this paper given by a friend, had been shut up in his desk and that he afterwards allowed a copy to be taken by a student, who spread it among

the youth of the town. The government took alarm; it publicly denounced the pamphlet as dangerous to the state, and commanded Muller to be delivered up to justice. Banished from Switzerland he went to Berlin where he became a professor, and distinguished himself by making known the *Niebelungen* to the literary world. In this matter the people played an unworthy part for they sided with those who condemned Muller. The young patriots, his colleagues, were submitted to an examination, the result of which was to prove that the *Peasants' Proposal* was written without any evil intention and that it had been circulated without the knowledge of the author. Meanwhile Muller had fled and it was the general, but mistaken belief that Pestalozzi had aided his flight, which roused the anger of "*the gracious lords and their faithful subjects.*" This feeling was extended to the students who were threatened by crowds in the streets. Meanwhile Pestalozzi was to his fellow-citizens only a dangerous revolutionary, and for a long time he suffered from the judgment that had been pronounced upon him. He could no longer hope to improve the condition of the people by his legal knowledge as this event debarred him from entering upon any public appointment.

8. Then he gave up his study of law and burned his MSS. Thus all his earliest works are lost except one which was printed in a review at Lindau and Leipzig in 1766 under the title of "*News of the most Remarkable Writings of Our Time,*" &c. This article, called *Agis*, bears the date 1765, with the following remark:

"This paper is the work of a young man of great merit who is not yet twenty years old and who did not intend it for printing."

This review is not now to be had; but *Agis* has recently been printed in the complete collection of Pestalozzi's works, published at Brandenburg by S. W. Seyffarth.

9. *Agis*, the first surviving production of Pestalozzi we have, is too remarkable to be passed over without a *resumé*.

It will be remembered that our author, when a student

and a poor Hellenist, had translated a fragment of the third harangue of Demosthenes to the Athenians, in such a manner as to meet with general approval.

This translation used as a preface to the history of Agis, is intended to shew how, in the time preceding the Macedonian invasion, the Greeks had fallen away from the ancient virtues and simplicity of manners which of old had been their strength and happiness. The description of this decadence so strikingly resembles the state of Switzerland in the last century that the translator, in a note, somewhat mischievously reminds the readers that the circumstances refer to the Athenians and that it is Demosthenes who is speaking.

Then follows the history of Agis, King of Sparta, who, at a time when the laws of Lycurgus had fallen into neglect, undertook to restore them.

Although brought up in the midst of luxury and ease he resisted their temptations; and lived in a severe and frugal manner. He sought to compel the rich to follow his example: demanding a new distribution of the land so as to establish equality of conditions. The experiment failed, and it cost Agis his life.

In this work Pestalozzi eloquently advocated the reform undertaken by Agis, and we cannot help thinking that he sought to prepare his country for the dawning of a new era in which Utopia would be realised.

Some of his biographers record that at that time he said "*I want to be a schoolmaster.*" This is a mistake. He did not find his true vocation till later on after he had been engaged in the education of his little son.

After giving up the study of law, Pestalozzi became a farmer. At this time agriculture made great progress in different countries. The teaching of Bodmer and the writings of Rousseau led the young to the perfecting of this first of the arts, as the salvation of the poor and the panacea for all evils.

Pestalozzi became a farmer in order to give to his fellow-citizens the example of perfect culture which was to enable all men, women, and children to live by their work in greater

comfort, and at the same time to give the children the moral and intellectual development necessary for good citizens.

CHAPTER III.

PESTALOZZI'S AGRICULTURAL SCHEME.

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| 10. Pestalozzi betrothed to Anna Schulthess. | 13. Marriage. Building. Life at Muligen. |
| 11. Pestalozzi studies agriculture with Ischeffeli. | 14. Birth of his son. Removal to Neuhof. |
| 12. Pestalozzi buys land near Birr. | 15. Failure of his scheme. |

10. At the period at which we have arrived Pestalozzi was engaged to Anna Schulthess, the little girl who had advised him to save his pocket money. She was seven years older than her betrothed and had become a beautiful, accomplished, and charming woman. Her father was a rich bon-bon manufacturer. Although engaged in business, he was much interested in art and literature, and his house was frequented by intellectual friends. He received Klopstock when the poet was visiting Zurich. He had travelled and seen a great deal, and mingled much with well-informed people. His daughter, Anna, shared his taste for literature and culture. Like her father, she kept a journal which she continued through her whole life, and it gives evidence of an elevated and cultivated mind. She was a musician and a poetess, and preserved her freshness of imagination even in her old age.

She wrote a poem at the age of seventy three, the leading

thought of which resembles Wordsworth's "We are Seven."

Amongst the men of taste, wit, and learning who visited Mr. Schulthess's house there was one named Bluntschli. He was the intimate friend of Pestalozzi and four years his senior. Bluntschli was distinguished for his talents and high character. He was in the last stage of consumption and was quite aware of it. This gave a particularly serious and melancholy character to the intellectual friendship that existed between him and Anna; who says of him after his death "I could never forget him, nor the charm and energy of his speech. I did nothing without consulting him; he was cheerful, gentle, and kind; and we used to try together to help the poor. One day I asked his advice upon a selection of ribbons. 'They are beautiful' he said, 'but your poor neighbour has more need of a crown than you of these ribbons.' So I gave up ribbons."

Pestalozzi and Bluntschli had thoughts in common, the same feelings and aspirations, but Bluntschli knew more of men and the world; he had more prudence, and thoroughly understood his friend's incapacity for business as his dying advice testified.

He said to his friend at the last: "I am dying and when you are left to yourself do not launch into any career in which you might from your good nature and confiding disposition be exposed to danger. Seek a quiet, tranquil life; and, unless you have at your side a tried friend who will faithfully assist you with a calm, cool knowledge of men and the world, do not embark in any extensive enterprise which might end in shipwreck of your happiness."

Bluntschli died in May, 1767. Pestalozzi and Anna felt his loss keenly, the former wrote an elegy upon their friend and gave it to Anna.

Affection grew out of their common sympathy. So, it is in a measure, to Bluntschli that the reformer of education owes the excellent and devoted companion who was his support for forty-six years.

Pestalozzi was plain looking and delicate. He had been ordered to take a long rest in the country to restore his health which was worn out with work and study. His

general appearance was untidy: absent-minded, and careless of externals and etiquette, he never knew how to dress himself.

But Anna who was clever and amiable comprehended the nobility of his character and esteemed him for his worth; and the sincere affection that existed between them remained unclouded throughout life.

They were not married for two years, and in the intervening time a long correspondence was maintained between them. Pestalozzi wrote three hundred letters, and Anna two hundred.

Here is the most striking and authentic part of the celebrated love letter that is so frequently mentioned in the biographies:

"I will not speak to you of my excessive carelessness in my appearance and manners; it is too apparent. They accuse me of moving about hither and thither; it is true I have friends and subjects of distraction everywhere; but I have sought them in the hope of being useful. I can also understand and appreciate the pleasures of solitude and the peace of home; it will be my happiness to enjoy them more in the future; the time for making many connections is past for me, and notwithstanding, I do not regret the years I have given to them; I have learned to know my fellow-countrymen and this knowledge will be useful in the end. My health is not very good; but my doctor assures me that there is no reason to be uneasy about it, I think it is more than probable that you will survive me; but I do not think that my life will pass without important and dangerous undertakings."

To which Anna replied: "Believe me you might have said that nature had not favoured you highly if it had not given you large black eyes which mirror forth the goodness of your heart and the depth of your mind."

And indeed Pestalozzi's look expressed ineffable tenderness with flashes of intelligence and energy and moments of profound, melancholy meditation. These letters reveal the candid, open character of Pestalozzi in all its phases. He tells all his plans and hopes of being able by devoting himself to agriculture to benefit his fellow countrymen.

The parents of Anna did not approve of her engagement, especially her mother, who feared that her daughter's happiness would be imperilled by her marriage with one at once so bold and adventurous and so wanting in prudence and worldly wisdom.

11. Meanwhile, Pestalozzi sought to fit himself for the work he had determined to adopt. With an introduction from Lavater he went to Kirchberg near Berne to Tscheffeli who had introduced novelties in the way of cultivation, especially of madder.

As soon as Pestalozzi arrived he wrote to Anna :

"Here I am settled and my happiness surpasses my greatest expectations. This is the happiest household that you could imagine. Tscheffeli, the great agriculturist is the best of fathers. I shall learn agriculture in its widest sense and all its branches. I shall certainly become independent of all the world." And later on he writes again in the same sanguine manner.

Anna had four brothers ; and Gaspard the second, was the friend of Pestalozzi. About this time he was called as German pastor to Neuchâtel, and his sister accompanied him when he went to be inducted.

On their way they went to see Pestalozzi, who accompanied them to Neuchâtel. On their journey they introduced him to their friends, but he made rather an unfavourable impression upon the strangers on account of his eccentric manners.

Pestalozzi spent a whole year at Kirchberg very happily, doing all the work of the farm. When visitors came he was proud to show them his horny hands.

He arranged his plans for the cultivating of his land, deciding to devote his attention solely to madder and vegetables ; (market gardening) and, in a letter to Anna he draws an Alnaschar picture of the return that his acres will yield within a certain time. Anna had confidence and hope, but not so her mother. The effect of his stay was to awaken afresh gigantic views in relation to his exertions by his agricultural plans. Though difficult of execution and in part impossible, they were bold and extensive, but

they produced in him a thoughtlessness as to the means of carrying them out, the consequence of which contributed in a decisive manner to the pecuniary embarrassments into which he was plunged in the very first years of his rural life. The success of Tscheffeli's madder plantation induced him to make a similar experiment.

12. In 1768 he returned to Zurich to put his plans into execution. He learned that near the village of Birr (in Aargau) there was a large tract of barren, chalky heathland to be sold. It was then used only as a sheep-walk. He began by buying fifteen acres of the land at the foot of the hill (at Letten) and gradually added to this until he had a hundred acres. This was not done entirely with his own means, for he joined a rich mercantile firm of Zurich. It being necessary to build on the estate he resided temporarily at Muligen on the right bank of the Reuss. Here he rented a lordly mansion with a garden, for forty florins. His mother helped him. She now divided her cares between her son and her father-in-law at Höngg, who was aged and infirm. Babeli stayed at Zurich.

Between this faithful servant and Anna there was a sincere regard. Anna wrote thus of her to Pestalozzi:

"I do not esteem the worthy Barbara as a servant but a friend. Our first care must be to ensure her a peaceful old age." Again, "I have been chatting an hour with Barbara; it is really wonderful how wisely and sensibly she acts. We paid a visit together to Grandpapa."

Whilst Pestalozzi was at Muligen he saw Anna, who was visiting friends at Brugg. He also had several visitors, but he suffered, nevertheless, from his solitary life there, and wished his marriage to take place. But the parents of Anna did not relent, although Lavater, Füssli, Dr. Hotz, and Anna's uncle did all they could to induce them to consent. It is said that Lavater had an affection for Anna, but he sacrificed his own feelings for the happiness of his friend.

13. Anna's parents said that they would never make use of constraint to prevent their daughter doing what she

wished. So very sadly she left her parents' house. Her mother said to her in parting: "You will be obliged to content yourself with bread and water." She was married, without a dowry, by her brother, in the presence of a few friends. Anna was then aged thirty and her husband twenty three years. Her parents were not long in being reconciled, and soon after, Pestalozzi and his wife visited the Plough, entering into the spirit of the work there, and helping his father-in-law to make bon-bons for the New Year. It was thus a pleasant time for all. They also visited their friends and Pestalozzi's mother, who now lived at the Red Trellis. These facts are taken from Anna's Journal. Then they left Zurich for their own home near Birr, where a house was yet to be built. The ground was sown with sain-foin. On a holiday they baked half an oven full of bread for the poor. Mr. and Mrs. Schulthess often visited them, sometimes bringing money to help them, and the young people paid visits to their friends. But Pestalozzi worked very hard with his own hands, exposing himself to all kinds of weather and undergoing excessive labour. The plan of the house was in the Italian style, Pestalozzi approving of everything; but his foreman was badly chosen, nobody in the neighbourhood trusted him, which was a serious matter for his master's interest. Pestalozzi urged on the building whilst some people foresaw his ruin. There are several entries in Anna's Journal at this time which shew traces of uneasiness on account of money matters. Some of the entries are by Pestalozzi himself. The Zurich firm which had advanced the money grew impatient for some return for their investment and, hearing the unfavourable rumours, sent two judges who reported unfavourably; and after some delay withdrew their capital with loss, rather than trust him any longer.

14. Before this, in 1770, Pestalozzi's son was born. Next year the family removed to the new house at Letten which he called Neuhof. But the work did not succeed. The land was not fertile, too much money had been devoted to the building, and the assistant had deceived him. This hastened the ruin of the scheme. Anna obtained from her

brothers some sums of money in anticipation of her inheritance, and the mother of Pestalozzi helped. Then he began to manufacture cotton stuffs—to spin and weave the material furnished by his brother-in-law.

15. In spite of all their efforts matters became worse and debts increased, until Pestalozzi himself saw that his undertaking was a failure. This was in 1775. He says with his usual frankness: “The dream of my life, the hope of a sphere of wide and useful activity radiating around me from my own quiet fireside—everything had vanished.”

His failure does not surprise us. Yet there were ideas in his undertaking which have since been realised—the advantages of cultivating marshy land on a large scale near towns, the value of pasture, and the possibility of enormously increasing the products of the earth by skilful culture.

What Pestalozzi could not then do others have done since in the same place. Muligen and NeuhoF in 1869 were covered with luxuriant beds of carrots, beetroot, &c., yielding several crops a year. So the *intensive culture* which Pestalozzi attempted a hundred years ago has become a fact.

It will be remarked that the agricultural experience of NeuhoF was not in accordance with the plan prepared at Kirchberg. Pestalozzi could not command the conditions upon which he counted; but his confidence and impatient zeal would not brook delay and he began the work without the means necessary to succeed. This is not the only occasion upon which he had to suffer for this tendency of his character.

When the proprietor of NeuhoF saw that his agricultural undertaking had failed and his little fortune was lost he determined to do the most unheard of act in such circumstances: to make his house a refuge for poor children.

It has been said that this would have been sublime devotion if it had not been insane folly, but it was only the effect of a natural reaction that had been working in his conscience ever since his son was born. We shall now describe this new moral evolution through which he found his true vocation, and became the benefactor of humanity.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW PESTALOZZI EDUCATED HIS CHILD.

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| 16. Self reproach for worldliness. | 19. Pestalozzi discovers the essential principles of his method. Advantage of this experience to humanity. |
| 17. Education of Jacobli on the principles of <i>Emile</i> . | 20. Sad fate of the subject of the experiment. |
| 18. Pestalozzi obliged to correct Rousseau at every step. | |

16. Pestalozzi's farming scheme could not succeed as the qualities with which he was endowed were not favourable to speculation. It was not his vocation.

At the first he had adopted it in the hope of benefiting his fellow-countrymen as part of the Utopian dream indulged in by the youth of the Academy of Zurich. Then he pursued it for the sake of his betrothed in order to please her parents and establish Anna in a good position and a fine house. This last ambition is not quite in keeping with the motive that hitherto had influenced him, his disinterested, if sometimes over impulsive philanthropy. It is more consistent with his character to find him preparing for the ministry, impatient to rid his country of the old abuses, than a calculating speculator bent on anticipating the produce of his acres. So, on the failure of his scheme although his next step was the last that would have suggested itself to anyone else, it was more in accordance with his character than the material and worldly interests that lately had occupied his mind and powers.

Caring for the poor and helping them was far more congenial work than endeavouring to enrich his family. There came a time, long before the failure of his enterprise, when

he was dissatisfied with himself and was full of self-questioning and examination. The journal bears witness of this. His wife too, shared his feelings in thinking that they had been too much taken up with the cares and pleasures of the world, and in desiring a more spiritual and religious life. They felt this especially in reference to their son whom they earnestly desired to bring up in a truly religious and admirable way.

17. Pestalozzi made a study of his child and several of his observations are recorded in his wife's journal. He had read Emile, and he sought to apply the ideas of Rousseau in the education of his little son, but at every step he was stopped by the facts of his own experience and the remembrance of the education he had received from his own Christian mother.

There is no wonder that he was often at a loss when we contrast the influences under which he and Rousseau gained their experience.

We learn from the entries in the Journal some of the principles of the method of Pestalozzi, and the manner in which they were evolved from his own experience and meditations.

The son of Pestalozzi was named Jacques or Jacobli. Here is an entry made when he was three and a half years old while they were at Neuhof.

Jan. 27, 1774. "I showed him the water which ran rapidly down the slope of the hill. He was delighted with this. As we went down the hill he said "Look papa, the water comes too, it comes from above, and it always goes lower." We followed the course of the water and I repeated to him several times "the water flows from the top to the bottom of the mountain."

I showed him some animals and said—the dog, the cat, &c., are animals, your uncle John and Nicholas are men. Then I asked him "What is the cow, the sheep, the minister, the goat, your cousin? He answered nearly always correctly.

When one of his answers was not right it was accompanied by a certain smile which meant that he was not going to answer properly, as though he were trying how far he could exercise his will and independence.

Jan. 29. I succeeded in keeping him long enough at his lesson after paving made him play, and run exposed to keen air. I find that one must be robust to be able to carry on educational work in the midst of hlay in the open air.

"Jan. 30th. He seemed wearied with spelling, but as I had determined to teach him it every day even against his will, I wished to make him feel severely from the first the necessity for it. So I gave him no alternative between this work and my displeasure, which was his punishment. I had him shut up. It was only after the third time that he became patient. After that he said his lesson cheerfully.

"I showed him that wood swam in water, whilst iron sank down to the bottom of the mud.

"Feb. 1st. I taught him the Latin names for the external parts of the head. By figures and examples, I made him understand the meaning of the words *within, without, above, below, in the middle, beside.*

"I showed him the snow melting into water in the room.

"I find that teaching is made easier by varying the sound of the voice—now high, now low, speaking sometimes in one tone and sometimes in another.

But to what would this oddity lead us?

"Feb. 2nd. The other day I tried to teach him the meaning of the numbers whose names he knows without attaching any exact sense to them. It is an immense obstacle in the way of reaching the truth when words are known unattached to things. The densest person would have been interested in our lesson. The child has been used to attach no difference of meaning between the names of numerals, and this habit had given rise to a spirit of inattention, that I have not been able to overcome to-day.

"Why have I allowed him to pronounce important words without taking care at the same time to give a clear idea of their meaning? Would it not have been more natural not to give the name "three" until he could recognise the number in all possible examples?

"Let yourself be guided by his love of imitation. Have you a grate or stove in the room? Design it for him, though your child should in a year be unable to draw the four corners, yet it will be sitting work for him. The comparison of mathematical figure and magnitude, is a subject of play and teaching to youth. In the care of his garden, and the gathering there of all kinds of plants, the collecting of chrysales, and insects, and keeping them in order, what a preparation is there for social life! What a check to idleness and ignorance. Yet how far is all this removed from our education!

"He has taken his reading lesson against his will. He tried every opportunity to do anything else. I felt to-day with the same force as yesterday how very defective is our way of teaching counting.

Feb. 4th. Jacobli has not been well since yesterday. To-day a slight attack of fever frightened us and we sent for the doctor. We had much difficulty in getting him to take his medicine. M. Koller, the doctor, advises us to accustom him to it by giving him something disagreeable to swallow from time to time.

"Feb. 13th. The care we have taken with Jacobli during his illness, which has lasted a week, has made him more tractable. I took one of his nuts to crack it; he thought I was going to eat it and he cried out in a passion. I looked at him coldly, without saying a word I took a second

nut and ate both before his eyes. He continued to cry. I showed him himself in the looking glass and he hid his face.

"I admire very much the simple rectitude of mind of our servant Nicholas. It is my habit to seek in the study of education the ideas of persons who have been brought up quite naturally and freely, and who have been taught by life, and not by books. "Nicholas," said I, "has not Jacobli a good memory?" "Yes," said he, "but you overload it. That is what I have thought many a time." "But," said I, "if the child were crammed I think we would notice it; he would lose courage, become timid, nervous and uneasy."

"Ah!" said Nicholas; "you *do* trouble yourself about the strength' and happiness of your child. That is what I thought you were forgetting."

Oh, Nicholas, all instruction is not worth a penny if it is gained at the cost of courage and cheerfulness."

"Feb. 14th. To day I am satisfied. He learned willingly. I played with him. I was a rider, a butcher, anything he liked.

I traced some straight lines to make him draw. Füsli (the painter of Zurich) said, If you want complete work do not attempt to pass over the a b c.

"Nature gives us our first language, why cannot it give us ten others. I see that I am not following the course of nature in teaching Latin. I must accustom myself to speak Latin. Notwithstanding, I am pleased with Jacobli's progress.

"Feb. 15th. I noticed to day a habit of my child's which shows his wit, but which will require great vigilance on our part. When he asks for anything he begins by anticipating the motives which may lead us to refuse it, or by explaining his reasons for wanting it.

"Mamma, I shall not break it, I shall only look at it. I only want to learn by it, I only want one."

"Lead your child by the hand into the great theatre of nature, instruct him in the mountains and the valleys! His ear will be more open then to your teaching; liberty will give him more strength to overcome difficulties. But at these times let nature itself teach rather than you.

"The child should obey a wise guide, a father who leads him aright; but he should not be ordered unless there is need for it. Never let your commands be the result of caprice, or vanity, or to fill him with knowledge which is indispensable. In order to ensure obedience it is necessary that the children rightly understand what is required of them.

"Jacobli shows himself self-willed and violent, to-day I have been obliged to punish him several times.

"Feb. 16th and 17th. In order to guard against obstinacy and prevent the daily recurrence of the same reprimands which are becoming common, I must take care to have alternations of lessons and play, so as not to deprive him of liberty unnecessarily! and to determine the time when he should be positively employed in study, so that all that he does at other times may have no appearance of work.

"I taught him how to use chalk. Although it is a small matter, I shall not allow him to hold it the wrong way.

"Feb. 18th. To-day I had a long walk with him. How stupid I am not to have profited by the circumstance to gain some useful end.

"My wife met the carpenter and asked him for the payment of a debt. 'Mamma,' said Jacobli, 'do not trouble the carpenter.'

"Feb. 19th. I am sometimes troubled at having given up the tone of authority of a master. Where shall I draw the limit between liberty and obedience to which social life requires us early to accustom ourselves.

MOTIVES FOR LIBERTY.

18. "One cannot interfere with the liberty of the child without incurring dislike.

"Experience proves that children who have been submitted to too much constraint are spoilt later on by unruliness.

"Constraint excites several passions.

"Liberty guided by wisdom leads the child to have a more attentive eye and willing ear, it favours tranquility, joy and equability.

"But this liberty supposes early education which renders the child entirely subject to the nature of things and not to the will of man.

MOTIVES FOR OBEDIENCE.

"Without it, education is impossible. There are extreme cases where the child's liberty would be its ruin, and even in the most favourable circumstances it is impossible not to cross his will sometimes.

"Liberty does not stifle the passions, it only delays their development. It is vanity which makes Emile tremble in his desire to surpass the juggler. And does not Rousseau himself, recognise the condition of dependence the State places us in when he speaks of men of fiery character whom it is necessary to restrain in their youth, if their childhood has been entirely free.

"Social life requires talents and habits which it is impossible to form without injuring liberty.

19. "Where is the fault? Where is the truth? Liberty is good; so, also, is obedience. We must unite what Rousseau has put asunder; impressed with the vices arising from an unnatural restraint which lowered humanity, he has not found the limits to liberty.

"Let us try and apply practically the wisdom of his principles.

"Master! be persuaded of the excellence of liberty! Do not let vanity cause you to try to produce fruits prematurely (do not seek to put the old head on young shoulders); let your child be as free as he can be, encourage liberty, calm, and good humour.

"Whatever you can teach him from the nature of things themselves, do not teach him by words. Leave him to himself to see, hear, find, stumble, rise again, and be mistaken. Give no words when action, or deed is possible. What he can do for himself let him do. Let him be always occupied, ever active, and let the time when you do not worry him be by far the greatest part of his childhood. You will come to learn that nature teaches him better than men.

"But when you see the need for accustoming him to obey, then prepare yourself most carefully to perform this difficult duty in his free education. Think that if constraint deprives you of the confidence of the

child, all your care has been in vain. Win his affections. Be necessary to him. Let him have no companion, more cheerful and pleasant than yourself; and let there be no one whom he prefers to you when he is inclined for fun.

“He must trust you. Whenever he wishes anything of which you do not approve, tell him the consequences and leave him free; but do it in such a way that the consequences may impress him seriously. Show him the right way; if he strays from it, and falls into the mud, pick him up. Let him suffer for not having taken your warnings and for having enjoyed perfect liberty. In this way, his confidence in you will be so great that it will not seem hard to him to be bidden to do certain things. He must obey a wise master, a father who gives just warnings; but only in cases of necessity should such orders be given.

A great importance attaches to these extracts as they have affected the reform of education, which is partly according to Rousseau's views and partly opposed to them.

Pestalozzi discovered by personal experience some of the faults of Rousseau's system and gained ideas of his own which he developed later for the good of mankind.

20. Meanwhile poor little Jacobli was made a philosophic experiment, and the system of Rousseau predominated in his up-bringing. For five years he had no companions but little beggars, and at the age of eleven he could neither read nor write. His father writes in 1782: “My son is more than eleven years old and he cannot read nor write, but that does not trouble me.” He composed a poem for his father's birthday, his mother writing it to his dictation. He was of a most affectionate disposition in spite of the teaching of Rousseau, but he was badly prepared for work in life. He was sent to school when he was fourteen years of age. His father writes thus to him in 1784: “For the love of God, Jacobli, pray and work. Be calm, industrious, neat, and obedient.”

“Avoid everything that is rude in the manners of the peasants, and learn how to behave yourself on all occasions with propriety. You now have the opportunity, and if you do not take advantage of it, you will never have it again. But I trust you will not grieve me by disobeying people to whom you owe as much gratitude as to me.”

“ My child ! you are all I have ; it is for your sake I care to live ; for you I have suffered more than I otherwise could bear. It depends upon you whether I shall be rewarded for all by the sweetest joy or made utterly miserable. For that would certainly be the result if you do not exert yourself to prepare for a suitable career, and if you do not profit by the happy effects of kindness and indulgence that I have shewn you in your childhood you will be no better than the young people who have been brought up under constraint and with severity.”

Later on, Jacob was apprenticed to a house of business at Bâle the chief of which was a friend of his father. But the lad succeeded neither here nor in his studies. At Bâle, he seemed delicate and in 1790, he returned to Neuhof.

In 1791, Jacobli married Anna-Madeline Froelich of Brugg, daughter of the proprietor of Muligen. They had several children who all died early except the youngest son, Gottlieb, who lived till 1863, and was the father of Colonel Pestalozzi, at present (1874) a professor at the Polytechnic College at Zurich.

From the time of his return to Neuhof, Jacob suffered from an illness called violent rheumatism. In 1797, his condition became so serious that it was thought he would die ; but he survived and lived for several years, a sufferer. He was paralysed on one side. He was tenderly nursed, not only by his wife and parents, but also by the faithful Elizabeth. At last, in 1800, apoplexy put an end to his sufferings, during a short absence from his mother, who wrote in her Journal :—

“ It pleased God to take him gently at last. May the peace of God be with him in the grave ; may the divine mercy welcome his soul that has left us ! May it give thee, good and dear child, a rich and beautiful reward for all the suffering thou hast borne ! Grant that it may not keep us who loved thee, long separated from thee. . . . But God has meanwhile let me see thee resting like an angel on thy deathbed. His expression, his mouth, shewed the goodness of God who had welcomed him as an angel in heaven. To God be eternal gratitude.”

In the happy days of his childhood, Jacobli had planted with his own hands a lime tree near the south-west angle

of the house, by the wayside ; for many years his parents tended it affectionately. For a long time neglected, it is now surrounded by an undergrowth of deferred shoots which have not affected its beauty. It is a large and vigorous tree which the visitor feels interested in looking at, in memory of the poor child at whose expense an experience was gained from which all humanity should profit.

CHAPTER V.

THE REFUGE AT NEUHOF.

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| 21. Pestalozzi receives twenty-five little beggars. | 24. Pestalozzi, with help raises his numbers to eighty. |
| 22. Great success of the first experiment. | 25. Difficulties. Parents. Losses. |
| 23. Iselin announces and recommends it. | 26. Ruin puts an end to the undertaking. |
| | 27. Pestalozzi's family saved by Elizabeth Naef. |

21. We have seen that Pestalozzi and his wife, a long time before the failure of his agricultural enterprise, had become uneasy and dissatisfied with their mode of life. They felt they were becoming too self-centred and that they had begun to lose sight of the patriotic and philanthropic ideas which before had inspired them. For in all her husband's views Madame Pestalozzi warmly sympathised.

In the educating of his son, Pestalozzi gained much valuable experience and many new ideas. He made a study of his child and noted down many particulars which are

very interesting to us. He also reflected much upon the facts that he observed, and he found frequently that it was necessary to modify his plan of action. Being a keen observer and having a real child to deal with, he found it impossible to get on by adhering to tradition and theory alone; even the newest and what he considered the best.

Starting with the most loyal faith in Rousseau's method of education, he felt himself compelled from time to time to differ from it. The reason for this is not far to seek. Emile, the child of Rousseau's imagination was suggested by the circumstances of the times, when all the world seemed out of gear. The first educational notions of Pestalozzi were suggested by the actual needs of his child, and the poor around him. The experience gained in the first years of his son's life were of great practical use to him in his dealing with the poor children in whom he interested himself. He was struck with the great need of activity which is natural to a child, and he thought that it might be turned to good account by providing children with a variety of exercises, never continued to weariness, which would teach them to earn their living whilst at the same time they could be receiving moral, and a little intellectual instruction. He thought that in leading a country life, tilling the land, and practising some industrial occupation, the poor would be in the best condition to secure their own self respect, independence and happiness, and contribute to the welfare and prosperity of the country. He says "it is not enough to raise the poor above the ox that labours, but above the man clothed in purple and fine linen, who does not live in a manner worthy of his destiny, for man was created in the image of God."

Pestalozzi very strongly disapproved of pauperising the poor. He believed, and justly, that institutions which encourage the poor to look to others instead of trusting to themselves to earn their own bread only increase the evil.

With these ideas he determined to make Neuhof the centre and model of his work of regeneration. This was in 1774. He had failed in his attempts to grow madder. Then he had endeavoured to carry on a cheese-making

establishment and for this purpose had sown several meadows. He had reduced his expenses, but there was still a debt upon the estate, besides sums yet to be met for building and the cultivating of the land. The paid workmen whom he had employed had proved unsatisfactory. Now, he thought, he would try to get on with children whom he would train and bring up himself, and who would owe everything and be accountable to him alone.

22. From 1774-5 he gathered little beggars from the neighbouring villages and roads. He dressed them, fed them and treated them like a father. He had them always with him, in the garden, the field, and the house. In bad weather he employed them in spinning cotton in a great room in the farm. A very short time was occupied in lesson-giving, and this was done whilst they were working with their hands. He did not urge their learning to read and write as he knew that such employment could only be useful to those who knew how to speak. Soon there were about twenty children at Neuhof and Pestalozzi's success with them surpassed his expectations. After a few months the poor little waifs were scarcely recognisable. Although they lived on very frugal fare, they were healthy and strong, and their expression was cheerful, frank, and intelligent, very unlike what it was on their first entrance into the house. They took a pleasure in their hand work and succeeded well in it as well as in the simple instruction which they received at the same time; and by their zeal and good feeling they seemed to return the affection that was showered upon them. This was in 1775.

But Pestalozzi's limited resources could not support this experiment, and the tilling of the ground required the work of a great many of these young people. Many other children wished to join, and Pestalozzi would fain have taken them in, but it was necessary to make still further retrenchment. The fame of Neuhof however, had spread and excited the interest and admiration of those who were able to appreciate the noble idea that the scheme had inspired. Pestalozzi was offered advances of money to help him and was advised to appeal to the friends of

humanity to obtain the means to enable him to extend his enterprise, and he was persuaded to do it.

23. The appeal appeared in the beginning of 1776 in a weekly journal published at Bâle under the name of the *Ephemerides of Humanity*. It is entitled, *An Appeal to the friends and benefactors of humanity wishing to support an establishment intended to give education and work to poor country children.*

“I address myself to some of the friends and benefactors to beg them to support an establishment which can no longer be maintained by my own resources.

“For a long time I have believed that little children can, in favourable circumstances, gain their own living by moderate work, when an advance of funds permits the organization of an economical system of board and lodging and a limited time devoted to instruction. I consider the attempt to realise this idea by careful practical experiment as exceedingly important for humanity.

“I have seen in a poor country the misery of children placed by the commune with the peasantry. I have seen the crushing harshness and selfishness with which these children were treated, depriving them of strength of body and mind. I have seen them growing up without any feelings or force necessary to themselves and their country. My land near Kœnigsfelden was favourable for making the attempt that my heart prompted, and I believed myself supported by means which have since failed me. Meanwhile, the experience of more than a year, during which the first difficulties have been overcome, proves the feasibility of my plans and hopes.

“I have proved by experience that a diet composed of the simplest dishes, such as potatoes, and indeed almost entirely of vegetables but suitably varied, with very little bread, is sufficient food for good health and growth.”

“I find by experience that poor children are not stunted in their growth and development by morning or evening work but by irregularity of life, by want of necessaries succeeded by excesses in times of plenty; and more still by passions which are excited rather than restrained, by

wild rudeness, habitual unrest, mischievous mutiny and great discouragement.

“It has been proved by experience that children who have lost health, strength, and heart by a life of idleness and beggary, when once introduced to regular work which they have not been accustomed to, rapidly regain their gaiety, spirit, appearance, and growth by simply removing them from the conditions that had excited their passions.

“I have found they soon rise from a position of abject misery, to feelings of humanity, confidence and goodwill; that the affection shown to them raises their soul; and that the eyes of the child, accustomed to misery, gladden with surprise full of feeling, when, after years of hardship, it sees helping hand held out to it. It is my belief that such feeling experienced by the heart of a poor miserable child is fraught with the most important consequences in regard to its development and morality.

“I find that the meeting of these children, under the same roof, when order directs, favours their development, diminishes the cost of their living, and encourages their love for work.

“I do not doubt but that I would have succeeded in gaining a great and useful end, if my strength had been equal to the task: namely, complete instruction as far as the limited needs of the workers required; and the salvation of children abandoned to the lowest conditions of humanity. I wish to save these from becoming vagabonds and criminals and to give them an education that will make them active and useful.

“The situation of my estate seems to me to be favourable for this place from economic and other reasons.

“But with this simple and practicable plan of agricultural education I have unfortunately connected a large industrial and commercial enterprise. I have with culpable thoughtlessness engaged in work with which I am unacquainted and my confidence has been betrayed. I have been deprived all at once of resources which I trusted to, my ruin is inevitable. I must give up trade and industry

to return, not too late I hope, to my first, my simple idea of the education of children without mingling business matters with it. But I cannot do this unaided.

“I beg the friends of humanity to entrust me for six years with a few florins yearly. I shall return them in annuities, beginning from the tenth year, which will be easy for me to do from the gains of the workmen whom I shall have trained.

“If I succeed in obtaining this help I promise to devote all my time and strength to the education of poor forsaken children. I promise to proportion the number of admissions to the amount that is allowed me, I promise to teach all the children to read, write, and count; and the boys the chief occupations of farming and tillage as far as I can, the care of meadows and pasture; the different kinds of grasses, care of fruit and forest trees, &c. The care of the house also will teach the girls gardening, domestic work and sewing.

“The occupation for winter will chiefly be the spinning of cotton.

“I promise to provide all the children with suitable living, food, clothing, shelter, and beds. I have already supplied a number of these.

“I promise to give them religious instruction considered as an affair of conscience and to do my utmost to train and develop in them pure and tender feelings.

I have only to add that I have twenty children in excellent health who live and work with me.

“Their cheerfulness in spite of hard work has surpassed my expectations; their spirit, and the tenderness and affection which many of them show towards me make me very hopeful for the future; for I take upon myself the whole charge of them.”

Pestalozzi promised to give a detailed account of the progress of the work year by year and invited inspection. Then he quoted several people of consideration who had approved of his plan, and finished by asking the friends of humanity to trust him and help him in spite of all his faults and errors.

Amongst the men of talent and influence who approved of the enterprise, none supported him more zealously than the editor of the paper, Iselin, who was an honour to his country by the elevation of his ideas and sentiments. This is what he inserted in his journal.—

“ We are happy to announce that the appeal of M. Pestalozzi has not been without effect, and not only worthy individuals but also the Council of Commerce of the Republic of Berne support the institution ; so that we hope it will be continued. In one of our early numbers we shall give to our readers some letters of M. Pestalozzi which explain his views in a most complete manner and contain excellent ideas upon the education of country children.

In the letters Pestalozzi points out that in the institutions then existing for the poor they did not learn to content themselves with little. The children’s work should, he thinks, be sufficient to keep them. He supposes an establishment which receives children at the age of eight or nine years and which keeps them for six years, but the sixth year he considers that the establishment should have paid all its expenses. He observes that in his country the tilling of the soil is not sufficient in itself to keep all the inhabitants, so he would add some industrial occupation. And as to the kind of agriculture he would teach, it would be of the simplest—only what they would hope to pursue on the little plot of ground they would occupy—growing a few vegetables for their own use, or for market. That is why he would scarcely have them attempt more than the cultivating of marshy land, but it would be a pleasure to them.

Speaking from the religious point of view he says, “ What an awful responsibility it is for the director, of whom the souls of a hundred children will be required, if he has let them forget their God, their Father, their Saviour ; if he has not kept in them a strong and living faith in the Divine revelation, our only consolation in trial, and the hope of eternal life to which we are called ! The director should be the father of the house ; the progress of the children in application and goodness, in mind and

heart, the daily perfecting of their aptitudes should be his reward.

In the *Third* letter, written in March 19th, 1777 he points out some unforeseen difficulties that have presented themselves. *First*, confirmed beggars amongst these who will not conform to the new mode of life.

Secondly, parents who come to trouble his peace by taking the children away for the sake of their clothes.

Thirdly, Madame Pestalozzi had been seriously ill for a long time.

Fourthly, In spite of all the care they took, measles broke out; and the crops were injured by hail. But Pestalozzi is not discouraged, he and his wife devote themselves to the work in the same spirit. But he thinks that the prosperity and success of the Home cannot be assured without regular meetings with the parents, support of the authorities, and the pupils obliged to remain in the establishment for the necessary time fixed.

Fragment of an account of the most degraded portion of Humanity. Appeal to Charity to relieve it. Neuhoj. Sept. 18th, 1877.

In this writing Pestalozzi describes a dozen children in his asylum. They entered it in a state of such wretchedness that they seemed only fit to do harm to society, their families, and themselves.

Nevertheless some of them had good abilities; nearly all have already improved and they are beginning to work for their bread. Pestalozzi believes from his experience, that it is possible to save those who are weakest in body and even almost imbecile.

But the head of the house must be a true father to them, for on this relationship depends the real saving efficacy of such education.

It is necessary, however, to keep the children five or six years in the house, and protect them from the influence of their natural parents, when it is decidedly hurtful. There are thirty-six children; the number is to be increased in spring, when the economical conditions of the establishment are more favourable.

Educational Establishment for Poor Children at Neuhof, in Aargau. (Without a date).

In this paper Pestalozzi addresses the supporters of his enterprises; explains the difficulties to be overcome and insists upon inspection by competent persons.

The household numbers fifty persons, of whom twelve are paid: such as teachers, skilled workmen and work-women, and servants, whose help has become necessary for the progress of the children in their various occupations.

The experience gained at Neuhof proves clearly that it is necessary to attach certain conditions to the admission of pupils. He announces that in future he will receive none without a regular agreement with the parents. He will admit no more from towns unless they are very young for it is the City Arabs who are the cause of the difficulties.

He then repeats that he will not cease to devote himself entirely to the work.

This paper is followed by a testimonial from the Economic Society of Berne who had had the establishment examined by competent men who were well known and highly esteemed: magistrates, doctors etc., and it declares that it has perfect confidence in the possibility of success under such direction, and recommends the scheme to the public.

Authentic news of M. Pestalozzi's Educational Institute for Poor Children, at Neuhof near Birr, in the year 1778.

This is the title of a pamphlet published by the Economic Society of Berne.

This is in great part but a repetition of what has been already stated. Pestalozzi announces that he has received in donations to his establishment the sum of *sixty louis d'or* (a *louis d'or* is worth about twenty shillings English.) He thanks his benefactors and begs the public to continue to give him its support.

But the special interest of this paper consists in a detailed account of the inmates of the refuge. We give here the literal translation:

“The children now in my establishment are:

(1). “Barbara Brunner, from Esch (Zurich), 17 years of age; entered three years ago in a state of complete ignorance and savagery, but with

good abilities. Now she spins, reads, and writes pretty well; she has a great taste for singing; her principal occupation is in the kitchen.

(2). "Fréna Hirt, 15 years, }
 (3). "Maria Hirt, 11 years, } two sisters from Windisch (Vindonissu)

"Fréna has a weak chest, she spins well, and is beginning to sew and write nicely; I am satisfied with her disposition and morals. Maria, the younger, in good health, full of talent, especially clever in arithmetic, spins particularly well: she is strong enough for any work suited to her age.

"Anna Vogt, 19 years, }
 "Lisbeth Vogt, 11 years, } two sisters from Mandach,

"They entered three years ago, terribly neglected both in body and mind; they had spent their life in beggary. It was extremely difficult to give them any idea of order, fidelity, or activity. The ignorance and stupidity of the elder surpassed anything one could imagine, and her idleness is still uncured; but her disposition seems a little improved. She still is suffering for the neglect of her past life, she has swollen feet and other ailments, and is quite unfit for work in the fields.

"The younger sister has good ability and health; but she makes such an obstinate stand against all that is good that it makes me afraid. However, I think I see a sign of improvement. She spins pretty well, and is fit for any kind of work in the house or the fields.

(6). "Henry Vogt, of Mandach, 11 years, three years in the house, can weave well, is beginning to write and also to learn French (German is the language of the country), and arithmetic, exact and careful; but his disposition seems to be cunning, dissimulating, bold and greedy, he is in good health.

(7). "Anneli Vogt, of Mandach, sister of Jacob Vogt, 11 years, industrious, spins well, sings prettily, has a taste for arithmetic, health good, as useful in the fields as in the house; here three years.

(8). "Jacob Vogt, her brother, 9 years, here three years. The misery of his early childhood has left him subject to a kind of colic from which he suffers from time to time. He is self-willed and idle.

(9). "Jacob Eichenberger, from Brunegg, 13 years. After running away from here six months ago, he came back having been a long time away. He appears to have a good heart; he is intelligent, healthy, and makes himself useful in the fields. He is attentive, knows how to spin well, and is beginning to write fairly well.

(10). "Lisbeth Renold, from Brunegg, 10 years, here a year and a half, so weakened at first by misery that she could not walk; she has made incredible progress; is now well, has good abilities, but there is little hope of her ever being strong enough to work in the fields. She spins well and industriously.

(11). "David Rudolf, from Zurzach, 15 years; here a year and a half, succeeds in weaving, sensitive disposition, writes well, has begun the elements of arithmetic and French.

(12). "Leonzi Hediger, from Endingen, near Baden (Aargau), 14 years; here three years. A strong, healthy boy accustomed to field work, the

cleverest weaver in the establishment, is beginning to write a little and learn a little French; he is very capable but rude and unconv.

(13). Francisca Hediger, his sister, here three years, she sews, spins, and cooks carefully. She will make an attentive, obedient, intelligent and honest servant.

(14). "Marianne Hediger, }
 (15). "Marie Hediger, } two sisters, in good health, equally

active, and suited to work both in the fields and in the house."

* * * * *

(Time forbids the completion of the list).—*Translator.*

"In the direction of the establishment and the interest of the children, I have the very valuable aid of Miss Madelon Spindler, of Strasbourg, who has wonderful talent and energy. I have, besides, a weaving master and two trained weavers; a spinning mistress, and two good spinners; a man winds skeins and teaches reading; two men and two women servants, who are almost entirely occupied in agricultural work."

24. These quotations give a just idea of the establishment of NeuhoF in the spring of 1778, when Pestalozzi added to the numbers. He hoped by increasing the number of workers to improve his resources. But this step had the contrary result to what he expected. The evils which Pestalozzi sought to correct were very common among the people. This is evident from the large number of children who wished to enter his house, (he had received eighty) and the demoralization of most of them.

25. The little beggars detested sitting steadily at work, and even the fare they received, being unrelieved by dainty morsels, did not please them. They became mutinous and ran away. The parents, who had been counting on the profit they hoped to gain, threatened Pestalozzi, who had dressed and fed their children, giving them the best potatoes and leaving the worst for himself. Many of the children ran away at night carrying their Sunday clothes. All this was most discouraging and there is evidence that these events had an influence upon the supporters of the work, for the contributions diminished and so did the consideration in which the establishment was held. *Still* Pestalozzi did not lose heart but worked on bravely beyond his strength, becoming daily more self-sacrificing, whilst his noble wife helped him, giving up all her means for the cause, and losing her health.

26. But not all their efforts could make it rally: they had found it necessary to get experienced assistance in the work, but the remedy came too late, and in 1780 all their resources were exhausted. The noble struggle had lasted two years and nothing was left. So they were obliged to give up an enterprise upon which husband and wife had expended their whole strength and their last crown.

Pestalozzi's undertaking failed, but the principles which inspired it have borne fruit.

After the failure of this work Pestalozzi was as poor as the beggars he had helped. He had absolutely nothing. His wife was ill and unable to look to the affairs of the house, and he was too awkward, disheartened, and worn out to do the work necessary for the family. They had neither bread, wood, nor money, and they suffered from cold and hunger.

27. In this extremity the family was helped and supported by an excellent woman—a servant who voluntarily came and devoted herself to a work of self-sacrifice and love. Elizabeth Naef, this noble-hearted woman, belonged to a family that had distinguished itself in the wars of religion and had obtained the citizenship of Zurich. She had known Pestalozzi before, being in the service of one of his friends. When she heard of the disaster and want at NeuhoF, being free by the recent death of her master, she hastened to the rescue of the afflicted, sick, and ruined family. Pestalozzi at first refused to accept her offer. He did not wish this excellent woman to be associated with their misery. But she was firm, and he at last consented to receive her proffered aid.

NeuhoF was in a state of dreadful disorder but Elizabeth set to work at once and soon restored comfort to the house. It was she who served as the type for the character of the brave, active, clever, sweet, and devoted woman, drawn by the author of Leonard and Gertrude.

Ramsauer also speaks most gratefully of her. Elizabeth nursed poor Jacobli in his last illness and in 1801 she married Krusi, brother of Pestalozzi's excellent collabora-

teur.* From 1805 she was at Yverdon and known to the pupils as Frau Krusi.

The material misery from which Elizabeth extricated Pestalozzi was not the saddest part of his trouble. Hope had left him; he had lost the confidence of the citizens; and even his friends had lost faith in him.

But what added most to his sorrow was the miserable position into which he had led his good and uncomplaining wife.

Elizabeth's help brought bread to the family. It was Iselin who brought back hope to Pestalozzi, enabling him to pursue his work which the world thought was done but which had hardly begun.

CHAPTER VI.

PESTALOZZI AS AN AUTHOR.

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| 28. Iselin encourages Pestalozzi to write. | 34. The Swiss Gazette. Pestalozzi obliged to till his land for a living. |
| 29. The Evening Hour of a Hermit. | 35. Unpublished M.S. : "The Causes of the French Revolution." |
| 30. Leonard and Gertrude, Vol 1. Correspondence with Count Zinzendorf. | 36. Correspondents. Nicolovius. Fellenberg. Fichte. |
| 31. Instruction of Children in the Home. | 37. His Fables, (Figures for my A. B. C.) |
| 32. Upon Sumptuary Laws. | 38. Researches into the Course of Nature, &c. |
| 33. Christopher and Alice. | |

39. His character as an Author.

28. The ruin of the work undertaken at Neuhof did not shake the faith of Pestalozzi in his views regarding the elevating of the people by education. But it had deprived him to all appearance of all the means and support

* See Chapter X

necessary to realize them. His despondency was so great that it affected his health and even his life. Meanwhile, in spite of the failure of the practical experiment, Iselin still believed in the excellence of the idea that had inspired it, and offered him his support in making known his ideas to the public. After Iselin's death, Pestalozzi expressed his admiration for his friend. He says of him "He was a man to the last. All that was human attracted him, and he had a marvellous power of discovering it in whatever corner or under whatever form it was hid. It was thus that at the end of his life he found me and received me with open arms, a warm heart, and cheerful smile; at a time when people shrugged their shoulders when I passed, and those who cared for me could only groan when they heard me spoken of. Then Iselin came to me, bringing consolation and joy. He was my father, my master, my support and comfort."

During the five years that Pestalozzi had been devoting himself to his children he had learned many things. Coming in such close contact with the poor and neglected, the degraded and wretched, he knew them thoroughly. By his determined work and various and persevering efforts he had reached the bottom of the problem which he wished to solve. His very errors, by throwing new lights upon it had only strengthened his convictions. He says "Whilst I was the laughing stock of men who despised me, the powerful inspiration of my heart never for a moment swerved from my single aim—to fathom the cause of the misery in which I saw the people sunk around me, and my misfortune only made me acquainted with more useful truths, and my strength increased. . . . I knew the people as no one else in the country knew them. What deceives nobody deceives me, but what others cannot understand is clear to me.

"I can say to-day with gratitude to God, that it is by my own misery that I learned to understand the people's misery and its causes, as those more happily placed could not do. Well, I was never more deeply convinced of the fundamental truth upon which I built my enterprise, than when I saw it crumble around me."

The destruction of the work at Neuhof, though a sad grief to Pestalozzi, was in fact a fortunate event, both for him and the world. It was the cloud with the silver lining. For, had his scheme as father of the beggars of the district succeeded, his powers would have been employed in a sphere of activity which was not his vocation, and the reformer of education would, perhaps, be yet to seek.

29. Being unable to undertake any practical schemes he wished to make known his ideas to the public. For this cause he wrote "The Evening Hour of a Hermit," which was his first educational work. It is little known, but it is important. The work came out first in Iselin's paper the "Ephemerides," May, 1780, but was afterwards reprinted by Pestalozzi in his *Journal of Education*. The *Evening Hour of a Hermit* consists of a series of aphorisms (one hundred and eighty in all), briefly and forcibly expressed. They follow in consecutive order, and contain an exposition of the author's views relative to the raising of the people by education.

Here is the substance of a few :

(1). "Man, whether seated on a throne or under a thatched roof is by nature always the same. But what is he? Why do not the wise tell us? Why do not the intelligent study their own race? Does the peasant make use of his oxen without knowing something about them? Does not the shepherd trouble himself about the nature of his sheep?"

2. "And you who employ men, you who say that you govern them, that you lead them, take you the same trouble that the peasant does with his cattle and the shepherd with his flock. Does your wisdom consist of a knowledge of your race? Is your worth the goodness of enlightened pastors of the people?"

(3). "What man *is*, what he needs, what will raise or debase him, what will strengthen or enfeeble him, *that* is the question which should occupy the thought of all, of the ruler and the inmate of the poorest hut.

8. "All the pure and beneficent powers of humanity are neither the product of art, nor the effects of chance. They exist virtually in the inmost nature of all men. Their development is a great need of humanity.

(10). "The infant when it has been fed learns thus what his mother is to him; love and gratitude awaken in his heart before the words love and gratitude strike his ear; and the son eating his father's bread and warming himself at his hearth finds in this way of nature the beneficent knowledge of his duty as a child.

(12). "Man, it is in thyself, in the inner consciousness of thy powers that the instrument of nature for thy development is found.

(21). "The way of nature which develops the powers of humanity ought to be easy and open to all : education which produces true wisdom and calm of mind should be simple and within the reach of each.

(22). "Nature develops all the powers of humanity by exercise, and their growth depends upon their use.

(23). "The exercise of the knowledge, talents, and faculties of man owes its powers to the order established by nature for the education of humanity.

(24). "This is how the man who, in simplicity and innocence exercises his knowledge, powers, and talents with order, calm, and persevering industry, is naturally led to true human wisdom ; whilst he who inverts the order of nature and breaks the sequence of his knowledge, destroys in himself the need of verifying his knowledge, and becomes incapable of enjoying benefit from truth.

(25). "Man, Father ! Do not force the minds of your children before they have acquired strength by exercise suited to their powers ; and avoid harshness and constraint.

(26). "When men want to hurry on and get ahead of nature in the order and way of this development, they injure their inner strength and destroy their calm and harmony of mind.

(27). "They do this when, before having trained their mind by progressive knowledge of the realities of life, they entangle themselves in the maze of words, formulæ, and opinions which thus become the basis of its development and the sole principle of its strength.

(28). "The artificial method of the school hastens the order of words before the order of nature which does not hurry and can wait ; that is what casts a deceptive glamour over man's development and conceals the want of natural innate strength, but this satisfies the present day.

36. "Man ! If you seek truth in this order of nature, you will find what you need before you.

(40). "The pure sentiment of truth and wisdom is trained in the narrow circle of the connections close to us by circumstances which engross us, and skill which we require.

(49). "The practice of acts contrary to our innate sense of right, takes from us the power of recognising truth and deprives us of the nobleness, purity, and simplicity of our principles and impressions

(50). Hence all human wisdom rests upon the powers of a heart which follows truth ; and all human happiness, upon this sentiment of simplicity and innocence.

(60). "The domestic relations of man are the first and most important of his nature.

(61). Man works at his profession, and bears the public burdens in order to be able to enjoy the calm of domestic happiness.

"So the education of man for his profession and place in the State should be subordinated to the requirements of a happy home.

(63). "Thus the home is the basis of the education of humanity.

(64). "Home ! 'Thou art the school of manners, private and public.

(70). "The most important need of man is his relation with God.

(71). "Oh man! Thy home and its best joys do not always calm thee.

(72). "Thy soft and impressionable nature has not strength, without God, to bear constraint, suffering, and death.

(94). "God is the father of humanity, the children of God are immortal.

(135). "Sin is the source and consequence of want of faith; it is an act of man against the promptings of the still small voice within.

(168). "It is because humanity believes in God that I am calm in my cottage.

(175). "I found all liberty on justice; but I do not see any true justice if humanity lacks uprightness, piety, and love.

(178). "The source of justice and every blessing in the world, the source of brotherly love among men, is in the grand idea of religion that we are the children of God.

(180). "The man of God, who, by his sufferings, and death, brought to men this filial feeling, towards God, is the Saviour of the world, the priest and the victim of the sacrifice of the Lord, the Mediator between God and Man who had forgotten his Creator. His doctrine is pure justice, popular educational philosophy; it is the revelation of God the Father to his fallen race of children."

The Evening Hour of a Hermit did not attract much attention. Its merit could not be appreciated by all. It was too didactic for the general taste. Had Pestalozzi written in a lighter and more popular style he would have more readily reached the public.

About this time the Council of Zurich made a regulation for the reform of the service of police who protected the town. The regulation dealt especially with uniform, and external appearance. Pestalozzi, who was always attached to the simplicity of the ancient manners, thought the reform ridiculous, and he wrote a satire upon the plan of changing the "dirty, crooked and unkempt guards into the upright, spruce and well-combed guards." He sent it to his friend the bookseller Fussli, brother of the painter, who saw it on the table, read and re-read it and said "Whoever can write in this way has no need of anything but his pen to gain a living" and others confirmed this judgment. Fussli hastened to Neuhof to persuade Pestalozzi to become an author. But he was reluctant to do so, believing he could not succeed.

"It is ten years ago," he said "since I have read anything and I have only been amongst illiterate people. I am not

fit to write a page without a fault." However he allowed himself to be persuaded at last. I would be a wig-maker he said later to be able to earn bread for my wife and child. Then he began to read the moral tales of Marmontel and endeavoured over and over again to imitate that kind of composition, he never however was satisfied with his work.

30. Suddenly the idea occurred to him to describe the peasants whom he knew so well, with their vices and misery and also the elements of regeneration, strength, and virtue blended, in spite of their degradation. This would be a means of pursuing his favourite thought.

This happy idea saved his work. From that time he wrote, without any trouble and without stopping or even making a plan beforehand, his *Leonard and Gertrude*.

He was so poor that he could not buy paper, so he wrote between the lines of an old account book, and finished the book in a few weeks. He read it to a friend who pronounced it interesting but dreadfully incorrect and *wanting in literary form*, he offered, however, to correct it. Pestalozzi accepted this offer gratefully, but when his MS. was returned he found it absurdly changed. The peasantry spoke like pedants, it was full of pretentious phrases and so transformed that all the truth and nature had disappeared from it. Pestalozzi could not consent to have his work published in this form and his first impulse was to give it up altogether. But Iselin again came to his aid. He understood from the first the idea of the work and saw its merit, he corrected it for the printer and found a publisher at Berlin who gave Pestalozzi six dollars a page for it. *Leonard and Gertrude* appeared in 1781. It was the first of four volumes which later on formed a complete work. The most of the journals praised it, and fragments from it were inserted in several almanacs. The Economic Society of Berne addressed a letter of congratulation to Pestalozzi with a gift of fifty florins and a gold medal of the same value with the legend *Civi optimo* (To the best of citizens) over an oak wreath.

Then Pestalozzi was visited by a crowd of important people. Being invited to dine with a gentleman, who sent

his carriage for him, Pestalozzi forced the footman to ride inside the carriage beside him. Charles de Bonstetten pressed him to go to his country house near Vaud, and several other magnates tried to induce him to visit them, but he stayed at Neuhof.

Leonard and Gertrude is a simple, animated and touching story of village life which Pestalozzi knew so well. Leonard is an honest man, full of good intentions, but weak and addicted to drink; sometimes his love for his wife and children whom he makes miserable causes him to make good resolutions; sometimes the influence of the worthless people of the village leads him into evil. Gertrude, his wife, is an excellent house-mother, amiable, industrious, and full of good sense. By virtue of patience, work, and perseverance she saves her family, by saving her husband. The bailiff Hummel is at this time the village inn keeper; he is a cunning, wicked man, abusing his position by enticing weak men to drink at his house, getting them into debt there, and, thus enriching himself by their ruin. Arner, the new lord of the manor, has elevated ideas and a generous heart, he loves the peasants like a father; he it is who supports Gertrude in her distress and baffles the bailiff.

In *Leonard and Gertrude* the characters are traced so admirably, that after having read the book, one seems to know the people as if one had lived among them. This, however, is not its principal merit; this novel was a new means by which Pestalozzi popularised his ideas, by shewing how education could relieve the people and contribute to their happiness. It is Gertrude who illustrates his views upon the manner of instructing children and making them work at home; it is Arner who is entrusted to prove all that a benevolent and enlightened administration can do to rescue and raise the poor. But in this volume the action is so perfect that the intention of teaching never appears. The public therefore took it only as a good and interesting novel, and Pestalozzi, from the praises he received, found that he had not quite gained his end.

31. He then wrote a new book with the intention of showing how Leonard and Gertrude should be used for the education of children and put into practice. Its title was "*The Instruction of Children in the Houseplace.*"* This work has not been printed; whether he was not pleased with it, or whether he thought it would not be much read we cannot say. Niederer got possession of the manuscript and he published a part of it in his *Pestalozzian Pamphlets*. The following is a translation of the first chapter:

CHAPTER I.—A man whose heart is good but who, notwithstanding, makes his wife and children very unhappy.

There is in Bonal a woman who brings up her children better than anyone else; she is called (1) Gertrude, and her husband (2) Leonard. The latter is a mason, (3) with a good trade; he has (4) seven children who work (5) late and early, are obedient, good-tempered, tidy, careful, and love each other very much. The father, however, (6) is easily led and often is tempted into the public house, and there (7) he acts like a madman. (8) The village where this family live has been so demoralised for more than thirty years that (9) the most of the peasants live there like people without either faith or law, and such is really the case.

The chief cause of this is (10) that the old lord who died a few weeks ago (11) interested himself less in his people than in his dogs and game. Thus it is that his villages have become miserable and are filled with men who are the leeches or blood suckers of the poor. The most notorious of these (12) is Hummel, the bailiff of Bonal. His house is filled (13) every day with rogues whose only occupation is to ensnare simple and honest men, and to rob them of their money. They know the good Leonard, (14) they take him often away to drink and play, and also carry off nearly every day the fruits of his labours. (15) Leonard bitterly regrets this next morning, and (16) his heart bleeds when he sees Gertrude and her children in want of bread. (17) Sometimes he weeps apart, he feels ashamed before Gertrude and his eyes moisten when he takes one of his children in his arms.

Gertrude is the best woman in the village; but (18) she and her rosy children run the risk of losing their father and their cottage home, of being sent away, separated, and falling into the deepest misery (19) because Leonard cannot resist the temptation of the public-house.

(20). "Gertrude foresees the danger and her heart is almost breaking. When she gathers grass in the meadow, when she takes the hay from the barn, when she fills up her clean pails with milk, she is ever pained by the thought (21) that her meadow, her barn, her cow, and even her cottage may soon be taken from her; and (22) when her children are around her and put their arms round her neck her grief is greater; often (23) when

* A north country term for the living room. The home is meant.

these dear little ones clasp their hands to pray to their Father in Heaven, the same thought strikes her heart.

26). "So far, however, she has succeeded in hiding from her children the tears she sheds in silence; but (27) on the Wednesday before Easter as her husband was later than usual she could not control her grief. The children saw her tears and they all wept together. (28). Oh, mamma, you are crying! (29) They clung to her, pain was seen in every face, there were stifled sobs; and all were in fear around their mother.

"The baby even, for the first time looked fixedly with eyes that only expressed grief. (30) This broke Gertrude's heart, her sobs became loud, and the children cried with her. (31). At that moment of desolation, the mason opened the door. (32). Gertrude had thrown herself upon her bed; she heard nothing, she did not see Leonard.

(33). "The children did not notice him either; they saw only their mother's grief, and they hung on to her arms, her neck, and her clothes. Thus the father found them.

(34). "God above sees the tears of those who are unhappy, and he puts a limit to the grief of man. Gertrude, in the midst of her tears, experienced the goodness of God, which led Leonard to witness this scene, and it pierced him to the soul. (36). His lips trembled, he turned pale, he could hardly say: 'Lord Jesus! What is the matter?' Then only the mother saw him and the children observed him too.

(37). "They ceased crying, and called out all at once: 'O, mamma, father is here.

"Thus, when the overflowing torrents or the devouring flames cease their ravages, the first terror of the people is calmed, and gives place to a quiet and reflective grief.

QUESTIONS.*

(1). "What is the name of the woman who brings up her children better than all others? (2). What is the name of her husband? (3). What is he? (4). How many children has he? (5). How do the children behave every day? (6). What is the father's fault? (7). How does he often act when he goes to the inn? (8). What is the state of the village? (9). What is the result of this demoralisation? (10). Whose fault is it? (11). What does he think more of than his peasants?

TRUTHS AND INSTRUCTIONS.

1. Children who are well brought up are obedient, good-tempered, neat, careful, and they love one another.
2. The public house leads men sometime to act like madmen.
3. It is with cities and villages as with individual man: demoralisation makes them wretched.
4. People who are demoralised live as though they had neither faith nor law.

* We are indebted to Pestalozzi for this kind of questioning at the end of reading books.

5. The more demoralised a country is the more cunning rogues will be in it, whose occupations and resources consist in taking money from the pockets of simple and honest men.

6. He who thinks less of the people on his estates than of his dogs and game causes great evil in the world and loads himself with a heavy responsibility.

7. He is a sorrow who is only a shadow and who has no influence over the actions of men.

8. A bad conscience takes away from men the power to help themselves.

9. A bad father causes a thousand sorrows to his wife and children.

10. When children are good, when they are pious and show their love for God and men, then their troubles doubly afflict the heart of their parents.

11. God who is in heaven puts an end to the griefs of men.

By these additions Pestalozzi wished to show that *Leonard and Gertrude*, was not only a novel but a work on popular education. But this was not published and we think the author was right. He wished however to continue the story, which had begun with such success. So in 1783 a second volume of *Leonard and Gertrude* appeared, in 1785 a third, and in 1787 a fourth.

Pestalozzi dedicated this fourth Volume to Felix Battier, a merchant of Bâle who by helping him to remit the value of his estate of Neuhof, had greatly mitigated his misery. This is how the author expresses himself in his dedication of Jan. 1st, 1787 :

“Friend! you found me like a plant trodden down in the way and you saved me from the feet of men. My most important views would not have ripened but for your help. The weight of my experience is yet very heavy to me. I live yet as in a dream with the image of my work. So long as I live I shall not cease to wish to pursue my aim, and I shall have peace only when I can work efficiently to realise the views which have urged me to my first undertakings.”

The work in four volumes is the complete account of the regeneration of the village of Bonal, by the meeting of the legislation, administration, the church, and the school. The title Pestalozzi gave it was “*Leonard and Gertrude, a book for the people.*”

But *the people* hardly read it. The numerous readers of the first volume had enjoyed it as a novel without stopping to consider the instruction it contained ; not wisely but too well. The three other volumes were far less successful. Pestalozzi carefully guarded himself against the same misapprehension occurring in regard to the purpose of the book. There would be no gilding of the pill *this* time.

So the thoughts and lessons, intended for the good of his fellow-country-men, were stated so clearly that they outweighed the narrative which consequently had less interest for general readers.

Even the more serious and thoughtful readers who could enjoy the less dramatic and attractive style of the work did not quite understand its scope, as the author's views were far ahead of his times, and they could not imagine the reforms effected in the village of Bonal to be the representation of a possible state of things. They looked upon it as a utopian dream. Notwithstanding this the picture Pestalozzi has drawn represents the most of the economical and moral progress of which Switzerland may be proud to day, and which it has taken thirty, sixty, and eighty years to accomplish.

Mme. De Stäel praises the work Leonard and Gertrude very warmly. "There is no parallel in literature to a character with a local habitation and a name to compare with Gertrude."

In it is found the abolition of commonage the division of the unproductive common land which only required the eye and hand of a proprietor to become a source of wealth, the recovery of tithes, the institution of savings banks, the organisation of a reformatory system of education, the suppression of capital punishment, and the establishment of good, elementary schools in which education aims at once at supplying the moral needs of the soul and the material wants of life,

In 1874, Count Zinzendorf, financial minister of Austria wrote to Pestalozzi holding out tempting proposals if he would go to Vienna.* Extract.

* But Pestalozzi could not be induced to go.

"Your plans and trials of elementary education, the improvement of vicious children, and particularly all that you desire for the instruction of the people, in a word all that should be the object of legislative measures is of great importance to me, and I shall receive with great pleasure all that you write to me upon the subject."

Then, on Dec. 19th, 1787.

"I have twice read the fourth volume; it is exceedingly interesting from page 164, and it deals with some very important ideas relative to the popular classes. In order to put your ideas into practice the first thing to be done is to spread the ideas of Arner among the nobility, the sole proprietors of all wealth; they would require the inclination and the courage to bring up their sons in this spirit beside country children, and be content to reside upon their estates."

In his answer on Jan. 18th, 1788, Pestalozzi says :

"Some statesmen and magistrates have praised the fourth volume, but the mass of readers find it extremely dull from page 164.

"Education is the pivot upon which everything turns; the State should consider this object its most essential aim and subordinate everything else to it. If the first interest of the state is properly cared for, the individual interests of sovereigns will be easily preserved. The bond between the local authorities and the superior authority will be easily linked in a satisfactory manner.

"Let us hope, my Lord, that those who are the leaders of humanity will grasp the conviction that the improvement of mankind is their most important and sole interest, and I am certain that sooner or later what I desire for the people will be understood and accepted, and princes themselves will be the first to favour it and hold out a helping hand to those who can best direct it."

Although it is a hundred years old "Leonard and Gertrude" strikes the reader by the richness, variety and aptness of view, its boundless sympathy with suffering, and its simple eloquence.

The secret of this is the intense love of Pestalozzi and his knowledge of the human heart which leads him to identify himself with the child, the poor, and even the criminal.

Whilst writing Leonard and Gertrude, he wrote four other works which were published from 1781 to 1783.

32. In 1779 a Society at Bâle put this question to an assembly "How far is it advisable to limit the expenses of citizens in small free states?"

Twenty eight essays were presented and the jury divided the first prize between Professor Meister and Pestalozzi who had been old colleagues.

In 1781 Pestalozzi's book was published in pamphlet form.

In this writing Pestalozzi strongly condemns sumptuary laws. At the same time he advocates free trade. But he deplors the progress of luxury and suggests education as the only means to meet it, for restraint, he says, only does harm. He inveighs against ostentatious and useless display amongst the governors of the people.

33. Christopher and Alice, "my second book for the people" appeared in 1782. It is a commentary upon Leonard and Gertrude. It is in the form of a dialogue between a husband and wife who read a chapter of Leonard and Gertrude every evening before their son Fritz and their old servant Joost.

The work needs sustained attention and is beyond the comprehension of all. Pestalozzi fell into an error in thinking that the truths he was enunciating should be patent to all.

He stated his views with great boldness and said that the corruption existing among the governed was largely due to the corruption of the governors. This displeased the educated and richer classes of society. Pestalozzi wrote upon other matters affecting the state, and his study of the law was of value to him. In 1780 he wrote a pamphlet upon *Legislation and Infanticide*.

34 Iselin recommended him to give his views in a Journal which was started in January 3rd, 1782, under the name of "*A Swiss Gazette*." It appeared weekly in sixteen pages. The whole forms two volumes, which are very rare and little known.

The subjects are very varied, they are stories, dialogues, fables, poetry, &c., but all dwelling on his plan of reform. The interest never flags throughout the whole two volumes.

The Emperor Joseph II. and the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany sought to apply the views of Pestalozzi to the

improvement of their subjects and especially to the reform of penal legislation and the management of prisons, and for this end they instructed their ministers Count Zinzendorf and Count Hohenheim to correspond with the author of Leonard and Gertrude.

Unfortunately for the Grand Duchy, Leopold was soon called to succeed Joseph on the throne of Austria, but the latter had already done very much good, and the influence of Pestalozzi's ideas doubtless had a share in the establishment of institutions which gave to Tuscany a foremost place in civilization, whereby the plains of the Arno are now cultivated by the best population of Italy.

Education is the leading subject in the paper. Pestalozzi is still the disciple of Rousseau, but he differs from him in the prominence he gives to moral and religious development and in his popular and practical spirit.

There is a passage in *The Gazette* in which we find the first indication of a thought which became the fundamental principle of Pestalozzi's method of education, namely, the analogy between the intellectual and moral development of man and the physical development of the plant, that is the organism of education :

Summer evening! Who can describe thee? when thou succeedest a day of overwhelming heat.

Everything that breathes enjoys thy freshness; all that breathes has need of thee.

The goat hidden in the forest leaves its retreat and comes to breathe and feed in the plain.

The flocks, too, rejoice, gambolling amongst the fresh pasture.

And man worn out by the heat of the day gives himself up to repose till sunrise.

Summer day! teach this worm which crawls on the earth that the fruits of life are formed in the midst of the fire and storms of our globe; but to ripen they also have need of the gentle rain, the glittering dew, and the refreshing rest of night.

Teach me, summer day, that man, formed of the dust of the earth, grows and ripens like the plant which is rooted to the soil.

Politics seem to occupy a large share of the paper, but the author's conception of education was of the broadest; it was the general education of mankind, which includes

the organization of political institutions and all that affects the government and well-being of mankind. Pestalozzi demands reforms.

After the fourth volume of *Leonard and Gertrude* in 1787, there was an interval of ten years, during which Pestalozzi did not publish anything. The French Revolution took place during this period, and it marks the end of the first part of Pestalozzi's literary career.

The starting point of his work had been pity for the poor. He saw that the evil could not be cured by charity, legislation, or by sermons. Education appeared to him to be the only true remedy, but it must be an education suited to the work of life, which sets in motion all the healthy powers which are found in the germ in human nature, an education in which the child is always active. That is why he wished to join the work of the fields or the workshop to the school, to make them one, a living thing, attractive, a means of bread winning, and at the same time a strengthening and healthy exercise for the heart, the mind, and the body.

The obstacles to progress which he saw were routine in school and church; also the manners, the prejudices, and fetters which bind the social and political organisation of our time. At school, words alone were taught. It was necessary to have some new and more rational way of teaching. Pestalozzi had reached this fact that the true starting point is from personal impressions, words and explanations should follow these. Thus exercises in language should come before reading. Religious impressions, prayers and reading of Bible, but no catechism or dogmatic teaching should be given to children. Already we see his tendency to liken the education of the child to that of the plant, and this comparison, the fitness of which is unquestionable implies the idea of the organic development of man, not only from the physical but also the intellectual and moral point of view. After 1787, Pestalozzi published nothing for ten years.

The first reason for this was the need of winning bread for his family, for in spite of the success of his first novel

his books could not keep him. He wrote for an idea and not to please the public taste. Besides, even to succeed as a writer, a certain business spirit is needed and in this Pestalozzi was woefully lacking.

Lavater was right when he said to Madame Pestalozzi, "If I were a prince, I would consult your husband upon everything that concerns the elevation and happiness of the people, but I would not trust him with a penny to spend upon it."

After having published all the books already mentioned he was as poor as ever, but he had regained his strength and power. For the sake of his wife and child, he devoted himself to the cultivation of the land which remained to him, this he did with his usual earnestness. Soon the French Revolution engaged his attention. When it broke out, he thought, at first, that it was a fortunate circumstance for the realisation of his plans; it would break down the obstacles to the reforms of which he was thinking.

35. At this time he wrote a little work upon the Causes of the French Revolution which was not published till the year 1872, when Seyffarth printed it at the end of the sixteenth and last volume of his collection. This manuscript had been given by Pestalozzi to Mrs. Rossetta Niederer, who on the death of her husband gave it to Krusi whose son Dr. Krusi, was willing to give it to Mr. Seyffarth. Mrs. Niederer, intending to publish it had written an introduction in 1816, of which the following is an extract:

"This is what Pestalozzi, that old prophet whose hard life was entirely consecrated to education, said to me:

"One day when our time shall have passed away, when, after half a century, another generation shall have taken our place, when Europe shall be so threatened by the repetition of the same faults by the increasing of the people and its dire consequences, that all the supports of society shall be shaken, then, ah! then, perhaps, they will welcome the lesson of my experience, and the most enlightened amongst them will come to understand that it is only by ennobling men that a limit can be put to the misery and disturbances of the people and the abuse of power, whether it be the despotism of princes or mobs."

“Twenty years have elapsed since this extraordinary man died; and more than half a century since he poured out his soul in this writing.

“The reason why he did not publish it during his lifetime was, doubtless, that there was some danger in saying all he felt, and he did not want to risk compromising the educational work to which he was devoting himself.”

But soon Pestalozzi was horrified at the violence, the follies, and crimes in France which permitted the principles of 1789. In his early youth he had sought the reform of the institutions of Zurich with all the zeal of a revolutionary: now he had a dread of violent revolutions, whilst he warmly desired human progress. He thus occupied a middle position between the advocates and adversaries of revolution. He looked on therefore and kept silence, meanwhile tilling his lands with all his might.

36. During this period he paid several visits and made the acquaintance of several remarkable men—Klopstock, Goethe, Wieland, Herder, and Jacobi. It was then that the correspondence between Pestalozzi and Fellenberg commenced. Fellenberg, the celebrated founder of the institutes at Hofwyl was a man with somewhat similar aims to those of Pestalozzi. But they differed much in character. He had those qualities which Pestalozzi lacked, practical sense, prudence, firmness, and the power of managing. One would have thought that the joint action of these two men would have assured the success of the philanthropic undertakings in which that they both were engaged, but their long friendship was powerless to keep together two such different characters; the warm impulsiveness of Pestalozzi's heart offended the cool reason of Fellenberg, and the rustic simplicity of the Zurich democrat accorded badly with the dignity of the Bernese patrician. Several times in the troubles of Pestalozzi, Fellenberg offered him help, but the sympathy needed to carry on a common work never existed between them.

The letters between 1792 and 1794 are very interesting, for in them Pestalozzi pours out all his thoughts, and as yet no cloud had risen between them.

In this correspondence Pestalozzi no longer speaks of his favourite idea of a school for the poor, because his

recent failure leaves him no hope of ever realising it. His thoughts turn to politics. He sometimes hopes to make himself heard in France. This hope seems presumptuous if we did not know that it was in a measure authorised by a decree of the National Assembly. In a solemn meeting, Sunday, August 26, 1792, it had granted citizenship to contemporaries declared worthy of being French citizens who had made themselves famous by their works for the good of humanity. Pestalozzi was one of the number, with Bentham, Thomas Paine, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Washington, Madison, Klopstock, Kosciusko and several other celebrated men.

Pestalozzi was very intimate with Fichte, the great German thinker. Fichte had married a friend of Mme. Pestalozzi. The German philosopher knew the Swiss philanthropist very well and we shall see later on that this connection contributed powerfully to the appreciation of the principles and method of the great teacher in Germany.

Pestalozzi, in his letters to Fellenberg often alludes to the works upon which he was engaged. They were printed in 1797, they are his *Fables* and his *Researches into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race*.

The first appeared under the title of *Figures for my A B C*. *Leonard and Gertrude* is meant by his *A B C* because it contains the beginning of the wisdom of the people.

The *Fables* are striking, short, and original.

SPECIMENS OF THE FABLES

"FIGURES OF MY A B C."

8. *The Mushroom and the Herb.*

The mushroom said to the herb: "I sprang up in a night, whilst you take a whole season to grow."

"True," answered the herb; "whilst I am increasing in value, you appear and re-appear a hundred times in your perpetual uselessness."

18. *The Spring and the Mountain.*

When people were praising the mountain spring, the mountain cried: "Ah, if they knew how much I have within me, they would not make

such a fuss of that miserable puddle that flows at my feet." The spring replied :

"They honour me because I leave you and go to water and fertilise their land." ^{irrigate}

26. *The Two Colts.*

Two colts, as like as two peas, fell into different hands. One was bought by a peasant who could not soon enough yoke him to the plough ; he became a sorry horse. The other fell to a groom who took great care of him and trained him until he became a fine courser full of strength and spirit.

Fathers and mothers, if the faculties of your children are not cared for, exercised and directed, they will become not only useless to them, but positively harmful : and the greater the natural abilities the more dangerous and mischievous will they become.

53. *Stoffel's Fountain.*

When the fountain of poor vain Stoffel was nearly drained, he said to his servant :

"When nobody is near turn off the pipe ; and as soon as anyone appears turn it on." "But," said the man "the fountain will get worse and worse, and the water will fail us when we need to draw it." His master replied : "I would rather that we all suffered in this way than that people should see my fountain empty."

72. *The Oak and the Grass.*

The grass said to the oak that overshadowed him : "I would prosper better in the open country than under cover of your branches." "Ungrateful creature," replied the oak, "you forget that every winter I clothe you with my leaves."

"But," the grass replied, "Your crown deprives me of my right to the sun, dew, and rain ! Your roots only supply me with the food of the soil to which I am fixed, and yet you want me to be grateful for the forced alms of your withered leaves which, when turned into mould increase your growth, and do not save me from perishing."

7. *The Rock in Ruins.*

A rock, under which for many generations, herds used to come and shelter from the sun and rain, had become decomposed by the weather. Every day a stone broke away and fell upon the cows ; so that they now fled from the shelter where they used to rest.

But the old shepherd could not comprehend this and he thought that his herd had been bewitched by an enemy.

It is sad to see the ancient bulwarks crumbling into dangerous ruins ; but sadder still when the leaders of the people do not see the danger.

86. *The Interior of the Hill.*

A stupid man, seeing a hill covered with beautiful verdure thought that there must be excellent soil to the bottom. A man who knew the place

took him to a part where the inside was to be seen, the outer covering having been removed; within there was nothing but rock and gravel.

The hills of the earth, green and fertile though they be, have nearly always a hard and sterile subsoil. And human nature, to whatever height the heart and mind may raise it, has in it the flesh and blood strata which resemble the rock and the gravel.

Even the fairest external appearances of power, honour, and human dignity contain beneath the vices of our nature. Hence, to whatever height we may have risen we must follow the precept: "Watch and pray that ye fall not into temptation; for the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak."

92. *The Lime Tree and the King.*

A King was standing alone under a lime-tree admiring its foliage: "Ah!" said he, "if my subjects would only cling to me as these leaves do to the branches."

The lime replied. "I continually convey the sap from my roots to every one of my leaves."

97. *A Foolish Inference.*

By the banks of a stream there grew some splendid poplars and some puny oaks; whence John Peter concluded that the poplar was a very fine kind of wood and the oak very inferior.

I know masters who judge their pupils, clergy who judge their hearers, magistrates who judge those brought before them, as to their capabilities with as much reason as John-Peter judged the merits of the oak and the poplar.

101. *Baneful Effect of Proverbs.*

"It is very sad when one has a team of horses to have to be hard upon them, against one's will and inclination."

So said a good natured carter when he was obliged to urge on his overburdened horses; and gradually he accustomed himself to repeat these words without thinking of them, as he would say "Good Morning," or "Good Evening." These words were fatal to the poor beasts of burden, they became a proverb among the carters of the country.

So now, when any rogue ill treats his horses or oxen, he excuses himself saying; "It can't be helped; a carter is obliged to be hard, against his will and inclination."

116. *The Feeling of Equality.*

A shepherd used to feed his flock on scanty herbage, but all alike: and generally they were content. But, after a time he chose a dozen upon whom he lavished the best that he had; from that time discontent broke out amongst the flock and several sheep died of grief.

117. *The Limit of Equality.*

A dwarf said to a giant: "I have the same rights as you." "True, X my friend," replied the giant, "but you cannot walk in my shoes."

160. *The Lord and his peasants.*

"I do a great deal to make you contented and happy," said a lord to his vassals.

"True, true!" said all with one voice; "and we have much to thank you for."

One peasant only did not speak. At last he said: "My Lord will you allow me to ask you a question?"

"Why not?" said the lord.

Peasant: "I have two fields of wheat, one has been richly manured but badly cultivated, it is full of weeds; the other has been scantily manured but well tilled, it is as it should be. Which of the two will produce more?"

Lord. "The second certainly; for you have given the corn the opportunity of developing freely."

Peasant. "Well, my Lord. If, instead of loading us with gifts, you would leave us free to manage our own affairs, I think we would prosper better."

176. *Why Jupiter made the Lion King.*

The animals were all ranged before his throne awaiting his decision. The most of them thought and hoped that the elephant would be chosen.

The lion was there with his lordly air, as if he were already elected King. The elephant was walking about calmly, playing with his trunk as if nothing was going on.

Then resounded the voice of the thunderer:

"The lion is king."

The assembly received this with astonishment and their jaws fell.

"My choice surprises you," said Jupiter: "but be it known that the elephant has no need of you; he has everything he requires, even intelligence, therefore I give him freedom. But the lion can make himself respected, and he *has* need of you; therefore I make him King."

214. *What the Animals consider to be Liberty.*

The Lion-King one day asked the animals what they meant when they spoke of liberty.

The *ox* replied: "If I was never tied to the yoke but always to the manger that would be the most enviable liberty for me."

The *monkey*. "I can't consider myself free as long as I have a tail and my body covered with hair. If I were rid of these inconveniences I would be a finished man, and so entirely free."

The *draught horse*. "When the stable-man takes off my harness, and I have nothing on me, I feel perfectly free."

The *charger*. "When I am magnificently harnessed and attached to a fine carriage for a short drive, I feel freer than the noble lord who sits behind me."

The *ass*. "My idea of a free life is, never to have a bag or basket on my back."

The *sloth*. "If, when I have devoured all the leaves off my branch, some one would carry me to another where I could easily obtain the leaves I like best, then I would be free."

The fox. "I would be free, if I could get my prey without so much cunning, patience, and fear."

A man who heard these explanations cried: "Only animals can aspire to such liberty."

He was right: every desire for that freedom which suits animals, kills in the human soul the pure sentiment of true freedom.

38. In the same year in which the Fables appeared, 1797, Pestalozzi published his *Researches into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race*. In this work the author seeks to study the natural law of development by which man may become all he should be: this law would enlighten all moral and political science and furnish a basis for education. It is a philosophical exposition of the truths he sought to enunciate which he had hitherto illustrated in an unconnected and concrete form.

This new step was not to Pestalozzi's taste, but it was suggested to him by Fichte, who, accustomed to generalisation of ideas, urged his friend to formulate the philosophical principle which was the basis of his doctrine and of all his plans. He even gave him directions for the work to which Pestalozzi gave himself up for three years.

The *Researches* is the most important of all the author's works, but it is the least successful. It lacks the most essential quality of a work of the kind,—order. Pestalozzi indulges too much in digressions; the book is diffuse and obscure, it therefore met with no success. The author tells us this himself in the following lines at the beginning of the work which he published in 1801. (*How Gertrude teaches her children.*):

"For three years I was writing my *Researches* with incredible trouble. My essential aim was to co-ordinate my favourite ideas and to harmonise my natural sentiments with my views of civil and moral right. But this work was only another proof of my incapacity.

I reaped no more than I had sown.

The influence of my book around me was the same as the influence of all that I had done. Nobody understood me and I did not meet two men who did not let me know that they considered the whole work as nonsense.

Even now, a man of merit who loves me has just said to me: "Is it not true, Pestalozzi, and do you not now admit that in writing that book you did not know what you meant?"

Doctor Niederer, however, who afterwards became a *collaborateur* of Pestalozzi, judged it differently. This is what he wrote to the author in the beginning of 1801 :

“Your *Researches* seem to me to be crude, it is true, but they are a substantial product of the psychological intuition which is your own; and, so far from being nonsense I consider the work a most fertile discovery, the germ in a measure of your whole method of education. Would that you could find time and calm enough to describe these profound views in an order more easy to grasp; but do not attempt this until you have founded your educational work.*

You will then, probably, present your thoughts in a more general, complete, and intelligible manner to men who are yet ignorant of the original point of view which is a conquest of your individuality.”

After having attentively studied this book, we are led to think almost as Niederer did.

The *Researches* contain fruitful ideas, still new, which explain many seeming contradictions in individual life and humanity at large; they can help to solve the political and social problems which agitate our time, and lay a broad and solid foundation to Pestalozzi's method of education. But, to do this the book must be re-written; and, as the author has not followed Niederer's advice, some capable man, after being imbued with the ideas contained in the book, should re-cast it, and convert what was called nonsense into a clear, methodical work leading to precise conclusions.

From what has been said, the reader will understand why no complete analysis of the “*Researches*” will be attempted; we only glance at the matters treated of in this work and the ideas that are brought most prominently forward. This is how the author announces his aim :

“The contradictions which appear to exist in human nature impress few people more than myself, for I have maintained to the verge of old age, a pressing need of free and useful activity, whilst my activity has ever been thwarted, sterile, and unsatisfactory.”

* At the date of this letter Pestalozzi was beginning his institution at Berthoud or Burgdorf (the first is the French; the second, the German name for the town.)

"Now, at last, I sit down worn out; although broken down and cut to the heart, I still rejoice that I can ask myself like a child,

"What am I, and what is human nature?"

"What have I been doing? and what does human nature do?"

"I want to know what the course of my life such as it has been, has done with me: I wish to know what the course of life such as it is does with human kind.

"I wish to know what are the real foundations of my activity, what are the points whence my opinions arise, and whence they should naturally arise in the midst of the circumstances of my life.

"I wish to know what are the real foundations of the activity of my race, what are the points of view whence its opinions arise, and whence they should naturally arise in the midst of the circumstances of its life."

After having stated the philosophical problem the author recognises three tendencies—three natures in himself, in a measure three different men: the animal man, the social man, and the moral man.

The animal man is the work of nature, subject to the pleasures of sense, careless of to-morrow, living only for the present; but kindly disposed towards others, simple, and right in his ways. It rules in the infancy of individual life, as in the infancy of the life of humanity.

The weakness of the animal man leads him to industry; industry leads to property, and property to conflicts. Next, inequality of strength and faculty produces inequality of position.

Then the unfortunate must say to the powerful: *Defend me!* to the clever; *Lead me!* to the rich; *Feed me!* and these services are paid with other services. Thus the social state begins.

The social man is not only the work of nature, but especially the work of society. Society fashions him, limiting his liberty and submitting him to rule, custom and opinion.

If childhood presents us with the type of the animal man, youth represents that of the social man; for then teachers and professors, schools and universities act upon the young man with the intention of fashioning him to their liking.

But the animal man struggles against the social man; each seeks to gain for himself the liberty he denies to others, and pleasures which cannot be shared by all.

This is how society which had for its aim the repression of war has only maintained and generalised it under another form. Open attack being forbidden a hundred other means of attack have been devised ; antagonism has become a fact so general that each man in our civilised states is on his guard against all the rest. The benevolence and uprightness of the animal man are replaced in the social man by ill-will and cunning.

Society needs laws and government, and it is obliged to yield to those who govern it the power of restraining by force, a power denied to the individual. Thus the social state leads on the one hand to dominion and on the other to subjection, and it indefinitely increases the natural inequalities as well as pride and ambition. The dull war which agitates the members of society is not caused only by a desire for the satisfaction of real wants, but by the pursuit of a host of refined and artificial pleasures which are as limitless as the dreams of a sickly imagination.

So, the social state in spite of its immense advantages to external order, security, science and arts is powerless to improve the heart of man ; religion itself, in so far as it concerns social organisation, is like a mould that only fashions the surface : society does not make man moral.

The animal man is the work of nature, the social man is the work of society, but the moral man is the work of man himself, that is to say the result of the development and exercise of the principles of pity and justice, love and gratitude, faith and charity which the Creator has implanted in the human soul. The individual must desire to rise, to be ennobled, and perfected, and he must do it by his own inner action ; the product of this work is the moral man. Society is only really and completely beneficent when it is influenced by moral men.

True religion exists only in the moral man : for man finds God only with his own heart, and he finds him only in so far as he bears his own image : failing this, man makes a god in his own image.

The religion of the animal man is idolatry. The religion of the social man is imposture.

The religion of the moral man is truth ; it is at once the principle and support of morality ; it produces the feeling of the need for perfection ; and provides the basis and strength.

Man is only in the way of progress, his activity is only salutary to himself, his family, and society when he is the work of himself, when he fully possesses his personality ; his mind and heart are no longer the slaves of animal instincts or of the prejudices of society.

These pages give but a very imperfect idea of the Researches ; they represent the frame rather than the picture ; the author sometimes expresses his most remarkable ideas in his digressions. Led often, by his heart and imagination, sometimes to satirise the institutions of our times, at others to describe enthusiastically the intellectual and moral progress to which he aspires, he then writes more as a poet than a philosopher pages of the highest eloquence. He finishes with a sad and touching return to himself which we translate literally :

“ Thousands of men (who are the work of nature) live for the pleasures of sense, and wish nothing better. Myriads yield to the necessity of their needle, their hammer, their measuring tape, or their crown, and wish nothing better.

“ I know a man who wanted more. Innocence was his delight ; he had such faith in man as few mortals understand ; his heart was made for friendship, his nature was love and fidelity itself.

“ But he was not the work of the world, and the world had no place for him.

“ And the world which found him thus did not ask if it was his fault or the fault of another, but smote him with its iron hammer as a mason breaks a useless stone for rubbish.

“ Broken thus, he still thought more of humanity than of himself ; he undertook a task, and in the midst of bitter grief he learned what few mortals know. Then he expected justice from those who loved him in his quiet retreat. He did not obtain it. Those who were his judges, without having heard him, persisted in declaring that he was absolutely fit for nothing.

“ This was the grain of sand that turned the scale of his destiny ; it was his ruin.

“ He is no more ; you do not know him ; and only confused traces of his broken existence remain.

“ He is fallen ! So falls a green fruit from the tree, when the north wind nips it in flower, or a worm within devours it.

“Passer by, shed a tear for him! When falling he inclined his head against the trunk on whose branches he had passed his unhappy summer and murmured,

“‘I wish, nevertheless, still to nourish thy roots with the dust I leave after me.’

“Passer-by! Spare this fallen fruit which is decaying and let its ashes strengthen the roots of the trees on whose branches it spent its sickly summer.”

39. The *Rescarches* is the last book of the series of works published by Pestalozzi during the time when he was only a writer, that is before the pedagogic undertakings in which he applied and developed his method of teaching, which attracted numerous *collaborateurs* who carried afar the renown of Pestalozzi's method.

The publications of this series have a special importance because the ideas of the author have no foreign mixture, and the manuscripts were printed as they left his hand.

Later, at Berthoud and Yverdon it was not so: Pestalozzi, being unable to write all himself, entrusted in a large measure, the compilation of his elementary books to his fellow-workers, particularly to Krusi and Schmid.

In works of a higher order he borrowed help from Niederer who revised all that Pestalozzi intended for the press, seeking to give a philosophical form to the writings of the master.

To those who have read and re-read Pestalozzi there is no mistaking him. They recognise in the style of the master the stamp of original genius. He sees far and deeply. His ready genius has no system; he flashes lightning rather than diffuses light: and disregard of the logical unity of thought causes him to abandon himself to every emotion of his heart, and to all the truths that his genius reveals to him. This is at once his greatest merit and his greatest fault.

CHAPTER VII.

PESTALOZZI'S DOCTRINE BEFORE 1798.

39A. The Helvetic Revolution of 1798 divides Pestalozzi's life into two very different parts.

In the first, he worked by himself, relying on his own strength, and little understood; his undertakings failed, and he was left in his obscure retreat poor and despised by the multitude. But, on the other hand, nothing interfered to check the flight of his thought, affect the originality of his genius or to mingle the ideas of others with his own.

In the second part of his life, Pestalozzi, raised by the Revolution, and supported by the Helvetic government was enabled to put his ideas of popular education into practice.

Then his rare devotion and the success of his first efforts excited general admiration.

Collaborateurs and pupils presented themselves from all parts, then he founded his *educational* institutions. But after the first burst of admiration, envy and criticism arose, the *New Method* met with formidable resistance from teachers, attacks became more frequent, and it was necessary to answer the detractors. Henceforth, he had to consider the magistrates who protected him, his fellow-workers, and the parents of his pupils; he no longer therefore enjoyed entire independence.

This is why it is important to understand what was the doctrine of the first part of his life, before the undertakings which gave him glory, sometimes at the cost of the freedom and originality of his genius, especially as regards the external manifestations by which the world has chiefly judged him.

In 1797, Pestalozzi was fifty-one years of age; he was old and worn out, and he thought his course was run, as the end of his last work testifies. But his most important works had not yet begun; those works which were the continuation and development of his thought and past activity, but which were more or less influenced by foreign elements.

After gaining an understanding of Pestalozzi's method at the period at which we have arrived, it will be easier, when describing the second part of his life, to distinguish the natural and logical development of this doctrine from the deviations to which it was subject by circumstances.

The starting point of Pestalozzi was the search for means to save the people from the misery in which they were sunk. Soon he saw that the poor cannot be effectively helped unless they wish to help themselves; that is to say, material misery cannot disappear so long as intellectual and moral misery exist. In other words, the true remedy is education.

Then, while studying human nature from infancy, even in families that have been the most degraded by misery, he finds therein, in the germ, a store of faculties, sentiments, aptitudes, and powers, the natural development of which would suffice for all the material, intellectual, and moral needs of society.

But he sees that ordinary education, instead of seeking these elements of power in the child in order to put them in the most favourable conditions to grow and develop naturally, limits itself to presenting to the child the knowledge, ideas, and sentiments of others, by attempting to fix them in his habits and engrave them on his memory.

Thus the most precious powers of the child grow weaker by inaction, and his individuality is stunted under the weight of foreign knowledge and sentiments imposed upon him by education.

Education is made to act from without, within; Pestalozzi would have it from within, without.

The ideas which we have just summed up, are so often and so clearly quoted from the writings of Pestalozzi that it seems unnecessary to repeat the numerous passages which enounce them.

But it still remained to find the means of developing these powers which exist only in the germ in the little child, to strengthen and improve these growing faculties whose harmonious union forms the complete man.

In his first work upon education: *The Evening Hour of a Hermit*, published in 1780, he says, No. 22 :

“Nature develops all the powers of humanity by exercise and their growth depends upon their use.” Again, No. 25 : “Man, Father! Do not force the minds of your children before they have acquired strength by exercise suited to their powers.”

So, to develop the faculties they must be employed upon exercises suited to their capacity.

Hence, the importance of the *starting point* which Pestalozzi sought with such care, for the series of exercises in first teaching ; it must be found in the natural tastes of the child, in the needs of his age, and the circumstances of his family life : we read in No. 40 of the *Evening Hour of a Hermit* :

“The pure sentiment of truth and wisdom is trained in the narrow circle of the connections close to us, by circumstances which engross us, and skill which we require.”

Having sought for the starting point in the needs and circumstances of real life, Pestalozzi was naturally led to associate bodily work with intellectual ; to make industry and study advance side by side, and to blend in a measure the workshop with the school.

His views upon this point are most fully described in *Leonard and Gertrude*.

Thus economic questions arise with educational ones. Not only must the intellectual faculties and moral sentiments of the child be developed, but his bodily powers must be exercised and he must learn to win his bread in the society in which he lives, and where no one can keep his place without exerting himself.

This is how Pestalozzi was led to study the organisation of our social state, to point out the obstacles which it

presents to the elevating of the people, and to seek for the necessary reforms to improve it.

These social and political questions are dealt with at first in the form of a novel in *Leonard and Gertrude*, in which he describes the regeneration of the village of Bonal; then again by apologues in two volumes of *Fables*; and lastly in a philosophic work, his *Researches into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race*. The last work took three years to write.

In his views of social organisation, Pestalozzi was before his time; the questions he discusses are those that interest us to-day; nevertheless, his views seem vague and timid to modern socialists, who do not always respect religion, the family, and property which he regarded as the essential conditions of civilisation and progress. He condemns the luxury, pomp, and pride of the fortunate ones of this world, and wishes that every individual could raise himself by his work to a condition of ease; but to attain this aim, which is the ardent and constant wish of his heart, he trusts to education rather than to laws.

In politics he is radical, but he has a horror of violent revolutions. He desires freedom for all; he wishes everything to be done for the people and the poor; but he does not ask that it shall be done by the people; it is true that the poor whom he had before him and whom he knew better than anyone else could not then be trusted with the direction of public affairs. So his democracy is not the democracy of to-day,

Pestalozzi was influenced by strong and deep religious feeling which is seen in all his writings. But it may be well asked what was his religion? Indeed, nowhere does he make a full confession of faith; it can only be sought in isolated passages, and these do not always agree.

The reason for this is that there was no system in his religion, he had at first breathed it as the atmosphere of his home, it had been compromised rather than strengthened by his theological studies, unsettled by the reading of Rousseau and the philosophers of the 18th century, it awakened at the birth of his son; but it was free from all dogmatism and never expressed in a doctrine.

He had often seen dead orthodoxy, barren dogmas, and religious instruction which neither warmed the heart nor influenced the life. He rejected all formularies as well as all formalism. He proscribed the use of the catechism in school, and desired that religion there should be limited to the reading of the Gospel and the practice of the Christian virtues.

Holding the view that a form of doctrine savours of the things of men and is of use only to the learned, he did not think it suited to children (see *Leonard and Gertrude*). He rejected theology as being liable to take the place of the religion of the heart and the life; and we think that this opinion can be explained by the state of religion that prevailed among the literary class at the end of last century.

In this condition of mind he allowed himself on all occasions to be guided by the inspirations of his heart and imagination, and the fancies in which he indulged exaggerated his thoughts and sometimes caused him to contradict himself. We shall quote one example out of a thousand. Pestalozzi has often been accused of not believing in original sin; that is the innate existence of evil in the heart of man, and this view has been supported by numerous passages in which the author exalts the innocence of the child, expecting everything to be done for him by education which nourishes, exercises, and develops the germs of virtue and good feelings slumbering in his heart.

Notwithstanding, in other places, he points out with the same power of conviction the existence of evil in human nature. For example one of his *Fables* is composed solely for the purpose of illustrating this truth in a striking manner. See *Fable 86. The Interior of the Hill*.

Orthodox Christians will find in Pestalozzi many hard sayings, but never an attack upon revealed truth. If he did not believe he would have said so, for he was not the man to temporise.

He was eminently a free thinker in the proper sense of the word, and, at the same time, a free speaker; but his freedom of thought never led him to doubt Christian truth.

It is true that at this period of his life his religious manifestations betray a serious want which, afterwards, he strove to correct; even then however he did not dwell upon the essential doctrine of the redemption. This, doubtless, is the reason why it has been said that Pestalozzi was not a Christian, forgetting a life of entire abnegation, ardent charity, and the most absolute Christian devotion; for Jesus said: "By their fruits shall ye know them."

Meanwhile in answer to the question: what was the essential work of Pestalozzi in this first part of his life? we would answer: That of a philosopher,—the discovery of a principle which is the law of man's development and the fundamental principle of education.

It is perhaps difficult to regard as a philosopher a man who seemed engaged only in practical experiments, who as a writer excelled especially in delineating character and describing facts of observation with great variety of detail; who only once attempted philosophical language, in his *Researches* and then only in a diffuse and obscure manner. Nevertheless he was a philosopher without wishing to be one. One general idea was ever present in all the facts he observed, in all his plans of reform, and in all the undertakings in which he engaged.

All that man can acquire in the way of real knowledge, power, and noble feelings, is but growth of his individuality by the development of the force and faculties with which God has endowed him, and the work of assimilation which they exercise over the elements furnished by the external world. A natural and necessary order exists for this development and work of assimilation, but it is generally misunderstood by the schools. This is the idea that appears under diverse forms in all Pestalozzi's plans and writings. See the following passages in the *Evening Hour of a Hermit* in which it can be clearly recognised:

Nos. 8, 12, 21, 23, 26, 28.

We have chosen this work as the aphorisms express the thought briefly, whilst in other works the quotations would require to be much longer.

In his discourses, explanations, and especially in the

Fables, he compares the education of man to the growth of the plant; he states the analogy plainly in the *Swiss Gazette*: "Man, formed from the dust of the earth grows and ripens like the plant rooted to the soil."

By virtue of this analogy he always speaks of education as a development, a product of the child's own work, a chain of progress graduated according to a natural order, and each link of which becomes the instrument of further progress.

The foundation is a germ given by God who has made the human soul capable of intellectual and moral conquests; this shoot should grow, blossom, and bear fruit; and the duty of education is to favour and direct organic development.

It is true that the word *organism* is not found in the writings preceding this time, but the idea is there. The author first made use of the word in the work entitled: *How Gertrude teaches her children*.

The organism of education has been described by the author of this history, in a volume called: *The Philosophy and Practice of Education*, Paris, 1860. Durand and Meyrueis.

In his writings which follow Pestalozzi frequently uses the word *organic*. But he has never given to his method the name of *organic method* which appears to us the most fitting term to characterise it.

CHAPTER VIII.

PESTALOZZI, THE FATHER OF THE ORPHANS AT STANS.

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| <p>40. The Helvetic Revolution.</p> <p>41. Pestalozzi's hopes : his Political Pamphlets</p> <p>42. Pestalozzi Editor of the Swiss Gazette.</p> <p>43. The Directorate appoint an educational institution under the direction of Pestalozzi.</p> | <p>44. Revolt of the little cantons. Disaster at Stans.</p> <p>45. The Orphanage taken as a hospital. Pestalozzi retires to Gurnigel.</p> <p>46. His letter to Gessner upon his work at Stans.</p> <p>47. Pedagogic result of this experience.</p> |
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40. ONE can see from his correspondence with Fellenberg how much Pestalozzi feared the intervention of France in the internal affairs of his country. At the commencement of 1798, it was brought to pass. The young Republic had hardly struggled into life before it wished to remodel old Switzerland upon its own image.

The principles of 1789 had penetrated the most of the cantons; Switzerland was divided, and resistance was overcome.

Then the ancient structure, which for four centuries had shielded the independence of the confederation crumbled; but with it also fell the aristocratic governments, the privileges of family and place with a multitude of rights, customs, and prejudices which were a serious obstacle to the liberty and equality of the citizens. The Helvetic Republic one and united was proclaimed under the government of a Directory of five members.

41. Meanwhile, Pestalozzi reconciled himself in a measure to this French intervention which he had dreaded so much. The hope of immense progress and a magnifi-

cent moral regeneration of his father-land, made him forget all the evils that were caused to Switzerland by the presence of foreign troops and the irritation produced by the friction of so many ideas, sentiments, and interests. He believed in the approaching realisation of all the reforms so often sought by large minds and noble hearts, in the possibility of sowing with fruit his ideas in ground, now freed from all obstacles; he believed in the success of the efforts of the new government which only desired the elevation and happiness of the people. Then in the illusion of his enthusiasm, he already saw the simplicity, purity and loyalty of the ancient manners revive under the new breath of liberty.

This is why Pestalozzi was at first one of the most staunch and zealous adherents of the new order of things which he supported by his pen, publishing, one after another, between the spring and autumn of 1798, a number of political pamphlets entitled :—

- (a) A word to the Legislative Councils of Helvetia.
- (b) Upon Tithes.
- (c) Awaken O People !
- (d) To my Father-land.
- (e) To the People of Helvetia.
- (f) Call to the Inhabitants of the Ancient Democratic Cantons.
- (g) The Present and Future of Humanity.

The first of these writings was tendered to justice, upon the order of the councils, because the author had warmly opposed the project (which was adopted by the great council,) of indemnifying, at the cost of the members of the oligarchical governments, the patriots prosecuted on account of their attacks upon the old state of things. Besides, in all his pamphlets, Pestalozzi preached union, peace, and forgetfulness of the past; he sought to reconcile those who were still hostile to the new constitution; he exhorted the governments to encourage everywhere justice, activity, morality, industry, and especially to provide well for the education of the people.

These publications had little influence; they were hardly read by those to whom they were addressed; then

the author did not show much practical sense, the Germans say of him that "he understood man, but not men."

Soon, however, another incident occurred to compromise again Pestalozzi's influence as a political writer.

42. In the month of June, 1798, the Great Council asked the Directory to publish a paper to meet the opposition shown to the new state of things, in order to enlighten the minds of the people and to cause the population to rally around the unitary government. On July the 23rd, the Directory told Stapfer, Minister of Arts and Sciences, to provide for the publication, and he applied to Pestalozzi, who accepted (Aug. 20th) the post of chief editor. The new paper was called "The Popular Swiss Gazette," it was to appear weekly and to be sent free to ministers of religion, teachers, and all the employés of the administration, who were told to read and explain it to their hearers.

Pestalozzi was assisted in the *Swiss Popular Gazette* by Hess, Lavater, L. Meister, Bremi, Füssli, and several others; but he wrote the chief part of the paper himself. One day he asked Zschokke to take part in it, but the latter refused saying:

"A true popular journal should not be the government paper, but a completely independent publication, written in the spirit and language of the illiterate people to whom it is addressed."

Zschokke was right; this paper met with great opposition from the enemies of the unitary Republic, it was not read by the common people, and after the first nineteen numbers the Government suppressed its publication, "as it was not gaining its end." But, for some months before, Pestalozzi had ceased to be the editor, serious events had called him to a work more worthy of him.

In the month of May, in the absence of Stapfer, minister of Arts and Sciences, who was then in Paris, Pestalozzi had addressed the following letter to Meyer, Minister of Justice and Police:

"CITIZEN MINISTER,

Persuaded that our Father-land has urgent need of an improvement in the education of the poor, and assured that a trial of three or

four months would suffice to make evident the most important results, in the absence of Citizen Stapfer, I apply to Citizen Meyer, to offer through his help my services to our country, and to beg him to take the necessary steps with the Directory for the accomplishment of my patriotic intentions.

“With the Republican Salute,

“Aarau, May 21st, 1798.”

“PESTALOZZI.

43. The offer of Pestalozzi was accepted, and Stapfer, on his return to Aarau, immediately entered into communication with him. The minister wished to establish first a normal school to train good country teachers, and entrust its direction to Pestalozzi; but the latter declared that he desired above all to try his method in a school for children, and he sent Stapfer his plan of a school for the poor according to the ideas he had sought to realize at Neu-hof, and which he had described in Leonard and Gertrude.

The minister proposed the carrying out of this plan to the Directory in a lengthy report, from which we can only give some extracts.

It begins by describing the need for public regeneration and instruction; then it continues thus:

“A worthy patriot shows the way to your minister. Citizen Pestalozzi has communicated to me upon the plan of an educational establishment suited to our times, needs, and resources, as well as to the nature of man, and of the citizen in general.

“We should be satisfied with the name of the author of the scheme, who has given the greatest proofs of his knowledge in his excellent popular writings whose disinterestedness and activity for the good of our country have been shown before and since the revolution, whose views have won the unanimous assent of all enlightened men, and even of the noblest princes of our time, who are anxious to give true dignity to our political reform, as well as a pledge of its continuance and strength by popular education, rightly understood.

“From this we may entertain favourable anticipation but I shall limit myself to a single observation. This indefatigable patriot is praised on all sides, he has seen his views partially applied in several districts of Germany, for example at Wurtzburg and at Bemberg, in Brandenburg. Hanover, and Saxony, and even in Bohemia; but not at all in his new country, where he should have worked for the perfect success of each establishment, gained active fellow-workers, and given to the world an example of the realisation of his views. He is already growing old, but the hope that, with the help of the enlightened magistrates, he will be able to do what his heart desires for his country gives him the spirit and the strength of youth. Your minister hopes, citizen directors, that you will reward him by realising his plans for the happiness of the Fatherland.

The report, after a thorough examination then declares :

- 1st. That Pestalozzi's proposal satisfies all the requirements of education in general, and of public education in particular.
- 2nd. That it in no wise compromises the unity and uniformity of the educational establishments of the Republic, and constitutes no privilege.
- 3rd. That it satisfies the needs of strict economy.

It ends with the following proposition.

1st. The executive directory gives Citizen Pestalozzi a distinguished recognition of its approbation of all the proofs of his disinterestedness and the activity which he has always shown for the good of his country and his fellow-citizens.

2nd. The Minister of Arts and Sciences is authorised to allow Citizen Pestalozzi 3,000 fr., payable by terms which will be amicably agreed upon.

3rd. The Minister will communicate with Pestalozzi as to the place where an educational establishment shall be founded, upon the number of the pupils, masters, help, &c.

4th. From a report of the Minister, the executive directory will furnish Pestalozzi with a sufficient number of beds and other furniture from the convents and national buildings.

5th. At stated times, Citizen Pestalozzi will make a report to the minister upon the growth and progress of the Institute; these reports will give the public the means of information about the establishment and enable them to extend its advantages.

The Directory adopted the plan and immediately set about its execution. But the choice of the place for the establishment, as well as questions of detail, required time; and, before this preliminary study had ended, a frightful catastrophe directed Pestalozzi's devotion into a new sphere of activity.

44. The primitive cantons, the cradle of Swiss liberty,—Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwald, attached to their ancient laws and customs, to their priests and Roman Catholic worship which their fathers had practised, proud of their ancient right of only depending upon themselves and governing themselves as they understood it by the assemblies of the people, (*landsgemeinde*) had a horror of the revolution which had just finished, and of the military government which it had given to Switzerland. They would not accept the new constitution.

The little district of Bas-Unterwald, bathed by the Lake of the Four Cantons, rises gradually on the fertile hills to the chain of the Alps which crowns the glaciers of Titlis, and which to the south, overlooks the valley of the Aar (Oberhassli) in the canton of Berne. This retired country, almost separated from the world, sunny and well-watered, with a mild climate, planted and tended like a garden, was inhabited by a fine population, who in their isolation in the midst of civilisation, had preserved some of the good qualities and defects of childlike peoples.

Their occupation consisted in tending their flocks, a little tillage, and in the care of fruit trees which they cultivated intelligently. Their manners were simple and frugal; they had no trade and little learning, and they lived in comfortable ease, without the need of working very hard.

According to the laws and customs of the country, the poor were assisted by their friends, even those very distantly related to them, by the commune, or the state; and gradually this system had encouraged idle and even begging habits amongst the population.

Otherwise the people of Bas-Unterwald were well endowed, lively, intelligent, noble-hearted, and especially noted for æsthetic sentiment which was very general and which produced a number of good artists.

Their love of the beautiful and their delicate and refined tastes are seen now in all that pertains to the inhabitants of this corner of the country, in their dress, houses, and chapels, and especially in the fine paintings which take the place of crosses at the turnings in the pretty, well made roads through their orchards on the hills.

Such were the people who were obliged to swear to the unitary constitution of Switzerland. They refused, and to compel them to submit the Directory sent a detachment of French soldiers under the command of General Schauenbourg.

The few troops of the people of Unterwald were augmented by women and children. All, determined to sell their lives dearly, fought like lions, but they yielded to the number, tactics, and good arms of their formidable enemies. The French soldiery were exasperated at this

unexpected and furious resistance of a whole population which had caused them considerable losses. They, therefore, showed them no quarter, spared neither age nor sex, and ended their work of destruction by setting the town on fire.

Meanwhile the helpless population of the district had gathered together to pray with the Curé, Luci, a worthy man of sixty years, in the church at Stans, the chief town of the country.

This vast building which contained the faithful of the whole neighbourhood, is in the chief square of the town, four or five yards above the pavement. It is reached by a large stone staircase which extends along the whole breadth of the building.

When the victors arrived at this place, they thought that the church would be a new point of resistance. General Corbineau climbed the staircase on horseback, entered the church with his men, when a shot from a gun killed the priest as he was raising the host. This was the signal for a scene of indescribable terror and desolation.

We shall not speak of the atrocities which, in spite of the efforts of several worthy officers, lasted two whole days, until the arrival of General Schanenbourg.

The disasters of Stans happened on the 9th of September, 1728; the day after, the first number of the Popular Swiss Gazette appeared, of which Pestalozzi was chief editor.

Truttmann, sub-prefect of Arth and a Commissioner of the Government in the Bas Unterwald made a minute enquiry in order to learn the losses caused by that dreadful day. We find them noted as follows in the report of Rengger, minister of the interior.

“ Dead : 259 men, 102 women, 25 children.*

“ Buildings burnt : 340 dwelling houses, 228 barns, 144 small buildings.

“ The buildings burnt are valued at 885,365 L.S.†

“ The furniture burnt or pillaged is valued at 1,112,776 L.S.

Total 1,998,141 L.S.

* This list was doubtless incomplete for the monument at Stans in 1807 stated the dead at 414 persons.

† The Swiss shilling is about a franc and a half, i.e. 1/3 English.

“Of the 350 proprietors who were burnt out only 57 are able to rebuild with their own means, 27 require to be assisted with more or less money; and lastly there are 203 who have no means at all with which to rebuild.

“Perhaps the most unfortunate are the many who did not possess houses, but who have lost all that they could call their own. Amongst these are 111 infirm old men; 169 orphans, not counting those, numbering 77, who have just been taken in charity by other cantons, lastly, 237 other children who, though not orphans, are nevertheless in a manner abandoned on account of the utter poverty of their families.

The Directory immediately undertook to send help to these unhappy people. On Nov. 18th, it decided upon the founding of an Orphanage at Stans, and the ministers, Stapfer and Rengger, were charged to prepare a plan and procure a director for this establishment. The place chosen was the buildings belonging to the Convent, with the use of a part of the adjoining large meadow. But neither the administration of the convent, nor the council of the canton of Waldstetten was told of this decision, which gave rise to strong objections. Upon the complaints of the convent, the Council represented to Stapfer the serious inconvenience an orphanage would be to buildings already devoted to the education of girls under nuns, also to the disposing of the offices which were necessary, the dwelling places of the domestic servants who had charge of the cattle and the land.

At the same time, Rengger had ordered the sub-prefect and minister of Justice and Police to find a man and his wife who could direct and manage the proposed establishment. But, in spite of all their efforts they could find none to take it; in their report they state that the director must be a Catholic.

Meanwhile Pestalozzi eagerly desired to become the father and teacher of the orphans at Unterwald; and at the same time he regarded this as a providential occasion to put his ideas into practice. He therefore explained this to the Directors, Stapfer and Legrand. He had already described his ideas and plans at length to the latter who heartily sympathised with them.

A new plan presented by Pestalozzi was warmly supported by Stapfer, Rengger, and Legrand, and on Dec.

5th, 1798, the Directory issued a decree, the chief clauses of which are as follows :

“The immediate direction of the house-for the poor at Stans is entrusted to Citizen Pestalozzi.

“Children of both sexes will be therein received, taken from the poorest, and especially orphans from the district of Stans.

“Children under five years of age will not be received ; the inmates will remain till they enter service or go to learn an occupation that is not taught in the house.

“The house for the poor will be managed with the economy suited to the needs of the establishment. One of the rules will be that the children gradually take part in the necessary work of the house. The pupils' time will be divided among field work, house work, and study. As much knowledge and skill will be given to the pupils as the economy of the establishment will permit ; and, as far as can be done without detriment to the industrial aims which must be pursued, lessons will be given during the manual occupations.

“The whole building of the dependences of the convent of Stans is assigned to the establishment as well as a portion of the adjoining meadow.

“The building will immediately be repaired for the reception of eighty pupils, according to the plans prepared by Citizen Schmid. For the foundation of the orphanage the minister of the interior will remit a sum of 6,000 francs to the committee of the poor.”

Pestalozzi was immediately replaced by another as editor of the Popular Swiss Gazette, and in December he arrived at Stans to superintend the work of repair.

Some days after Mdme. Pestalozzi wrote the following lines in her journal :

“In Dec., 1798, Pestalozzi went to Stans as Director of the numerous children who have lost their parents in an unfortunate battle, because they were unwilling to accept the new Constitution. My children and I were very sad, and so also was the faithful Lisbeth and our friends to see him undertake such a task at the age of fifty-two years. He saw my anxiety and said :

“The question of our fate will not long be doubtful. If I have not been misunderstood, and I deserve the contempt and neglect I have received, then there is no help for us. But if I have been judged unjustly, and I am worth my own value, then you will soon find counsel and comfort in me. Do not speak, your words break my heart ! I cannot bear your questionings. Write to me full of hope. You have waited thirty years, wait now for thirty months. I have no longer

children here but many workmen. The government supports the undertaking, and gives me evidence of its good wishes."

The work of repair, undertaken in the bad weather, required much time; the winter was early and severe, and the first pupils could not be admitted until the middle of January.

Meanwhile there was much misery and suffering in the country. One can judge of it from a fragment of an official report from the sub-prefect, Truttmann:

"The misery of the inhabitants of the district of Stans is indescribable, it gets worse every day, and affects everyone more or less. The poor whose former benefactors have lost all means of helping them, have no help but what they receive from government and charity sent by the other cantons. Their sufferings are inexpressible on account of the extreme and prolonged cold; their little store of potatoes has been frost-bitten and they have no other food; there are already many sick amongst them."

At last, Dec. 14th, 1799, Truttmann, wrote to the Minister Rengger:

"The first pupils were received into the house for the poor to-day. God bless our good government for this benevolent work; I anticipate enormous good from it; and it touched me greatly to see these poor creatures, covered with rags, rescued from their sad fate and at last admitted into an establishment, where their education and future independence will be provided for."

Some days later, the children numbered fifty; and never did an educational establishment open in such wretched condition. Pestalozzi was so urgently pressed to receive these unfortunate children that he took them in before the building was finished. Only one room was habitable, the rest of the building was incumbered with plaster, and the kitchen could not yet be used; the children brought with them illness, sores, vermin, deplorable habits and vice. And to manage this household and for all the cares of cleanliness, health, and education, Pestalozzi was alone with one servant.

We have the list of names of the pupils prepared by Pestalozzi and sent to the Director. We transcribe some examples of these names with the observations that accompany them:

BOYS.

(1). Jacob Baggenstoss, aged 15 years, from Stansstaad, father dead, mother living, good health, little ability, can only spin cotton, accustomed to begging.

(2). Francois-Joseph Businger, 14 years, from Stans; father alive, mother dead, good health, fair abilities and habits, does not know a, b, c, can spin cotton, very poor.

(3). Gaspard-Joseph Vaser, 11 years, from Stansstaad; his father alive, mother dead, good health, ability, but rude and shocking habits, does not know a, b, c, nor how to spin, accustomed to beg.

(4). Charles, brother of the preceding, 10 years, same habits and antecedents as his brother.

(26). Mathias Odermatt, 8 years, from Stans; father killed, mother alive, deceitful and sickly, weak and idle, knows nothing, poor.

(27). Joseph Kneffer, 9 years, from Stans, not a townsman; his parents alive, good health, fair ability, beginning to spell, cannot spin, poor.

(28). Gaspard Stieer, 8 years, from Stans; father killed, mother alive, very weak, splendid ability, beginning the alphabet, can spin, exceedingly poor.

(29). Jacob Adacher, 7 years, from Kirsiten; father killed, mother alive, good health, timid, knows nothing, very poor.

GIRLS.

(1). Anna-Jos-Amstad, 15 years, of Stans; father dead, mother alive, good health, ordinary ability, beginning to read and spin, extremely poor.

(2). Clara Waser, 12 years, of Stansstaad; father alive, mother dead, good health, ability, industrious at study, does not know a, b, c, can spin, accustomed to beg.

(3). Josephine Rieter, 13 years, from Stans, father and mother dead, good health, ordinary ability, beginning to read, can spin, exceedingly poor.

(4). Anna-Maria Beutschgi, 11 years, of Stans; father banished, mother dead, good health, excessively neglected, knows nothing, shocking habits, excessively poor.

(15). Barbarn Spillmater, 10 years, of Stans; father dead, mother alive, good health, ability, knows nothing, habits good, poor.

(16). Catherine Acier, 5 years, from Stans; father killed, mother alive, good health, good ability, knows nothing, poor.

In spite of all these obstacles, in spite of the Director's want of practical skill, success was immediate, almost miraculous.

"The house for the poor is going on well. Father Pestalozzi works indefatigably day and night. There are now sixty-two pupils who are fed and occupied all the morning in the establishment; only fifty stay the night, as there are not enough beds for all. It fairly bewilders one to see all that this excellent man does, and the improvement that he has made in such a short time upon his pupils who are full of zeal to learn. It is certain the state will in a few years receive with interest all that it sacrificed for this benevolent institution. I hope that soon, our dear nuns will have won heaven, or gone to another convent.

This testimony is confirmed by the report which, the same week, the Curé Businger addressed to the Directory. In it we read :

"The house for the poor has also commenced, and continues its good work. More than seventy children are cared for there already, and every day others present themselves to be received. Citizen Pestalozzi works without rest for the improvement of this establishment, and one can scarcely believe ones eyes and ears, when one sees and hears what he has been able to do in so short a time."

Thus Pestalozzi had overcome internal obstacles, which he could attack directly; but there were others from without which compromised the definite success of his work. These were, on the one side distrust, ill will, and even open opposition from the place which he had come to rescue; on the other, false judgments held by those who were esteemed competent men, but who, accustomed to the old scholastic errors and not understanding Pestalozzi's idea, condemned everything that did not conform to what they considered the established type.

Bas-Unterwald hated the unitary government, the cause of all its misfortunes; and it was persuaded that the children were only cared for in order to win them over to the constitution which they abhorred. Then it was particularly and exclusively Catholic; no Protestant had ever held any office, least of all one of an educational kind;

and in the minds of a great many, the poor children were in danger of losing their souls from taking help from the heretic Pestalozzi.

At the same time, the work of the latter was not like that of any other ; as it consisted in putting in practice a new idea, which often required educational action quite contrary to that in use till then. Thus, Pestalozzi went on without following a plan decided upon beforehand, without seeming order, or the divisions of children into classes. He was constantly with them, showing a warm affection for them in everything, watching the manifestation of their faculties, powers and good feelings so as to set them in action like a good gardener who in taking care of a young tree waits for the buds to appear so as to know how to direct them. This is why he wanted no help, and indeed, no one could have really helped him, an experienced teacher least of all. At first, he had neither books nor school material, but he did not ask for them, only wishing these children to come in contact with his fatherly spirit, with that of nature, and the necessities of their common life.

The system of which we have given a slight sketch is clearly and fully described in the letter which Pestalozzi addressed to his friend Gessner upon his stay at Stans.

We did not wish to interrupt our account which rests upon official documents ; but what we have said of the method pursued by Pestalozzi was necessary to explain the opinions held regarding him whilst he was engaged in the work.

It often happened that visitors to the establishment saw only disorder and confusion there ; and the teaching seemed to them to be completely wrong.

At the same time the Committee of the Poor, esteeming it of first importance to prepare the children to earn something, complained of the time lost, and calculated the profit they might make by silkwork for which meanwhile the tools were lacking.

Truttmann, the sub-prefect, although a good and well-meaning man, did not understand the best side of Pestalozzi's idea, and was misled by appearances. This is how he wrote to the Minister in his report of 1799 :

“I must frankly tell you that the economical management of the house, the classification of the children for teaching and manual work, the appointing of inspectors and masters cannot be longer deferred without serious injury to this philanthropic establishment. I would go to Lucerne to-morrow to discuss this important matter with you fully were I not confined to my room with a swollen leg. I admire the zeal of Citizen Pestalozzi and the untiring energy which he devotes to the establishment: he deserves honour and gratitude; but I foresee that he cannot realise his ideas. . . I have remonstrated with him repeatedly. I begged him to go to Zurich to study in detail the organisation of the school for the poor of that city, in order to imitate it as much as possible at Stans. He went there, but I do not expect a favourable result, because he has taken it into his head to do everything himself, without a plan, or other help than of the children themselves.

I pray you, Citizen Ministers, for the honour of the government and the public good, to take this affair to heart, and apply a remedy before the evil becomes more grave.”

Nevertheless, the Directory did not allow Pestalozzi to be hindered; it left him liberty of action.

But he suffered cruelly both from the hostile attitude of the district from which he had expected some gratitude and those whom he counted upon for support. In spite of his faith and courage, at times he feared he would see this new undertaking from which he hoped so much fall like the others, bringing ruin upon himself, his family, fatherland, humanity, and the idea which had been his life for thirty years.

This anguish of mind is seen in the first report which he addressed to the Minister Rengger, April, 1799:

“CITIZEN MINISTER,

I feel it is my duty to inform you of the progress of the institution, but I am overwhelmed with the weight of all that is to be done, and which I only can do. The trouble which absorbs me is not the essential work of the establishment but many accessory details.

In spite of great success my economical and moral aim has suffered for want of some wretched cooking utensils for which I have been kept waiting for a fortnight. At the same time, the political obstinacy which is displayed here, exercises a fatal influence over the children, and those who ought to resist it do not think that this is the time to trouble the people about an orphan asylum. I have gained much experience and I long for the time when you will come and see for yourself the happy results obtained in the growing establishment in the midst of nameless

difficulties. I shall try to make a clear account of the sums received and shall send it to you. Workers are only to be had for exorbitant wages, and prejudice prevents my using the best means of economy; but I shall work unceasingly to attain the aim of this institution without great expense.

The hours of work and study are now fixed as follows: From 6 to 8 a.m. lessons; then till 4 p.m. manual work; after that until 8 p.m. lessons again. The health of the children is flourishing. The difficulty of combining at once teaching and work diminishes every day; and the children are gradually becoming accustomed to order and application. You can imagine it has taken some trouble to manage these badly brought up little mountaineers. Several of the children have had a kind of bilious fever; they are now getting better. I am anxiously expecting letters from Zurich upon the subject of assistants of both sexes whom I require and I should be glad to learn from you if your views are calculated to set me at rest.

"Permit me to commend the Institution and myself to your benevolence.

With respect and gratitude,
Pestalozzi."

In spite of all, the enterprise prospered. The children who had come with sad and care-worn faces, eyes dull and timid or defiant and bold, and dispositions apathetic or rebellious had undergone the same metamorphosis as nature when it awakens at the breath of spring; they were full of joy and freedom, zeal and activity, mildness and goodwill.

May 24th, 1799, was a grand holiday to the Institution and its director. That day Pestalozzi took the whole household to Lucerne. They were received by the Executive Director, the first authority in Helvetia, who gave each pupil a new 10 batz piece (worth about $1/5\frac{1}{2}$ in English money). One can see from this that Director Legrand was not deceived by the detractors of Pestalozzi.

Unhappily the Institution was almost at an end. It numbered eighty children; it was in full prosperity, when a fortnight after the trip to Lucerne, unforeseen events occurred which rendered its continuance impossible.

The fortune of war brought the French army into Bas-Unterwald with a large number of sick. Zschokke, Commissary of the Government, could find no house to lodge them but the Orphanage. On June 8th, 1799, he

sent away sixty of the children for whom suitable accommodation was found in families; twenty remaining in the establishment. Under these circumstances, Pestalozzi did not wish to remain. He gave to each child sent away, two complete suits of clothes and some money, stored the furniture safely in Lucerne, returned 3,000 frs. which remained to Zschokke, and retired very ill to the baths at Gurnigel; he had laboured beyond his strength and he was spitting blood.

The Directory only learned these facts after their occurrence. It granted Pestalozzi a sum of 400 livres, for his trouble in directing the Asylum.

The closing of the Orphanage which took place later, gave rise to a discussion which time forbids the translator to insert although it is full of interest. Suffice it to say that the children left at first in the Asylum (which was converted into a Hospital) were under the direction of a benevolent citizen named Von Matt, a blacksmith. He undertook the task gratuitously and visited the children several times a day, whilst they were taught by the Capuchin friars in turn. After the departure of the French, some of the poorest children were again received until there were about forty in the establishment.

Meanwhile the rest and the waters of Gurnigel had restored the health of Pestalozzi who longed to return to his interrupted task at Stans. But in spite of the earnest desire, and the efforts of Stapfer, the Directory did not send Pestalozzi back to Stans, and it allowed the Orphanage to fall.

We think this decision was a benefit to Pestalozzi and to education.

The work had already brought him to the brink of the grave; he could not certainly have gone on much longer.

The opposition in the country was invincible. The most of the inhabitants regarded him merely as an agent of the unitary system of government and heresy. It received all the calumnies afloat regarding him (as for example that he treated the children badly, that he was sent into Bas-Unterwald to destroy the Catholic religion, that he was afraid of the Austrians and had fled by night at the news of their approach, &c., &c).

With regard to the question of religion which was said to be too much neglected, the only instance recorded is that once he said to the children: "Crucifixes will not give you bread, you must learn to work." Sometimes he corrected the children by striking them with a string.

It seems to us that the sending of Pestalozzi to Stans was a mistake; it wounded the religious sentiments of the people he went to help, for this opposition was natural, and even legitimate, and to be respected, from the stand point of the belief of the people of Unterwald. For five months Pestalozzi struggled against the difficulties of an untenable position. It is well that he was not allowed to recommence this heroic struggle.

The folly of the unitary system of government, did much harm to Switzerland; nevertheless true progress arose from it; for God brings good out of evil. In like manner, from the mistake of Stans arose the Primary School of the XIXth century, which has already given so much prosperity and power to those who have known how to profit by it.

The experience which Pestalozzi gained at Stans and the principles which his penetrating mind thence drew for the natural and logical advancement of *elementary education*, the birth of a great, fruitful, and salutary saving reform, is fully described in a letter, written at Gurnigel to his friend Gessner the bookseller, and son of the author of the Idylls.

Its great importance leads us to translate it :

LETTER FROM PESTALOZZI TO A FRIEND, DESCRIBING HIS STAY AT STANS.

46. "Friend, again I am awakening from a dream; again I see my work annihilated and my failing strength spent for nothing.

But, feeble and unfortunate as my effort has been, a friend of humanity will not regret pausing some moments to examine the motives which persuade me that a happier posterity will surely take up the thread of my hopes where it is broken.

I have regarded the whole revolution from its beginning as a simple consequence of the corruption of human nature, and the misfortunes it has produced as a necessary means of leading men to the sentiment of the essential conditions of their happiness.

Whilst not trusting completely to the political forms that men have adopted, I recognise some principles of their constitutions and some interests protected by these principles as advantageous measures, and supports to the true progress of humanity.

Thus I gave, as well as I could, my former views upon education describing them in full to the heart of Legrand (then one of the Directors). Not only did he then take an interest in them, but he agreed with me in thinking that the republic had urgent need of public instruction, and that the best results for regeneration of the people could be obtained by giving to some children chosen from amongst the poorest a complete education which, however, so far from taking them out of their sphere, would unite them more closely to the condition of their family in society.

I limited myself to this single point, and Legrand encouraged it in every possible way; saying to me one day, "I shall not willingly leave my post until you have begun your work."

As I have described my plan for the public education of the poor in the third and fourth part of *Leonard and Gertrude*, I shall not repeat it here. I submitted it to Director Stapfer and he supported it warmly, as also did the Minister Rengger.

My intention was to seek in Zurich or Aargau a place which combined industry and agriculture with other means of instruction in such a way as to give the means of success to my establishment and further the development of my aim. But the misfortune of Unterwald decided the locality for me. The government thought it urgent to help that distressed district, and begged me to make there trial of my schemes in a place where I lacked everything that could assure it success.

I went there willingly. I counted upon the primitiveness of the country to supply what was wanting, and upon its misery to excite some gratitude.

My zeal to realise at last the aim of my life would have led me to work on the highest peaks of the Alps.

The government assigned me the new building of the residence at Stans; but when I arrived it was not finished, and not at all suited for receiving children.

The government gave orders for the necessary work and did not let me want for money.

But time was needed and that was what could least be spared. When the children arrived in a crowd the kitchen, rooms, and beds were not ready for them.

This was the cause of incredible trouble. For the first week I was confined to one little room; the weather was bad, and the air unhealthy on account of the dust from the demolitions, whose plaster filled all the corridors.

The want of beds necessitated me to send the poor children to their homes at night whence they returned next day covered with vermin. The most of them on their arrival presented an appearance of extreme degeneracy. Many of them suffered from itch and sores in the head; many were as thin as skeletons, sallow anxious eyed, with foreheads wrinkled with mistrust and care; some bold, accustomed to begging,

hypocrisy, and all kinds of deceit, others broken by misery, patient but suspicious, fearful and without affection. Amongst them there were some spoilt children who had been used to ease; these assumed airs and held aloof from their little beggar friends whom they despised, and they could not accommodate themselves to the rules of the house. But the most general characteristic among them was persistent idleness resulting from want of exercise of their bodily powers, and intellectual faculties. Hardly one in ten of them knew a b c, and anything further was out of the question. But the want of scholastic instruction troubles me the least. Trusting in the powers of human nature with which God has endowed even the poorest and most neglected children, I had long ago learned by experience that the best abilities are often found under the most unfavourable exterior; and I soon experienced the same at Stans.

I was not mistaken; before the spring had melted the snow from our mountains you would not have recognised my children.

I opened the establishment with one woman servant, and no other help. I wished to be alone. No one on earth would have cared to share my views, and I knew none able to do so. The more learned men were, the less could they enter into my ideas. All their views upon the organisation and needs of the undertaking differed totally from mine. What they especially rejected was the idea that it was possible to carry it out without artificial aid, trusting only to the influences of nature which surrounded the children and the activity which give rise to the needs of their daily life, whilst this was the very thought upon which I founded all my hope of success.

Trained teachers could not help me, still less could and ignorant people.

I had no clue to put into the hands of a fellow-worker nor sufficient facts to make my meaning clear to them. Thus whether I wished it or not I had at first to gain my experience alone. Nobody could help me. I had to help myself. . . . I wished to prove that public education should imitate the means of most value in domestic education, and upon this imitation alone does its worth depend. . . . All good education needs the mother's eye to read day by day and hour by hour every change in the soul of the child. . . . It requires the power of the educator to be none other than that of a father.

Such was the foundation upon which I built. The children must see from dawn till sunset that their happiness was mine. . . . But their goodwill is not awakened by words. . . . I wished above all to win the confidence and affection of the children. I felt sure if I gained this all the rest would follow.

My Friend, just think what my position was in the face of the prejudices of the people and the children, and you will understand the difficulties I had to overcome.

This unhappy country had suffered by fire and sword all the horrors of war. The greater part of the people abhorred the new constitution and regards its help with suspicion. Their naturally melancholy character being averse to change, they clung obstinately to what remained of their

former condition. To them I was but a creature of the new order of things; an instrument working not for them but for the men who were the cause of their misfortunes; a heretic, who, whilst doing some good to the children, put their soul in danger.

Think then of my weakness and poor external appearance and judge what I had to bear in carrying on my work.

Meanwhile, however trying this was, it favoured my undertaking. I was obliged to be always with the children. I was alone with them from morning till night, and from me they received all that could be done for their body and mind, help, consolation, and instruction. My tears mingled with theirs, and I smiled with them. My soup was their soup. My drink, their drink. I had neither family, nor friends, nor servants around. I had only them. With them when they were well and ill; I slept in the midst of them, the last to lie down and the first to rise. When we lay down I prayed with them and taught them till they fell asleep; they themselves asked me to do so. I myself took care of their clothes and persons, although their condition was almost unbearable.

This is how the children gradually became attached to me, and some with such affection that they corrected their parents and friends when they spoke badly of me. But what avails it for the little birds in their nest to love their mother when the bird of prey hovers constantly above them.

The first effect of these principles however was not always satisfactory. The children did not easily believe in my love; and accustomed to idleness and the disorderly pleasure of half-savage life, they had come to the convent thinking to be well fed and to do nothing. Some soon found that they had been there long enough and wished to go away; they spoke of a school fever which attacks children kept occupied all day. This discontent arose when several of my children were ill either in consequence of a sudden change of diet and habits or from the severity of the season and the dampness of the building. We all coughed and several of the children were attacked by a putrid fever which was very general in the country. But none of my children succumbed.

From the spring the children prospered; some magistrates and clergymen who saw them soon after scarcely knew them. But the sickly state of some of the children continued and the influence of the parents did not improve it. "Poor child how ill you look! I could take care of you as well as you are cared for here; Come with me." This is what some mothers said who were used to begging from door to door. On Sundays especially the parents come, pitying their children, making them weep, inciting them to leave. Thus many went away, and were replaced by others.

Several thought they were doing me a personal favour in leaving their children with me; they asked the Capuchins if I had no other means of livelihood, seeing that I took so many pupils. . . . Some asked me for money to replace the profit they should get by their children's begging; others, with their hat on their head, informed me that they would give me few days' more trial; others, again dictated their conditions to me.

In this way months passed before a father or mother rejoiced me by shaking me by the hand gratefully.

The children were won much sooner. They even wept when their parents went away without wishing me good day. . . . When I spoke alone to them they told me how they had been ill-treated, and sometimes these very children went away next day with their mothers.

But there were a good many others who soon saw that with me they could learn something and get on; their zeal was not disappointed. Their conduct was soon imitated by others who had not quite the same feeling. Those who ran away were the worst and most incapable. But at last there was an end to the opposition they had shewn on entrance. In 1799 I had eighty children, most of them well endowed, and some most remarkably so. As soon as they saw they could succeed their zeal was indefatigable. Children who had never opened a book and could scarcely recite *Paternoster* and *Ave Maria* came in a few weeks to study nearly from morning to night with the greatest interest. Even after supper when I used to say to them: "Children will you go to sleep or learn?" they generally answered "Learn."

I desired, above all, to awaken in them pure, moral, and elevated feeling in order to gain willingly their attention, activity, and obedience to external things. I sought but to follow the command of Jesus "Cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also."—Matt. xxiii. 26.

And if ever the truth of this precept was manifested it was so in my experience. My first aim was to produce among them sentiments of true family-life affection, justice, and morality. I succeeded very happily. There soon reigned among these little waifs a peace, friendship, and cordiality which are rare even among true brothers and sisters.

Here is the principle upon which I acted: Seek first to open the heart of the children, and, by satisfying their daily needs mingle love and benevolence with all their impressions, experience, and activity, so as to develop these sentiments in their heart; then to accustom them to knowledge in order that they may know how to apply their benevolence usefully and surely in the circle around them.

Lastly, approach the signs of good and evil, supply the words that express them, but connect them with the daily experience of the house, and see that they recall the child's own sentiments. But when you pass nights in trying to put into two words what others say in twenty do not regret your broken sleep.

I gave my children few explanations, and I taught them neither morality nor religion. But when they were quiet I said, "Is it not much more reasonable to be as you are than when making a noise?"

When they put their arms round my neck and called me their father I used to say, "Children, is it right to deceive your father after kissing him and to do behind his back what grieves him!"

When they spoke of the misery of the country and the happiness of their lot I said, "How good God is to make men compassionate!"

Sometimes I asked them if there was not a great difference between the government that raises the poor and teaches them to earn their living, and that which abandons them to idleness and vice, with beggary and the hospital as their only resource.

I often pictured to them the happiness of a modest and peaceful home, which by economy and work provides bread for its inmates and is able to help the unfortunate. What encouraged them most, was the prospect of not always being poor, but of some day taking a useful and respected place amongst their equals.

When I gathered them round me after the fire of Altorf, I said: "Altorf is burnt, perhaps at this moment there are children homeless, hungry, and ill clad. Would you like our good government to receive twenty of them into our house?"

"Oh, yes!" they cried!

"But, children," said I, think meanwhile what you are asking. Our house has not as much money as we would like, and it is not likely that more will be given on account of these poor children. Don't say you want them to come unless you are willing to bear all the consequences."

After having thus spoken with all my power, I made them repeat all I had said in order to see whether they understood it. But they remained firm in their decision, and all repeated: "Yes, yes, we will work harder, eat less, share our clothes with the children, and be glad for them to come."

Some emigrants from Grisons having slipped some crowns into my hands for my poor children, I immediately called them and said: "These men are obliged to leave their country, they do not know where they will find shelter to-morrow. See, in their misfortune, what they have given me for you. Come and thank them." And the emotion of the children caused the refugees to weep.

This is how I sought to awaken the feeling of each virtue before speaking of it; for I consider it wrong to talk with children about subjects which require them to say what they do not understand by experience. . . . One can understand how it was not possible to organise a discipline for the establishment; it could only be done gradually by the development of the work itself.

Silence, as a means of obtaining activity is, perhaps the first secret of such an establishment. I had succeeded so far as to be able to teach in a very low voice and nothing could be heard but my words, and when the children repeated them I could detect every fault of pronunciation. But it was not always like this.

Sometimes, in fun, I told them to repeat my words, looking the whole time at their middle finger. One can hardly believe how much such trifles contribute to the success of a high aim.

One young girl who seemed to belong to a horde of savages, but accustomed herself to hold herself erect and her head steady without letting her eyes wander, from this made such progress in her moral education as would be thought to be impossible. . . . Thanks to the application of these principles, the character of my children was more calm, and better disposed to what is good and noble, than one could have anticipated upon their arrival. . . . But when the children showed evidence of hardness and rudeness, I was severe, and employed corporal punishment. . . . My punishments never produced obstinacy; the children were satisfied when, a moment later, I shook

hands with them and kissed them. Here is the most serious case I ever experienced: one of the children whom I loved best, taking advantage of my affection, unjustly threatened another; I was furious when I learned it, and my hand made him smart for my indignation. The child seemed overwhelmed with grief, he wept for a quarter of an hour without interruption, then, as soon as I had passed the door to go out, he rose, went to his offended comrade, begged his pardon, and thanked him for having told of his bad conduct. My Friend, this is not a comedy; the child till then had never seen the like done before.

Elementary moral education comprehends three distinct parts: it must give the children a moral conscience by awakening pure sentiments within them; it must then by exercise, accustom them to control themselves in order to apply themselves to all that is good; lastly, it must lead them by reflection and comparison to have a just idea of right and the moral duties which result from their position and surroundings. . . . So, on hearing in the village that I punished them too much, I said to them: "Children! You know how I love you; tell me would you have me cease to punish you? Do you think I can rid you of your bad habits without blows? Will you think of all I tell you without them?" You were there my friend and you saw with what sincere emotion they cried: "We do not complain of the whippings. God keep us from deserving them; but we want you to punish us when we do wrong." . . . The large number of children gave me opportunity every day to point out what was right and what was wrong; what just and unjust. . . . Truth and justice are not a matter of words, but innate sentiment, elevated views, and noble aspirations, even without the external signs by which their power can be manifested.

And what is not less true is, that this sentiment of truth and justice, when it is developed simply, and without phrases, in the depth of the human heart, is the best preventive against the chief and most pernicious consequences of prejudice; it will not allow error, ignorance, and even superstition to become there what they are, and what they ever will be to those who babble about religion and right, without love and justice in their heart. . . . The man who knows much has more need to work than any other in order to bring his knowledge in harmony with his disposition and the circumstances in which he lives. . . .

I wished to combine study with work, the school with the workshop and in a measure to blend them. But I could not realise my plan for want of the means, materials, and tools. . . . Meanwhile, in the work of the children I attached less importance to the actual gain than to the bodily exercise, which, while developing their strength and skill, would one day enable them to win their bread. . . .

I sought less in the beginning to teach my children to spell, read, and write, than to profit by these exercises to develop the powers of their mind as much as possible and in all directions. I made them spell by heart before having learnt their A B C, and the whole class could spell the most difficult words without knowing the letters. . . . I went rapidly over the fragments of geography and natural history in Gedilke's reading book. . . . They showed much intelligence in quoting the

personal experiences they had with plants and animals. . . . I learned, myself, with the children. Our way was so simple and wanting in art, that I could not have scorned to learn and teach as I did.

My aim was so to simplify the means of teaching that the most ordinary man could easily grasp them and educate his children himself. As the mother gives to her child its first bodily nourishment, so is she ordained by God to give it its first intellectual food; and I consider it an evil that the little child should be taken prematurely from the house to be submitted to the artificial process of the school. . . . Then I am more than ever convinced that, as soon as we have institutions in which under powerful and truly psychological direction instruction will be combined with handicraft, a generation will be trained which on one side will not require one tenth part of the time and trouble now devoted to modern studies; and on the other, the powers and resources of this teaching will harmonise with the needs of domestic life so well that every parent will be able to provide it.

I have gained two very important experiences for the realisation of this desirable progress. The first is, that it is possible and easy to teach simultaneously. Second, that the children can be taught many things whilst engaged in manual work. . . . My Friend can you believe it? the warmest sympathy I have received is from the Capuchins and the nuns of the convent. Few people, except Truttmann, took any active interest in it. Those upon whom I had depended were too much occupied with their political interests, for, in the midst of their important occupations, our little institution seemed a most insignificant affair.

These were my dreams. I had to leave Stans at the moment when I thought they were about to be realised."

47. This is how the results of the experience at Stans are summed up by M. Morf, author of the most complete biography that has been published of this educational philosopher :

(1). The knowledge of man must be based upon intuition. Without this foundation it is only empty verbiage, more dangerous than ignorance to the future, and the happiness of men.

(2). Each branch of teaching should be brought to a starting point within the reach of the growing powers of the child. To this point a series of graduated notions should be linked in such a manner that each step can be crossed by the child's own powers.

(3). The method and means should be simplified and determined or fixed to such a point that they can be employed by each mother and teacher furnished with even the smallest amount of instruction and talent; for only thus can we hope for a spread of enlightenment among the people.

(4). In every branch, the first elements must be practised until the pupil has mastered them, and the same must be done at each new step of

knowledge which adds another element to what is already known. When this precept is not followed, teaching does not produce true intellectual culture, but merely confused and barren knowledge.

(5). The teaching should be addressed to the whole class, and not only to every individual child; the chief means consist in making all repeat in a loud voice the words of the master. Then all are occupied at once, none are inactive, and each is led to follow the common work.

(6). Rhythm which is so useful to man at work or play, is also necessary to be observed in this exercise. It prevents the confusion which arises from a large number of voices; and it increases and strengthens the impression produced by this teaching.

(7). With this mode of teaching the children can, whilst learning, practise writing or drawing, and thus train their hand, their eye, and their taste. Pestalozzi used *slates* upon which the pupils wrote with pencils of softer stone. The advantages of this innovation of Pestalozzi's are: great economy, and care in rubbing out and correcting; this has rendered good service in the elementary schools.

Thus this simple letter gives us the essential principles which, in our century have influenced the reform of elementary education, and especially of good primary schools.

We shall see how Pestalozzi applied and developed his principles in the new spheres which his indefatigable activity opened to him.

CHAPTER IX.

PESTALOZZI A SCHOOLMASTER AT BERTHOUD, (BURGDORF).

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| 48. Pestalozzi permitted to teach gratuitously in the non Burghers' School. | 51. Appointment to the second class. |
| 49. Made master of the preparatory class in the Burghers' School. | 52. Account of his doctrine addressed to the Society of the Friends of Education. |
| 50. His method judged by the School Commission. | 53. His health seriously affected by overwork. |

48. Pestalozzi did not stay long at Gurnigel. As soon as he felt an improvement in his health he became impatient to resume his work—his work without which he could not live—the raising of the people. He impatiently waited for the evacuation of Underwalden by the French troops, for he hoped to be able to resume his work at Stans. But, as has been said, the decision of the government willed otherwise.

Again he saw all his hopes vanish; unable to found the institution which he had always thought necessary to realise his views, obliged to give up the plan he had indulged in so long, he sought another way of attaining his aim and he cried "I will be a schoolmaster. He went and offered his services at the little town of Berthoud, germ. Burgdorf, in the canton of Berne. He asked no salary but only permission to give lessons to children in one of the primary schools. This modest request was at first refused, and one can hardly wonder at it. Until then Pestalozzi had gained only one real success by the publication of Leonard and Gertrude. His practical efforts had lasted too short a time and they left behind them no result that could give the public a favourable idea of his talents. People said when he left Stans "He may work well enough

for five months, but by the sixth all is over. We could foresee that: he knows nothing thoroughly, and he can put nothing in practice. Because he wrote a novel at the age of thirty, it does not follow that he can teach at fifty."

This is how Charles Monnard describes Pestalozzi at the period of his life at which we have arrived:

"The authorities of Berthoud dared not entrust Pestalozzi with a primary school; this immortal man could not actually compete with the most common-place candidates. He had everything against him: hard and indistinct pronunciation, bad writing, ignorance of drawing, scorn of book learning. He had studied several branches of natural history, but with carelessness of classification and terminology learned in the principal operations of numbers, he could hardly work a multiplication or division sum with several figures, and, probably, he had never tried to demonstrate a theorem of geometry. For years this dreamer had read no books. He did not even know how to sing; at times when his heart was moved he hummed without art, and each time to a different air,

"Sweet, holy nature
Let me follow thy ways."

Especially this verse.

"If weariness o'ercomes me,
I rest upon thy breast."

But in place of the ordinary knowledge which a young man of talent can acquire in two years, he understood that which the most of masters were ignorant of: the mind of man, the laws of his development, human affections and the art of animating and ennobling them; he was continually pondering over the course of nature and the history of humanity."

Meanwhile two influential men in the town recognised the merit of Pestalozzi: these were Schnell, *prefet* of Berthoud, and Dr. Grimm; they interposed in his favour and obtained for him, with some difficulty, permission to teach in a little school in the lower town, that was intended for those inhabitants who were not burgesses.

Berthoud is situated some leagues to the north-east of Berne upon the Emme, where the rich valley which is called from the name of the river opens upon the plain of the Aar. The ancient castle, the abode of the Governor, occupies the summit of a hill; around it are grouped in terraces the little streets of the high town, which is inhabited by people in easy circumstances, the burgesses

(who have a right or share in commonwealth); at the foot of the hill is the low town which then was chiefly inhabited by the poor, who were not burgesses. These who were only tolerated as foreigners had not the right to put their children to the burgesses' schools; but only to the one provided for them in the low town.

This school contained seventy-three children; it was held in the rooms of the master, Samuel Dysli, a shoemaker, who worked at his trade in the hours when he was not occupied in teaching. *Siegfried's Elements of Instruction, the Catechism of Heidelberg* and the *Psalms* were the only objects and means of instruction.

Nevertheless, Berthoud could be considered at this time amongst the small places not only in Switzerland but of Europe where the greatest attention was given to popular instruction. One can judge from this of the necessity and extent of the reform brought about by the work of Pestalozzi.

Such, then, was the school in which this old man was admitted to teach towards the end of 1799. He was entrusted with one half of the scholars. His lessons had no connection with those which they had been accustomed to before; no reading books nor copy books were used; nothing was said about catechism or psalms; the children had nothing to learn by heart, no tasks nor lessons were given to them; they were not even questioned. They repeated all together the instructions of Pestalozzi, whilst drawing on their slates, not letters as at Stans, but whatever forms they liked.

Meanwhile, Samuel Dysli the schoolmaster, regarded this stranger as an intruder, and feared that in time he might supplant him. Besides understanding nothing of the new method, he detested it, and was especially shocked at Pestalozzi for neglecting the *Catechism of Heidelberg*. He told his opinions freely to the parents and succeeded in alarming them.

The latter united and declared that they did not want this intruder in their school. "If the burgesses like this method," they said "let them employ it for their own

children." The authorities were obliged to yield; and again Pestalozzi found himself condemned to inaction.

49. Schnell and Grimm however, had understood the ideas of their *protégé*; they were not discouraged but spoke more strongly in his favour and obtained his admission into one of the burgesses' schools.

There were at this time three classes for boys and three for girls at Berthoud. The girls' classes were under one mistress, the eldest Miss Stähli, and they shared some of the lessons given to the boys, the pupils entered the schools at the age of eight years. The youngest children had a kind of preparatory class which they called the spelling and reading school; this was under the direction of the youngest Miss Stähli. It was in this last school that Pestalozzi was allowed to teach; there were from twenty to twenty-five children in it of both sexes, aged from five to eight years.

This is how he describes his new position in his first letter to Gessner, (in "How Gertrude teaches her Children.")

"I thought myself happy. But at the beginning I was in constant dread of being turned away, which made me more awkward than I usually am. When I recall the fire and the life with which I made my school at Stans an enchanted temple, and then the anguish with which I bore the yoke at the school at Berthoud, I cannot understand how the same man could have played two such different parts.

Here, the school was submitted to rules, which though somewhat pedantic and pretentious, were fair enough.

All this was new to me; I had never experienced anything of the kind in my life before. I began again to say my a.b.c. from morning to night, following without plan the empirical course interrupted at Stans. I was indefatigable in combining syllables, in disposing them in graduated series; I did the same in numbers; I filled whole copy books in this way; I sought in every way to simplify the elements of reading and counting and to reduce them to a psychological connection; so that the child could pass easily from the first step to the second, from the second to the third, &c. But instead of letters it was lines, arcs, angles, and squares, that the pupils had to draw upon their slates."

At the same time Pestalozzi placed before the children large drawings representing various objects which he

wished them to observe and describe. One day, he made them study in this way a drawing of a window: the children had to count the number of panes, sashes, &c. During this exercise, one of them kept his eye constantly fixed on the window of the room and ended by saying: "Could we not learn as well from the window itself as from the picture?"

To Pestalozzi this was a ray of light. "The child is right," he cried, "he wants nothing to intervene between himself and nature." Immediately he put his drawings aside and made the pupils observe the objects which were in the room.

50. Pestalozzi had taught eight months thus in this school when the time for the examinations arrived in March, 1800. The result of this test are found in the following letter addressed to Pestalozzi, by the Commission of the school of Berthoud. It is the first public testimony to the method which was soon to gain such a great reputation.

"The Commission of the Schools of Berthoud to Citizen Pestalozzi.

"Citizen,

You have given us great pleasure by submitting the children, whom you have been teaching for eight months, to our examination; we fulfil a duty, not to you alone, worthy citizen, but to the work itself to let you know in writing the opinion that we have of it.

"As far as we are able to judge, all that you promised yourself by your method is realised. You have shown what powers are already in the weakest child; by what way these powers can be developed; how one should seek each talent and so exercise it as to lead it to maturity. The astonishing progress of all your young pupils with such different dispositions, shows clearly that each child is fit for something when the master recognises his talents and cultivates them with true psychologic art. Your teaching has clearly shown the foundations upon which instruction should rest so that it can afterwards be continued with real usefulness; it has also shewn that, from the earliest years and in a very short time, the development of the child can gain an inconceivable universality whose influence extends not only over all the years of study, but over the whole life.

"Whilst by the laborious method hitherto pursued children from five to eight years of age only learn the letters, to spell and read, your pupils have not only accomplished this task with such a degree of perfection as we have not met with before, but the cleverest among them distinguished themselves by their beautiful writing, their talent for drawing and

counting. You have succeeded with all in arousing and cultivating the taste for history, natural history, measuring, geography, &c., in such a way that their future masters will see their work incredibly simplified if they are able to take advantage of this preparation.

“In the future the higher classes will receive from you or from a master who follows your method, no longer children whom it takes years of work to teach the first elements, but pupils who lack nothing in this respect, and who, besides, have their heads already furnished with useful knowledge.

“What advantage has not your manner of teaching over those which have been in use until the present time? Besides that of rapidity of progress and variety of knowledge given to early years, it is especially adapted for family use, to be followed by each mother or older child, even by each sensible servant. What an advantage this would be for the communes, the parents, and the children!

“We do not think, worthy man, that we exceed the praise suited to our official testimony by adding that you have rendered lasting services to our youth and to our schools, and that we are honoured that you have chosen us to serve to realise the noble plans which do so much honour to your heart and which will lighten so much the labour of future teachers

May your ardent zeal to put in practice a theory so good and well suited to the needs of humanity not be fettered by the critical position of our country, by jealousy or other passions, nor by the want of public support. May you never be turned from your favourite work—the educating and ennobling of childhood.

“May we not be too insignificant to help in a measure this great aim.

With the republican salute and true consideration.

“In the name of the commission of the schools,

“The President, EM. KUPFERSCHMID.”

“Berthoud, March 31st, 1800.

“Convinced of the truth of this testimony, and as a proof of my esteem, I have stamped this act with my seal of office.

“The prefect of the district of Berthoud,

(L.S)

J. SCHNELL.

This testimonial does the greatest honour to the commission of Berthoud. Amidst all the clumsiness, irregularities and oddities with which this new teaching was hampered, in spite of the defects of form which amused the vulgar eye and caused so much prejudice, it unravelled the true merit of the work which neither Businger nor Zschokke could do; nevertheless, Pestalozzi was not less awkward at Berthoud, than at Stans. This document also proves that the old man was not so incapable of teaching as he is said to have been, for it points to real, rapid and astonishing progress which had been made by

the children. Pestalozzi was not so unpractical as he believed himself to be; the proof of this is the number of practical inventions by which he made teaching easy.

We have already spoken of his employing slates for writing and drawing; he also introduced large movable letters arranged on a frame; they are found mentioned in his book, already alluded to, upon the teaching of reading: it was by their means that he taught the little children of Berthoud to read; movable letters have since come into very general use, but every one does not make use of them as Pestalozzi did, and they often are no more than useless playthings. We should also mention his frames for intuitive arithmetic; they were not finished till later on; but already at Berthoud, he made use of pictures upon which the units were represented by points.

Such was the first success of the *Method*, the first, at least that was recognised and publicly acknowledged. But the joy which it brought to Pestalozzi was soon and sadly troubled by the news of the dangerous illness of his beloved son Jacobli. The old man hastened to Neuhof; after some days all immediate danger disappeared, but the young man was paralysed. After spending the Easter holidays at the sick bed of his only son, the father returned sadly to Berthoud.

51. Then, and doubtless as a result of the favourable examination which his little school had undergone, Pestalozzi was appointed master of the second school of Berthoud which numbered about sixty pupils of both sexes, aged from eight to fifteen years. Here he taught bible history, geography, the history of Switzerland, arithmetic and writing. Several pupils received elementary lessons in Latin, from the master of the first class. In this second class Pestalozzi renewed his experiences with fresh zeal, at the opening of the schools in May, 1800. The energy which he displayed in this new field is described in a very curious way, by one of the children of his school, then aged ten years, and who, thirty-eight years later published his autobiography under the title of a "Short Sketch of my Pedagogic Life."

He was called John Ramsauer. He was a poor orphan of Appenzell driven from his country by the misfortunes of the war, and received in charity by Madame de Werth at Schleumen near Berthoud; trained by Pestalozzi he became a remarkable teacher, and ended by being the tutor of the Princes and Princesses of Oldenburg.

This is how Ramsauer describes Pestalozzi and his school at Berthoud in the summer of 1800 :

“As for school learning, properly so called, I gained nothing, nor did the other pupils. But his holy zeal, his love, causing him to forget himself always, his painful and serious position which did not escape the eyes of the children made a most profound impression upon me, and my childish heart was drawn to him. So, when Mme. de Werth before going to pass the winter at Berne gave me and my companion the choice of accompanying her or remaining at Berthoud, I decided to stay whilst my comrade preferred the rich and beautiful capital.

“It is impossible to give a clear and complete picture of this school. According to Pestalozzi's views all the teaching was based upon three elements: *language, number and form.*

“There was no regular school plan nor order of lessons; and Pestalozzi did not limit himself to any fixed time, but often went on with the same subject for two or three hours. We numbered about sixty boys and girls from eight to fifteen years of age; our lessons lasted from eight o'clock in the morning till eleven; and in the afternoon from two o'clock till four, and the teaching was limited to drawing, arithmetic and exercises in language.

“There was neither reading nor writing; the pupils had no text-books nor copy books and they learned nothing by heart. We had neither drawing models nor directions but slates only and red chalk, and whilst Pestalozzi made us repeat sentences about natural history as language exercises, *we could draw whatever we liked*: some drew little men and women; others houses; others again traced lines and arabesques according to their fancy. Pestalozzi never looked at what we drew or rather scribbled; but by the cuffs and elbows of our coats one could see that the scholars had made use of the red chalk. As for arithmetic we had between every two scholars a little frame divided into squares in which were points that we could count, add, multiply, subtract, and divide.

“It was from this that Krusi and Buss (fellow-workers with Pestalozzi) took the idea of the *Table of Units* and later on the *Table of fractions*. But as Pestalozzi confined himself to making us say or repeat these exercises in a row, without questioning, this plan, excellent as it was, was not of much use.

“Our master had not patience to go back, and in his excessive zeal he troubled himself little with the individual pupil. The exercises in language were the best, those especially upon the paper of the school-

room, which were true exercises in intuition. We spent hours before that old and torn paper, occupied in examining the pattern, holes and tears, in reference to number, form, position, and colour, also in formulating our observations into sentences more and more developed.

Then he said to us :

Boys! What do you see? (He never mentioned the girls.)

Answer: A hole in the paper.

A tear in the paper.

Pest: Well! Repeat after me:

I see a hole in the paper,

I see a long hole in the paper,

Behind the hole I see the wall,

I see figures on the paper,

I see black figures on the paper,

I see round and black figures on the paper,

I see a square yellow figure on the paper.

'Beside the square yellow figure I see a round black one. The square figure is joined to the round figure by a wide black stripe, &c.

The exercises on natural history were not so well understood.

As Pestalozzi, in his zeal, did not notice the time he often went on from 8 o'clock till 11 with the same subject."

After reading this grotesque description one can hardly wonder that at this time Pestalozzi's work was sometimes looked upon as nonsense. But we must not forget that Ramasuer was then a child of ten years and that the eccentricities would chiefly strike him at that age and leave him the memories which he has entered in his book.

It is also true that in his school at Berthoud, Pestalozzi was occupied in making experiments and getting experience more than in the immediate instruction of his scholars. Then, he was not yet clear as to what *was* his method; he was unable to explain it, he was seeking it.

It was in same summer of 1800 that a word of a member of the executive commission, M. Gleyre, of the Canton of Vaud, put him on the way. This is how he relates this incident (first letter to Gesseur, *How Gertrude teaches her Children*.) This letter is dated January 1st, 1801:

"Whilst engaged amidst the dust of school, I was seeking to fulfil my duty, not in a superficial way, but by working night and day, I continually faced facts which brought to light the mechanico-physico laws by which our mind gains and retains impressions with more or less ease. Every day I was organising my teaching in a manner more conformable to its

rules, and yet I could not explain clearly their principle until counsellor Gleyre, to whom I tried last summer to explain the spirit of my method, said to me at last. "You wish to mechanise education." He furnished me with the word which expressed at once my aim and the means that I was using . . . For thirty years I had not read a book, I could no longer read. I had no language for abstract ideas, and I lived only in convictions which were the result of lively intuitions, and great experiences mostly forgotten. Let us hasten to say that in the second edition of the work (1821) just mentioned Pestalozzi thought otherwise. He saw that the word 'mechanise' expresses a contrary idea to his views and if he at first adopted it, it was because his ignorance of the French language prevented his understanding its true sense. Meanwhile he had commenced by accepting and employing it; and one can understand what idea of his method would be conveyed to strangers to whom he said he wished to "*mechanise*" education.

His error was soon corrected. This is the first sentence of an exposition of his doctrine which he wrote a short time after.

"*I wish to psychologise education.*" Thus already he coins a new word to replace the one he sees is inappropriate."

52. Nobody rejoiced more in Pestalozzi's success than Stapfer. But the statesman saw his *protégé* still poor and his ideas little known. In order to help the old man to make his views known, he founded in June, 1800, a Society of the Friends of Education which undertook a commission to study the method of Pestalozzi and to make a report on it.

This commission which included some distinguished men, such as Paul Usteri of Zurich and Lüthi of Soleure begged Pestalozzi to give a short account of his doctrine and practice.

The latter immediately sat down to write and began with the phrase quoted above. This is the first systematic description, made by the author of the *method*, who wrote it after having always worked alone just before he was associated with others. This will suffice to give it great importance, but it is not less valuable on its own account, for it presents the doctrine of Pestalozzi with a clearness and fairness which have hardly been surpassed in anything the author wrote later. This memoir, unfortunately left unpublished, remained almost unknown. It was at last printed by Niederer in his Pestalozzian Pamphlets, Aix-la-Chapelle, 1828, but this book is not now to be had.

The author commences by developing the meaning of

his first sentence. "I seek to psychologise human teaching." He explains that he wants to submit the forms of teaching to the eternal laws which preside at the developing of the human spirit; that he has sought whilst conforming to these laws, to simplify the elements of human knowledge and to reduce them to a series of notions whose psychological connection should result in assuring to the lowest classes of society a true physical, intellectual, and moral development.

He then shows that *intuition* joined to exercises of language intended to express the different impressions gained should be the basis of instruction, and he points out language, drawing, writing, counting and the art of measuring, as the general elements of the culture of man; elements transmitted and consecrated by the experience of generations. Then he shows the series of elementary notions which he has already elaborated and points out the branches of study to which this work is yet to be applied.

In this memoir there often occurs the wrong word which he seemed to have given up: he speaks of imitating the *mechanism* of nature, as if he forgot the spiritual essence of the mind and soul of man. But the depth of his thought is shown clearly in the page which we are about to quote.

"The mechanism of nature takes everywhere a simple but ascending course. Man, imitate it. Imitate nature which, from the seed of the largest tree, at first only sends forth an imperceptible germ; but by insensible growth from day to day, from hour to hour, adds something to it, develops first the rudiments of the trunk, then those of the principal branches, at last those of the secondary branches and the smallest twigs to which the leaves are attached.

"Observe well how nature cares for, preserves and strengthens each part which it has formed to link to its life that of a new part of its work.

"Observe how the glowing flower only develops after being slowly formed in the bud; how it soon loses the beauty of its first bloom and leaves only a weak but completely formed fruit; how this fruit gains something real every day and grows thus suspended to the branch that nourishes it, until when completely ripe, it falls from the tree.

"Observe well how nature, as soon as she forms the first bud which rises, forms also the first germ of the root and buries deep in the earth the noblest part of the tree; how by an intimate connection it develops the immovable trunk from the root, the branches from the trunk, and the shoots from the branches, how it gives to all the parts, even the weakest and most external, sap enough, but nothing useless nor superfluous."

Under the name of *Mechanism of nature*, it is very evident that Pestalozzi describes here the vegetable organism and that he suggests it as a model for the educator.

One may conclude from this that it is the word *organism* that should be read wherever he used the term *mechanism* to education. The mind and heart of man, as well as his body develop according to the laws of the organism. Such is the fundamental principle of the doctrine of Pestalozzi; the continuation of this work will show with what evidence.

During this summer of 1800, Pestalozzi did not obtain in his large class the success which his efforts had met with in the junior school. One could foresee by the admission of Ramsauer, that "the most of his scholars made his life bitter." Stapfer also says that the appearance and manners of the old man often compromised his authority in his class to such a degree that Schnell was obliged to interpose to restore it. It could not be otherwise. The method of Pestalozzi was then exclusively and excessively elementary; it dealt with human knowledge in its first and simplest principles. It addressed itself only to little beginners. One can understand that it was almost impossible to apply it to scholars, who, for several years had been receiving instruction in a totally different way. The latter thought themselves clever and well instructed already, and the simple, childish exercises that were given to them, instead of interesting them only offended their self-conceit. The same thing occurred again, and the work which had succeeded so well at the institute of Berthoud, succeeded far less satisfactorily at Yverdon.

The Helvetic Directory which had given such generous attention to the educational plans of Pestalozzi had been replaced on Jan. 7th, 1800, by an Executive Commission of seven members. From the 18th of Feb., Stapfer had addressed a memorial in French to this Commission in which, after having again explained the views of Pestalozzi and the success gained by his teaching at Berthoud, he said:—It would be unpardonable, if the Helvetic Govern-

ment did not take advantage for the country's sake, of the talents of this unique man, and if it did not utilise the virtues of an old man whose frozen blood cannot extinguish his ardour for the amelioration of the fate of his fellow men; and whose heart in the depth of the winter of life is consumed with the desire to be useful, and burns with the holy love of humanity.

He concluded by asking, in the name of Pestalozzi, a privilege for the publication of his writings, a contribution of 1,600 Swiss livres, payable in ten terms of 100 livres a quarter, partly for the printing of the elementary books which he was making, partly for the foundation of a special educational establishment; and lastly, to facilitate the erection of necessary buildings, he asked for the gift of two hundred trees to be taken from the national forests in the neighbourhood of Neuhof. Pestalozzi offered as a guarantee the deposit of his manuscripts which were valued at 1,600 livres by impartial booksellers, and engaged to apply to the new establishment the proceeds of the sale of his works, as well as to receive the poor into his institute according as his means would allow.

The executive commission, by the decision of February 25th, had granted the 1600 livres, on condition that Pestalozzi re-imbursed them when his institute should have yielded the means of doing so. It had asked the legislative council to corroborate its decision. But it refused the trees for building, on the ground of the bad state of the forests of Aargau and offered Pestalozzi authority to supply himself with wood from another part of Switzerland.

Pestalozzi thanked the executive commission by the following letter :

“ Citizen Councillors of State !

“ Until now, I feared I would have died without my Fatherland having lent me a helping hand to forward the sole aim of my life. You may judge Citizen Councillors of State, how the decision by which you have dispelled this fear has raised my spirit and made my heart grateful.

“ Respect and patriotic fidelity,

“ Berthoud, March 6th, 1880.

PESTALOZZI.”

53. Meanwhile the extreme embarrassment of the finances of the Republic, hardly allowed the execution of the decision.

Even later, when Pestalozzi had actually founded and set in action his institute at Berthoud, he received for the first year only 177½ livres from the state funds, which also paid about 358 livres for the expense of printing his first elementary book, his *Instruction in the teaching of spelling and reading*.

Besides, the refusal of the timber being taken from the neighbourhood of Neuhof had upset Pestalozzi's plans and obliged him to defer his projects.

This is why he was obliged to continue in the class the excessive work which exhausted his strength. His chest could not stand the violent exercise which he gave it from morning to evening, and he became as ill as he had been when he was at Stans.

“For thirty years my life has been a desperate struggle with the most dreadful poverty. Do you know that for thirty years I have wanted absolute necessaries? Do you know that until now I have not mixed in society or attended church because I had no clothes nor money to buy them? Oh Zschokke, do you know I have been obliged a thousand times to go dinnerless, and at midday when the poorest were seated round a table, I was eating in bitterness a piece of bread upon the road. Yes, Zschokke, and even to day I am struggling against the most frightful poverty; and all to be able to help the poorest by the realisation of my principles.”

Once again deceived in his hopes he saw his life and strength consumed in vain, and the work of his choice lost for ever, when Providence saved him for the happiness of humanity by sending him a fellow labourer worthy of him, a man such as he did not think could be found in the world. This was Hermann Krusi.

CHAPTER X.

KRUSI, PESTALOZZI'S FIRST FELLOW-LABOURER.

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| 54. A glimpse of Appenzell and its people. | 57. Krusi conducts twenty-eight poor children to Burgdorf. |
| 55. How the errand-boy Krusi became a schoolmaster. | 58. Fischer employs Krusi in the school. Death of Fischer. |
| 56. Eastern Switzerland ruined by the war. | 59. Krusi joins Pestalozzi. |

54. Hermann Krusi was born in the village of Gaïss in Appenzell in 1775. Gaïss is situated in a high valley of the canton which is one of the most remarkable places in Switzerland, both on account of its fine scenery, and still more for the manners, industry, and natural wit of its inhabitants.

It has produced many distinguished men and it furnished Pestalozzi with several excellent collaborateurs.

This mountainous and broken country has little corn-land; there are woods in the ravines and on the heights; and everywhere else, beautiful, well-watered meadows covered with bright verdure when the snows disappear. Fruit trees are plentiful, but they are stunted and suited to a severe climate. Hence the chief agricultural products are those of the dairy, fruit, and cider, and they do not suffice to support the inhabitants. Trade, however, has helped with the work of the soil and the flocks spread comfort and prosperity in the country-side.

The people are employed in embroidery, in weaving different stuffs, especially muslin, and nearly every house has a cowhouse and workshop.

The father of Krusi, a small tradesman of Gaïss, needed the help of his son, so he could not keep him long at school. Besides, the school at Gaïss like the most of

those of the time had very limited resources. The children who gathered there were called up in turn to say their lesson which consisted of the elements of reading and the repetition of the catechism; only the most advanced scholars began writing. If the little Hermann learned anything there it was soon forgotten, and at the age of twelve months he went on commission from village to village for his father without knowing what was taught at the school.

But the child had a lively intelligence, a remarkable spirit of observation, and a passionate desire to learn and instruct himself, whilst working hard for his bread. His father entrusted him to go and buy and sell in the various small towns of the country. Often entrusted with considerable sums of money, he had to count it, and in this way he learned arithmetic; at the same time he accustomed himself to distinguish the various qualities of the diverse kinds of goods; then he gathered flowers by the wayside which familiarised him with the characters and names of the most useful plants. The young Hermann had thus a lively sense of the beauties of nature, a rare quality amongst those whose daily toil leaves them little leisure; associated with his admiration for the beautiful places of his country was sincere and lively piety which he had inherited from infancy and which in the midst of his business occupations developed more and more in his simple, pure, and loving heart.

Hermann Krusi was eighteen years old when a fortunate occurrence led him to the work of teaching, which he never would have thought of, but for which he was eminently fitted. Here we shall let him speak, for it is from his own mouth that we learned the following episode:

“One very hot summer day, I was returning from Trogen, crossing the mountain of the Gaebris with a heavy load of thread from the firm of Zellwegger, and it was just at the place where the road parts that the current of my thoughts and life turned.

Having arrived at the top of the road, I put down my load to wipe the perspiration from my brow, when I met one of my acquaintances, Mr. Gruber, then treasurer of the State.

"It is a warm day, Hermann," said he to me, "Yes, very warm."

"The schoolmaster, Hærten is leaving Gaïss, and you might, perhaps, earn your bread with less trouble. Would you not like to apply for the appointment?"

"It is not a question of liking: a schoolmaster should have some knowledge, and I have none."

"All that a schoolmaster here can and should know, you could learn easily."

"But where and how? I cannot see any chance of doing so."

"If you are willing the means will not be wanting. Make up your mind and lose no time."

After this he left me.

I might well seek and reflect, the light was not made for me. Nevertheless I rapidly descended the mountain scarcely feeling my load.

My friend Sonderegger obtained for me a single writing copy, made by a clever calligraphist of Altstätten and I copied it more than a hundred times, this was my only preparation. Notwithstanding which I applied, but with little hope of success. There were two candidates. The principal test was the writing of the Lord's Prayer and I did my very best.

I had observed that here and there capital letters were employed, but I did not know their use and I took them for an ornament. I therefore distributed mine in symmetrical order so that they were to be seen even in the middle of words. In fact, neither of us knew anything.

When the result of the examination was to be given, I was called and Captain Schoepfer announced to me that the examiners had found both of us very weak, the other candidate's reading was better than mine, but that my writing excelled his, that as I was eighteen years of age, and my rival forty, I could better acquire what knowledge was required; besides my room being larger than my rival's, suited better for school purposes; and, in short that I was appointed to fill the vacancy."

Then some old furniture which encumbered the room was taken away, and the hundred children of the parish

came here in 1793. Here was Hermann Krusi with these hundred children in his room, very much at a loss how to keep them in order, to occupy, and instruct them.

Another in his place would have tried to recall what he had learned at school and have tried to copy his old master. But he did nothing of the kind.

He had been tempted to the work on account of the means it would give him for study; he knew he had much to learn, and instead of seeking to profess before his scholars he began to learn with them.

He was warmly assisted by the pastor who, convinced of the errors of the old scholastic routine, was seeking new ways of elementary teaching. This excellent man helped Krusi to direct the school for the first eight weeks. The children were divided into three classes which were kept constantly occupied. A new reading book was introduced into the school; it contained Bible Stories, notions of geography and natural history; the children were questioned upon what they read so as to see that they thoroughly understood it.

Krusi worked enormously; he was happy in his new position, first because he was instructing himself, but especially because he loved the children; he wished not only their good for the future, but also their present happiness; he knew how necessary activity is for them and he did all he could to prevent their ever suffering from weariness. Amongst the varied exercises of the class he did not hesitate to introduce accounts of his own experiences, of those especially by which he taught himself, sometimes at his own expense, in the ordinary knowledge relating to the life of the people of the country. He spoke often to them of weaving and of cattle, of plants, and merchandise to the great delight of the children who were astonished to hear at school of things which interested them so much.

Such a change in the habits of the school could not fail to be criticised and to meet with opposition. This opposition became stronger after the revolution of 1798.

Krusi was favourable to the new state of things because he thought it more favourable to develop popular work

and the progress of public instruction. This drew away from him many of those who remained attached to the old state of things.

A chain of circumstances which we shall now relate opened up a new career to him.

Towards the end of last century the celebrated educational establishment directed by Salzmann at Schnepfenthal had trained several good disciples full of zeal for reform and the advancement of public instruction.

Amongst these was a young Swiss, named Fischer, who had finished his theological studies and became an assistant minister. But at the revolution of 1798, he gave up his post to become Secretary to the Minister of Arts and Sciences of the new Helvetic Government.

Fischer, like Pestalozzi, had elevated, generous, and patriotic views; like him, he felt the need of raising the schools of Switzerland; but it was by the foundation of a normal school that he sought to reach his aim, whilst Pestalozzi wished at first to apply his doctrine to the education of young children.

Fischer's plan was the same as Stapfer's; and Stapfer had it approved by the Government. But the state of the finances did not admit of the establishing of this foundation; Fischer was promised support if he succeeded in founding a normal school; he was led to hope that in time it would become a State institution.

To carry out his plans, Fischer chose the Castle of Berthoud, and the Government put a part of it at his disposal. The future director went and installed himself there and he was well received by the inhabitants of Berthoud; he was commissioned to re-organise and direct this school and he employed himself zealously whilst expecting the means to found his normal school.

56. Meanwhile there came in the autumn of 1799, a disaster, similar to that of the preceding year at Stans which ruined Eastern Switzerland; the war that the French were carrying on there against the Austrians and Russians had destroyed everything. A dreadful famine prevailed especially in the cantons of the Linth and Säntis where hundreds of mothers had not a piece of bread to

give their children. The inhabitants of the Swiss country who escaped this scourge were touched with compassion and they sent for the unfortunate children of their ruined fellow-countrymen and brought them up.

Fischer, at Berthoud, was the originator of this generous work; he found so much sympathy around him that in the month of December he wrote to his friend Steinmuller of Glaris, then pastor at Gaïss, asking him for thirty poor children whom he undertook to place well; he wished them to be accompanied by a young man capable of taking care of them and who had a taste for teaching; Fischer promised to instruct and train him to be a good teacher.

From the beginning of 1800, Steinmuller went back to Glaris, his country; it was the district that had suffered the most. But already eighty poor children of this canton had been sent away, and, by the care of the Literary Society of Berne, they were placed in the country of Vaud, then the canton of Lemane, to the great grief of several Glaronais, who considered the Vaudois as having caused all the misfortunes of the country by calling in the French.

When he returned to Gaïss, Steinmuller announced to his parishioners that he could place some children in families of the canton of Berne, who would take the greatest care of them, and such was the misery of the country then that from the first day they proposed forty to him.

It was Krusi whom the pastor sought to induce to accompany the young emigrants; he pointed out to him the advantage he would have in being instructed by Fischer, perhaps also by Pestalozzi. Although the latter was already very celebrated, the young teacher had never heard of him; nevertheless he accepted the offer eagerly, being full of the desire to pursue further his instruction and his talents for teaching.

This is how Pastor Steinmuller speaks of Krusi in a letter which he wrote to Fischer, January 16th, 1800.

"I have found just such a man as I was seeking, and I hope he will also please you. He is twenty-four years of age; he possesses only what he earns each day; he is full

of goodwill, gentle, and active; his preliminary qualifications are not without importance; and he has a warm love for the profession; he will certainly rise; he is strictly moral and good. It is one of my parishioners and schoolmasters, Hermann Krusi, who desires very much to go to you, knowing all that he will gain with you and Pestalozzi. He can return here if he does not suit you."

57. On the 21st of January, 1800, Krusi set out from Gaiß with twenty-eight children of both sexes.

He has left us some details of this journey which show that the little band met with sympathy at every stage.

"At Winterthour" said he, "whilst they gave us refreshments, came the excellent pastor Hanhart, who, after being informed of the cause of our journey, went out hurriedly and returned soon with some crowns and small change which he had collected in his great zeal, and he gave us it accompanied by his best wishes and blessings."

"At Bassersdorf, where we arrived later we were obliged to go to two inns; but the beds there were all occupied on account of the fair at Zurich, and they put us into large rooms covered with straw. The Judge of the district had just come to the inn: its president had a plate sent round to collect the offerings for us and we carried them away with the best wishes for our journey."

On the 27th January, the little company arrived at Berthoud. The children were placed in several families of the neighbourhood, Krusi lodged at the Castle where Fischer and Pestalozzi lived, and he took his meals with a burgher of the town.

This emigration of poor children from the little cantons to other parts of Switzerland is a fact which characterises this period of confusion in a very remarkable manner.

If we admire the devotion which led so many families to take in the little foreigners, we can hardly understand the misery which induced so many parents to part with their children. And this transmission of children was very general.

A second convoy of forty-four Appenzellois took place in the beginning of February 1800. Jean Ramsauer of whom we have already spoken, formed one of the party;

he was then ten years old ; in his memoirs he has left a curious account of this journey, from which we borrow the following passages :

“ We travelled in two open carriages ; at midday and in the evening we went to our quarters where we were received and treated better or worse according to the political opinions of the inhabitants. I remarked at the time that it was nearly always the poorest, and most neglected and ignorant children who complained and lamented the most, whilst those who had known some comfort and received some education bore their troubles much better. Our first sleeping place was at Weil, canton of Thurgovie ; it was late and we were obliged to look for a long time for our resting place, carrying lanterns and walking through thick snow ; I was lodged with two other children in a very poor house ; we went to bed without supper, under a roof that let in the wind and the snow. At Zurich, which was full of foreign troops we could only find shelter in a hospital, upon straw, where the most of the children did nothing but complain all night and were ill next day.

At Morgenthal, in the canton of Berne, the people did not want to receive us and we were obliged to travel some leagues during the night to seek a resting place which we found at last in the remote house of a peasant which was already full of soldiers and vivandieres. The most of these people came to us, however, with compassion and benevolence. We could not congratulate ourselves enough upon the welcome which we received at Lenzbourg, where we had comfortable beds, and at Suhr where we had a good dinner. At the end of a week, we arrived at our destination which was Oberburgh, a league south from Berthoud.

There ranged along the public place we were exposed to the view of generous persons who wished to adopt us.

The rich people chose the prettiest children, the peasant the strongest and most robust. I was one of those whom nobody wanted ; and fifteen of us were sent to Sehleumen a league west of Berthoud. There again ranged in ranks, we waited our fate, when the good Lady de Werth, who wished to take charge of two children came from her beautiful home to examine us.

All were sad and silent. I only seemed gay and I cried “ Ah, I know the age of this house,” the date was inscribed above the door. My vivacity pleased Mme. de Werth, and she took me home with her and one of my comrades. The rest were taken to the rich village of Hindelbank.

A short time after, the same little country of Appenzell sent out a third, then a fourth convoy of children ; and they came not only from the Canton of Glaris, but from those of Uri, Schwytz, Unterwald, Zug, and Saint Gall. They were welcomed in all parts of Switzerland, from Bâle to Geneva.

58. Krusi, established at Berthoud, taught the children whom he had brought and who were welcomed by some individuals of the town and its neighbourhood. The latter asked what money they would have to pay to the master: the school commissioners answered:

“The teacher Krusi continues to instruct the children here, he is inclined to receive still more pupils. He receives about three shillings and sixpence per month for the lessons which he gives out of school. But we do not want to impose any further charge upon the adopted parents of the foreign children: those who wish to give a contribution to the master Krusi will themselves fix the amount.”

Pestalozzi, Fischer, and Krusi all lived under the same roof, not only on friendly terms, but in perfect unity. Pestalozzi and Fischer although their views were not the same, loved and esteemed each other very highly. But it was Fischer who directed the work of Krusi by his lessons, his example, and advice. Meanwhile the means of founding a normal school never came; Fischer, who could not wait longer, accepted an appointment at Berne where he was nominated professor extraordinary of philosophy and pedagogy; and adjunct to the council of education: he went there on April 2nd, 1800.

Krusi suffered from being deprived of his support, but he went every Sunday to Berne and got advice from Fischer, and gave him an account of the work of the week.

Soon Fischer fell ill and died. Pestalozzi broke the sad news to Krusi.

59. Then he proposed that they should unite their schools and their efforts, and undertake a common work.

Krusi accepted the offer at once, for he had come to know Pestalozzi, and to love and appreciate his educational views, which in some respects resembled the way that he had followed in teaching himself.

Thus it was that Pestalozzi found the fellow-labourer whom he needed, a man full of heart, intelligence, activity, and zeal for teaching, and at the same time entirely free from the prejudices of the old schools. Krusi differed still more from the most of teachers in thinking himself more

ignorant than he really was. He remained with Pestalozzi until the dissolution of the Institute at Yverdon, teaching with much success all the elementary branches and distinguishing himself especially in exercises of language and natural history.

His old pupils recall with affection this excellent man, with his fine patriarchal face, his high forehead, his curly hair, his intelligent eyes, and especially his constant expression of mildness, simplicity and benevolence.

It was Krusi whom we liked best as our guide in our walks and mountain climbs; and when we were weak and little children, he took care of us during these excursions, not only like a father, but with the delicacy and thoughtful care of a good mother.

Krusi married at Yverdon, a charming and excellent assistant mistress in the Girls' School which was directed by M. and Mme. Niederer. On the fall of Pestalozzi's establishment he returned to his own country and was entrusted with the direction, first of the cantonal school at Trogen, then that of the normal school at Gaüss.

There we had the happiness of finding our old master, and of spending a week with him in 1837.

He had a large house situated above the village at the foot of the Gaebris, and occupied the first story with his family; the second was a school for girls directed by his eldest daughter who had been the pupil of Mme. Niederer; on the ground-floor was the room of the pupil teachers who lodged in the village, and beside it a Primary School where Krusi instructed children whose grandparents had been his pupils forty-four years before. Krusi was then sixty-two years of age; it was twenty years since he had left us and he had changed very little; he seemed just as active as ever. In the lessons, walks, games, songs, and at prayer, his goodness, ardour, and gentle piety animated the whole house and made harmony, joy, warmth, and earnest work to reign there.

CHAPTER XI.

PESTALOZZI, HEAD OF THE INSTITUTE AT BERTHOUD.

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| 60. Union of the two Schools at the Castle. | 66. A Normal School to be founded. |
| 61. Tobler, Buss, and Naef join them. | 67. Counter-Revolution in Switzerland. |
| 62. Appreciation by the Society of the Friends of Education. | 68. Pestalozzi in Paris, a deputy to the Conference. |
| 63. Great success of the Institute: its reputation abroad. | 69. Bonaparte and Pestalozzi. |
| 64. Distinguished visitors and their testimony. | 70. The Castle of Berthoud required by the Government. |
| 65. Examination by Government Commission: Official report. | 71. The Institute removed to Munchenbuchsee: then to Yverdon. |

60. Pestalozzi found in Krusi a help meet for him, a man who understood and adopted his ideas, who zealous to help him by following his advice, had precisely the knowledge and power which he himself lacked.

In order to unite the two schools, that of the poor refugees with the pupils of Pestalozzi who were better off, more room was needed. Thanks to Stapfer, the executive council, by a decision of July 23rd, 1800, gave up to Pestalozzi all the necessary accommodation in the castle, a supply of wood, and a portion of the garden for the cultivation of vegetables.

Then the two friends began to work together. This is the account that Krusi gives of their first efforts :

“Pestalozzi let me do as I please. I was full of admiration for his views, work and experiences, encouraged by his confidence, and happy in his friendship. The appearance of our united schools became every day more cheering. The joy of our children and their desire to learn soon attracted a serious attention to the new school.”

Pestalozzi, however, was less satisfied; he felt hampered by the great diversity of age, instruction, character, habits and origin of the children brought together under his care. He felt the need of new helpers to leave him more freedom of action, especially as he was now engaged upon his books of elementary teaching; which, we think was a mistake, but of which more will be said later on.

61. The summer holidays soon came and Krusi took advantage of them to go and visit his countryman, Tobler, who was tutor in a family in Bâle; and who, by his correspondence with Fischer, already knew Pestalozzi. He told him of the new undertaking at Berthoud and asked him to come and help.

Tobler consented at once. He had talent, imagination, and a great taste for learning and teaching.

His elementary education had been much neglected; at the age of twenty-two years he had suddenly decided to begin serious study in order to become a minister of the Gospel; but, obliged to earn his living, he had become tutor in a family at Bâle, carrying on his own study meanwhile. He worked in this way most zealously for six years, and remarked that he only succeeded very partially in communicating his knowledge to his pupils when he became acquainted with Pestalozzi. He understood that this man possessed what he wanted, so he was very happy to hasten to Berthoud.

Pestalozzi needed a drawing and singing master. Tobler recommended Buss to him. Buss was then an apprentice bookbinder at Bâle.

This Buss had a singular life. His father employed and lodged in the school of theology at Tübingen, made him attend the latin school from the age of three years to thirteen. At eight years of age he received pianoforte lessons from a student who left in six months; obliged to continue his music alone, he made such progress that, at the age of twelve, he was able to give successful lessons to a lady and a boy. At eleven he took drawing lessons and continued studying Greek, Hebrew, logic, and rhetoric. His father hoped that he might be able to finish his studies gratuitously at the Academy of Arts and Sciences at Stuttgart, but he was sent away, *because he was of too low extraction.*

Distressed and obliged to earn his bread, he became an apprentice bookbinder, continuing, however, in spite of his depression, to cultivate his talents for music and drawing. He was working in this way at Bâle without any love for the occupation which he had chosen, when Tobler sent him the offer of Pestalozzi.

His friends did not advise him to accept it, for they knew of the great pedagogue only from the ridiculous sides. "He is a half-fool," they said to him, "you should have nothing to do with him; he does not know what he is about; he has been seen crossing the streets in Bâle with his shoes tied with straw." It is a fact.

One day Pestalozzi, wishing to help a poor man outside the gate of the town, and having no money gave him his buckles. But Buss had read *Leonard and Gertrude* which was enough to decide him.

He arrived in Berthoud. Pestalozzi hastened to receive him with his hair and clothes in disorder, and his stockings loose, producing upon Buss an astonishment that was not favourable; but a moment after, the extreme kindness of Pestalozzi, his simplicity and the liveliness of his wit had conquered the sympathy and confidence of the new-comer.

When Buss first entered the schoolroom he found only noise and confusion: it took him some time to understand what was going on.

Then he thought that the children were kept too long at the first exercises. But when he saw how much they gained in facility to go further on, he became convinced that if he had been taught thus at first he would have been able to master his own studies and would not have remained so far behind.

This is what Krusi says of this re-union of masters with which the Institute of Berthoud opened:

"So our association was composed of four very different men, brought together by a singular chain of circumstances, namely: a founder whose high literary reputation was that of a dreamer incapable in practical life; and three young men, a private tutor, neglected in his youth, but who had taken late to study, and whose attempts at teaching had never produced the results which his

characters and talents seemed to promise ; a binder who devoted his leisure to singing and drawing : and lastly a village schoolmaster who fulfilled his duties as well as he could without having been in any way prepared for them. Those who saw this band of men not having a place where they could rest their head, little thought what they could do.

And how could they think otherwise ? Meanwhile our work succeeded, it won the public confidence even beyond expectations of the men who knew us, beyond our own.

This confidence was excited from the beginning of the Institution, by a testimony which we shall give here before beginning to relate the life of Berthoud.

62. The commission, charged by the Society of the Friends of Education to report upon the doctrine of Pestalozzi, visited his school in the early days of its connection with Krusi. We translate here the results of this examination as they were committed to writing by the reporter Luthi, and presented to the Society which met on October 1st, 1800, at the house of the Minister of Arts and Sciences who was no longer Stapfer, but Mohr, of Lucerne :

“ We all remarked at once that the pupils of Pestalozzi learnt very quickly to spell, read, write, and calculate. In six months they reach results that a village schoolmaster could only obtain in three years. It is true that the generality of schoolmasters are not Pestalozzis, and they do not find such helps as those of our friend. But it appears to us that this extraordinary progress is not due only to the personal teaching, but especially to the method of teaching.

“ And in what does this method consist ? ” By following the path of nature as the wise express it ; this method starts from the child’s own intuitions and leads him gradually, and by himself to abstract ideas. Another advantage of this method is that the master is not perceived : he never appears as a superior being, but, he sees, works, and seems to learn with the children his equals, rather than teach them with authority.

“ Who does not know the desire of little children to give each thing its name, to build, then to separate the elements and to recommence a new construction ? Who does not remember that he liked better, to draw than to write ? Who does not know that it is the most ignorant men who excel in mental arithmetic ? Who is not aware that little boys and girls as soon as they can walk delight in all sorts of exercises such as playing at soldiers ? ”

It is upon these simple, well-known facts that Pestalozzi founds his method of teaching. One might be tempted to ask how it is possible that this idea has been so long in being acted upon, if we did not well know that in our own life we commit similar errors to those of pedagogy."

Here, being obliged to abridge, we shall only mention the employment of movable letters for the element of reading, the first exercises in writing on slates, arithmetic taught with visible objects for units, and lastly the songs and marches often introduced between lessons.

The report concludes by saying :

"As far as we have been able to judge, it is impossible to seize the whole of this method without having followed the exercises from the beginning.

From what we have said, the system of Pestalozzi should be introduced into all Switzerland: the advantages would be incalculable. Pestalozzi earnestly desires, with the help of his worthy colleagues, to make his method of teaching known everywhere to all teachers.

The Commission can only most cordially sympathise in this desire and beg the society to use all its influence to help Pestalozzi to found a Normal School at Berthoud for elementary or primary teachers, to which, for the practical preparation of the pupils, a primary school will be added."

Then, at the request of the Society of the Friends of Education, the Executive Council granted Pestalozzi a sum of 500fr. for the winter quarter, which was beginning.

At the same time the préfet of Berthoud published a pamphlet in which he described the views of Pestalozzi in a more complete and elevated manner than the report of the commission.

It was on October 24th, 1800 that Pestalozzi announced the opening of his educational Institute at the Castle of Berthoud with a normal school to train teachers.

The price of boarding in the institute for the children of the middle class, was from 16 to 20 *livres*, according to the parents' means.

The Society seeing that the help furnished by the State would be insufficient to meet the expenses of the new institution, had charged a commission to make an appeal to the public, to raise throughout Switzerland voluntary subscriptions towards Pestalozzi's undertaking by letting

its exceptional merit be known, and the great advantages that would accrue from it to the country.

This appeal appeared November 20th. It says that Pestalozzi wished to found a refuge for poor children beside the institute intended for the middle class. The religion of both Protestants and Roman Catholics was to be respected, and whilst receiving religious instruction both children and students were to enjoy liberty of conscience.

People were mentioned as correspondents in each canton commissioned to receive contributions. And the appeal was signed by the ministers Rengger, de Luthi, Usteri and Fussli, members of the Legislative Council.

The newspapers spoke of this undertaking; some praised, others found fault with it, according to the political opinions that they represented. The early views of Pestalozzi were not forgotten and he was regarded much more as the friend of revolution than the man of genius and the devoted philanthropist.

The critical circumstances of the country rendered it unable to raise sufficient funds. Nevertheless, Pestalozzi did not stay his hand; and in spite of poverty, he received at first and for nothing poor little refugees into his institute; whilst the rich who were willing to pay for their board were kept waiting until room could be got ready for them.

The Institute of Berthoud opened in the beginning of the year 1801. Pestalozzi paid out of his own scanty means a part of the expense of repairs and necessary furnishing. He was obliged to live in the most economical manner. But notwithstanding, this is, of all the establishments founded by him, the one that best realised his views, and which bore the most faithful stamp of his original genius; it is the one we should study in order to see the doctrine of the master put into practice in all its purity.

We shall begin by relating the inner life of this Institute which lasted only three years and a half, and which bore afar the pedagogic reputation of its head. In another chapter, we shall examine the educational principles which animated it, and the new works which he published to spread them.

The Memoirs of Ramsauer, already quoted, give circumstantial details of this period of Pestalozzi's life, full of life and truth, which cannot be found elsewhere and which we translate :

"Of all Pestalozzi's pupils, I was the first received into the establishment and lodged in the castle ; the second was my friend Egger, also a free scholar, and a refugee. This noble heart here again thought of others and not of himself, and he treated us like a loving father. I occupied a peculiar position with him. As a pupil, I had to be taught and brought up, but as a child of the house, I had to perform certain work. As a table boy, I was obliged to do little domestic duties that could be given to a child ; some of these were troublesome and unsuitable.

"Amongst the first was that of drawing water for the use of the castle, it had to be brought up from a well 380ft. deep, exposed to all the changes of the season. It was painful drudgery in winter especially when a freezing wind blew through the streets.

"When I think of my work at this time, I thank God, who by his grace preserved us from harm, in the midst of the conversation which the servants used in our presence when we table boys helped them in their duties, sometimes up till midnight. This speech would have been much more harmful to us, in spite of our extreme youth, as we were almost entirely without supervision, and, after our work was done we needed not to do anything.

"But I and two other table-boys (there were often from six to eight) fortunately had such a love for learning that every spare quarter of an hour was well employed, and we looked upon study as our chief work, although half at least of our day was taken up with manual labour.

"When, however, in the fine weather we saw the whole band of masters and pupils merrily start down the castle hill either to bathe in the Emme which flowed at our feet, or to climb the rocks that bordered the river, whilst we table-boys were obliged to stay at home to work in the kitchen, or cellar, or elsewhere, then the tears would come to my eyes. But I thank God that I had been early taught to obey, to work usefully, and to control my wishes. This made me much happier when I was allowed to share in these pleasures.

"Nevertheless, my discouragement might have been too much for me, and might have tempted me to run away if I had not had, besides Pestalozzi, another good genius who made me forget my troubles. This was young Mme. Pestalozzi, the widow of Jacobli, an excellent woman whose own troubles had made her more full of compassion for the grief of others. She was a friend to all in the castle, but to us table-boys she was an angel. Later, when she became the wife of the benevolent M. Kuster, she gave herself up for several years to the fatigue and domestic cares of the establishment, and she was above all a blessing to the school for girls."

Here Ramsauer relates how his instruction progressed in spite of the small number and the irregularity of his lessons

how his desire to learn and the kind care of Pestalozzi supplemented all, how, from the age of twelve, he was entrusted to teach in the elementary classes. Then he continues:

During my stay at Berthoud I paid a visit every summer to the noble Lady de Werth, at Schleumen, and each time she gave me new clothes which were very necessary as Pestalozzi could not give them, for he rarely had any money, and he was obliged to employ his own resources to keep the Institute.

"I have before stated that I had made some progress in drawing, arithmetic, and what they called the A.B.C. of intuition* But I must not forget singing; although, from circumstances, I have never been required to teach it, it was one of the exercises which had the greatest attraction for me, especially as it was practised in the early days of the Institute. The thirty or forty boys and girls belonging to Pestalozzi's old school came from the town in the castle to take part in the singing lessons. Buss had the scholars to sing whilst marching in time two and two, holding each other by the hand, in the large corridors of the castle. This was our chief pleasure; but our joy reached its climax when our gymnastic master Naef, with his peculiar charm took part in it. This Naef was an old soldier who had fought in all parts of the world. He was a giant with a great beard, a crabbed face, a severe air, and rude exterior, but he was kindness itself. When he marched with the air of a trooper at the head of sixty or eighty children, his great voice thundering a Swiss air, then he enchanted the whole house.

"At the Institute singing was also and always a true means of recreation. We sang everywhere, in the open air, when travelling, when walking, in the evening in the court of the castle, and this singing together contributed much to keep up a spirit of good feeling and harmony amongst us. I should say that Naef, in spite of the rudeness of his exterior was the pupils' favourite, and for this reason that he lived always with them, and felt happiest when amongst them. He played, exercised, walked, bathed, climbed, threw stones, with the scholars all in a childish spirit: this is how he had such unlimited authority over them. Meanwhile he was not a pedagogue, he only had the heart of one.

"I should also say that in the first years of the Institute of Berthoud we did not follow scrupulously a plan of lessons, and the life there was so simple, familiar and cordial that, in the half hour of recreation which followed breakfast, when the children played in the court, Pestalozzi took great pleasure in it, and often permitted them to continue their sports until ten o'clock. Also, in the summer evenings, instead of resuming study they often remained till eight or nine o'clock walking and running, or seeking for plants and minerals."

* A.B.C.—Exercises in which the children give their own observations upon the objects that are presented to them.

This testimony of Ramsauer upon the family life that reigned in Berthoud is confirmed by an anecdote which should not be forgotten. One day, a peasant, the father of a pupil, had come to visit the Institute; very much surprised at what he saw he exclaimed: "But, this is not a school, it is a household!"

"This is the greatest praise you could give me," answered Pestalozzi: "Yes, God be praised, I have succeeded in showing to the world that there should not be such a gulf between domestic life and the school, and that school is really useful to education only so far as it develops the feelings and virtues which are at once the charm and the advantage of family life."

If the Institute at Berthoud presented the image of a family it was because Pestalozzi was a father to all; he only lived for others. His energy and love animated the whole house. The teachers were attached to him by warm affection and deep respect; there was Krusi for language and arithmetic, Tobler for geography and history, Buss for geometry, drawing and singing, Naef for gymnastics and some other elementary lessons.

Even the financial trouble that weighed upon the establishment exercised a moral influence. The masters had refused advantageous positions in order to stay with Pestalozzi, they gave up even their moderate salaries to help to make up the deficiency of the resources. The pupils on their side contented themselves with little and tried in every way to economise expense. It was a practical school of sacrifice and renouncement.

The confidence which the pupils had in their masters, their love and gratitude to them, took the place of rule and discipline; no rewards or punishments were used unless in exceptional cases; meanwhile obedience was complete, because it came from the heart. Besides, the children were gay and happy; they loved all their exercises and lessons almost as much as play; it was not unusual to see some of them leave their recreation to study together, grouped round a picture or a map.

It was at Berthoud that these exercises in natural history, which may be called intuitive, were commenced.

Most useful in life, and amusing to the children, they gave interest to each walk, and awakened tastes which could be salutary in the period of youth. Later on, Krusi became a clever mineralogist; the pupils enjoyed his lessons, and profited much by them. But, at the Castle of Berthoud, in the early days, the masters were as ignorant of natural history as the children. Notwithstanding, they collected minerals and plants, examined and described them, and each one classified them according to his fancy.

When Jean-Conrad Escher of Zurich came to visit the Institute, it was he who told Krusi that this was quartz, and that granite, &c.

In spite of the success of the Institution, money was wanting and Pestalozzi came to the end of his means. From February 18th, 1801, at the request of Minister Mohr, the Executive Council had kept up the contribution of 500 livres allotted to the Institute of Berthoud by the decision of the 8th of October, 1800, and had ordered that a supply of firewood should be delivered to Pestalozzi from the State forests in Berne.

But on April 19th 1801, Mohr spent a day at the Castle, and sent such a favourable account to the Executive Council that it raised the subvention of the state to 1600 livres, payable in quarters. Several private gifts also arrived, amongst others 500frs. from Mme. Reinhard, wife of the Minister of France.

63. At the same time the reputation of the Institute spread afar; the *German Journal* of Augsburg, and the *German Mercury* told wonders about it. This brought numerous pupils and soon there was not room to receive them.

On the 22nd of September, 1801, the minister Mohr said in his report to the Executive Council "Pestalozzi's Institute at Berthoud, the first and only one of its kind, well-known for its usefulness, attracts new pupils every day; and the director for want of suitable room is obliged to refuse them, much to his regret and the disadvantage of public education.

Citizen Pestalozzi has much need for the place to be enlarged by the construction of two large dormitories for the pupils and six little rooms for the masters."

Although the Council had decided, the preceding August,

that owing to the poverty of the treasury they could not undertake for that year any repair of public buildings, yet it consented to pay for the building required at the Castle of Berthoud, which cost 2850fr.

The same year Pestalozzi published a new work intended to give the public a complete exposition of his doctrine and works: he called it "*How Gertrude teaches her Children.*" This important work requires careful examination. Let us content ourselves here with saying that it met with great success in the German speaking countries and brought many visitors, some of them very distinguished men, to Berthoud.

64. In the following month (November, 1801) Wessenberg and Charles Victor de Boustetten arrived together. The latter gave an account of his visit in a letter written the same evening. His testimony confirms all that has been said. We insert a portion of the letter:

"I do not understand why Pestalozzi says that all teaching rests on three principal elements: *number, form and language*; but what I do see clearly is that his forty-eight children, from five to twelve years old, have learned in six months to write, draw, count in a surprising manner, to read, to know geography and a little French. They do everything cheerfully, and their health seems excellent. I do not know if Pestalozzi's method is good, I do not know if he *has* a method. But I see clearly that he walks in unknown paths, and that he has gained results unheard of till now, and that is of the greatest importance.

"I consider Pestalozzi's method a rich and precious germ, but yet young and undeveloped. Its success should convince every impartial thinker of its excellence. As it will be difficult for Pestalozzi to find his equal, I fear that the rich harvest promised by his discovery will not be preserved for future ages. It is a pity he professed his political opinions so warmly; in our revolutionary time it is one other difficulty added to those that must always be overcome to do justice to an exceptional man. For forty years Pestalozzi has devoted his life to the education of poor children; let him who has done more for humanity throw the first stone at him!

"The pupils know little, but they know it well. In my opinion the school of Berthoud is the best that could be for children of eight or nine years of age. But it will only bear fruit when, upon this foundation and after this experience a new storey is raised.

"The children are very cheerful and they take great pleasure in their lessons, which speaks much in favour of the method."

In December 1801, the Institute of Berthoud was visited

by a Swiss of high position, who gave a very favourable account of it in a series of anonymous articles published by the Republican and *German Journal of Augsburg*. We shall only quote some lines so as not to repeat ourselves, and not to enter here into the details of the method which will be examined later on :

“I must confess that I arrived at Berthoud with some prejudice or at least with great doubts of the fitness, usefulness, and success of the experience gained there. But my fear changed to confidence and joy as soon as I saw how Pestalozzi and his assistants worked with the children. On my return, I said to my friends: What goes on at Berthoud deserves the greatest attention and support of all those who are interested in the happiness of humanity and the progress of public education.”

The advance the pupils made in geometry and drawing especially delighted visitors.

A distinguished merchant of Nuremberg, who had come to Pestalozzi with some unfavourable prejudices expresses himself thus :

“It made me giddy to see these children playing with the most complicated exercises in fractions as if they were the easiest things in the world. I gave them some problems that I could not solve myself without sustained attention and covering whole pages with figures; but they did them quietly in their heads and in a few minutes gave the correct answer and explained the problem with great ease. They did not think they had done anything extraordinary.”

“At the institute of Berthoud” says another visitor, “the children of from six to eight years trace geometrical figures without the aid of rule or compass, and with a correctness that no one could believe if he had not seen it.”

Another again :

“I saw a child of ten years, who had been with Pestalozzi for eighteen months, draw in an hour a map of Scandinavia reduced to scale, and with an exactness that defied the strictest examination.”

There may be some exaggeration in these praises, but they prove that Pestalozzi's method of teaching arithmetic succeeded under the direction of Krusi long before Joseph Schnid undertook this subject.

Such a cloud of witnesses increased the reputation of the new work and excited public attention.

“An institute,” said one, “that produces such results with such small means should be supported by the government so as to ensure its continuance. Might it not be utilised for the reform of education in Switzerland?”

65. From the time of the revolution of Oct. 18th, 1801, Mohr ceased to be minister, and the Executive Council of the Republic had been succeeded by the “Little Council.” This body wished to do something for Pestalozzi’s work, but before taking steps in the matter, it sought to gain clearer and more detailed information, and for this end it instructed a commission to visit the Institute of Berthoud.

The report of this Commission was drawn up with great care by the President of the Council of public instruction and presented in the month of June, 1802:

“On my first visit I was full of doubt and determined not to be dazzled by the show of a brilliant theory, or surprised by any striking novelties.” (page 76.)

The Institute then numbered eighty pupils from five to eighteen years old and of all conditions. Twelve of them were poor children paid for by the establishment.

The report first explains the principles of Pestalozzi, who it says “has discovered true laws, universal laws for all elementary teaching.” It acknowledges the excellence of the results obtained in the recent and searching examination of the pupils; praise is especially given to the discipline which is entirely based on affection, and the moral and religious life that pervades the establishment.

Lastly, it asks the state to constitute the Institute a Swiss Normal School and to give fixed salaries to all the masters, also to grant a large subscription for a new and cheap edition of Pestalozzi’s books of elementary instruction.

For Pestalozzi himself the commission only asked one thing, namely, that when the time arrived help might be given him to found a school for orphans at Neuhof. Indeed, content with having made his method known and

having found men capable of applying it, Pestalozzi thought that soon he should not be needed at Berthoud; he wished to give up the direction of the Institute to his collaborateurs and return to what, from childhood, he had considered his vocation. He wished to end his days amongst poor neglected children to whom he would be a father.

In August, 1802, the Institute of Berthoud was visited by Soyaux of Berlin, who was considered by the *Literary Gazette* of Jena as an adversary of Pestalozzi. Nevertheless Soyaux has given an account of his visit in a pamphlet, which confirms the favourable testimonies which have been quoted. He begins by an appreciative acknowledgment of the personality and character of Pestalozzi with a penetration and depth of analysis which is very remarkable. Then he describes the different exercises at which he was present, and points out the great faculty that the pupils show for arithmetic and drawing. Here again, we are obliged to limit ourselves to some short quotations :

“Pestalozzi's method may perhaps meet with little appreciation, but the spirit of his principles and the tendency of his method will certainly have a good influence.

“The discipline is founded on this principle: that youth should be allowed the greatest possible liberty, and that only the abuse of it should be restrained.

“The establishment in all, numbers one hundred and two persons of whom sixty two are Swiss; they come from all the Cantons, Catholic as well as Protestant; they are taught by ten masters; there are also a number of foreigners in the castle who have come to study the method.

“The institute is young. Pestalozzi's principles are still growing; they have not yet reached maturity, this is why organisation of the institute is incomplete. The director and masters work with all their strength for the completion of the edifice. One perfects pictures, another seeks the way of nature in the teaching of reading, arithmetic, &c. Would that all educational establishments presented such a spirit of concord and harmony and a similiar zeal for advancement!”

66. Meanwhile, the little Council had adopted the propositions of the Commission. A small salary was given to Pestalozzi and each of his masters, whilst the public teachers' salaries were a year and a half in arrear. A normal school was instituted at the castle of Berthoud,

and every month twelve schoolmasters came to see the lessons; lastly, with the help of the State the second edition of Pestalozzi's school books was begun.

67. Pestalozzi considered his work established for the future, and felt that all his wishes were granted, when a new revolution overturned the unitary government and ruined at once his position and all his hope. This man seemed fated to see the earth sink beneath him every time that he attained the goal of his ambition.

In 1802, on the 17th of April, the little council had convoked a meeting of notables at Berne to represent the republic and to draw out a new plan of constitution which it unanimously adopted May 19th, and which, when submitted to the vote of the electors in all Switzerland, was accepted by two hundred and twenty-eight thousand suffrages out of three hundred and two thousand citizens qualified to vote; all those who did not come to give their names being counted as favourable. On July 3rd, the acceptance of the constitution was proclaimed at Berne, and the new government was constituted. Soon after Switzerland was evacuated by the French troops which had occupied it until then.

This was the signal for a rising which extended from the little cantons over the greater part of Switzerland. The troops of the insurgents forced the Helvetic army to retreat. From the second of September, the Government decided "to solicit the good offices and mediation of the French Government; on the 19th it was obliged to leave Berne. It took refuge in Lausanne where it had no protection but the Vaudois Militia, when the proclamation of Napoleon, then first Consul, put a stop to hostilities. The French Government granted its mediation; it convoked at Paris a Conference composed of deputies from the Helvetic senate, from the cantons, and even from all communes that wished to send them, "to learn the means of restoring union and tranquillity in all parts."

68. Pestalozzi had just published a conciliatory political pamphlet; he was deputed to the consultation by the village of Kirchberg,* and he was also chosen by the

* Where he had learned agriculture of Tscheffi.

canton of Zurich with Usteri, and the ex-Director Laharpe.

The first meeting took place in Paris, December 10th, 1802. The First Consul had appointed a commission composed of Barthélemy, President of the Conservative Senate and formerly Ambassador in Switzerland, Fouché of Nantes, Rœderer and Desmeuniers, Councillors of State, to confer with the Swiss deputies. There were two parties amongst the latter, one, numbering forty five members favourably disposed to the new ideas; Pestalozzi was amongst these; the other was a minority of sixteen deputies who sought more or less explicitly a return to the old system.

Pestalozzi's bad French and the eccentricity of his appearance were a great drawback to his getting a hearing in Paris; besides, he could not confine himself to political questions in the order of the day; he wanted to preach his educational ideas to France. Thus he exercised little influence upon the conference although the Commissioner Rœderer was then much occupied with public instruction.

69. Pestalozzi sought an audience of the First Consul, which was refused. Buonaparte answered by saying that he had other things to do than to discuss questions of ABC. However, he told Senator Monge to give Pestalozzi a hearing.

Monge, the inventor of descriptive geometry, and founder of the Polytechnic School, was a man of large mind and a profound and serious thinker, he listened patiently to Pestalozzi and never tired of asking him needful questions: he understood him; and after reflecting for a time upon the old man's plans, he observed "It is too much for us."

As soon as Pestalozzi saw that he could do nothing in Paris he left the Conference and returned to Berthoud. When he entered the castle, Buss said to him: "Well, have you seen Buonaparte?" "No," answered Pestalozzi, "*and neither has he seen me!*" These words, although spoken smilingly may have seemed presumptuous.

Nevertheless, if Pestalozzi said them in earnest, he was not mistaken: one of these two men will be blessed by posterity, in all lands; and it is not he who was called "*The Great*" by his contemporaries. Buonaparte did

France a great wrong in rejecting Pestalozzi's ideas, which Prussia welcomed soon after. But Buonaparte wished to subject the people whilst Pestalozzi wished to emancipate them.

Here we shall relate an anecdote reported by Pompée in his book, already quoted, and which we have found nowhere else. We give it verbatim.

"General Ney, French ambassador at Berne, frequently visited the Institute of Berthoud which he admired, as had all those who went before him. He gave an account of it to the First Consul, (page 124).

Although Buonaparte had not wished to trouble himself with questions of ABC when Pestalozzi came to Paris as a deputy from Switzerland, he eagerly accepted the proposal of General Ney to introduce his system into the French Schools. M. Naef, a teacher at Berthoud was sent to Paris; and commenced teaching in the Orphanage where the administration of the benevolent institutions entrusted a certain number of children to him. Napoleon, wishing to see for himself the result, went to the hospital, accompanied by Tallyrand, the ambassador from the United States, and a large number of distinguished people; he left well satisfied with the exercises that he saw. A commission was formed to give an account of this experiment and M. De Wailly, Chief of the Lycée Napoleon declared in his report that this method might be specially useful to children intended for mechanical arts.

At the end of this essay, M. Maine de Biran, sous-préfet of Bergerac, brought a professor, M. Barrand, from Berthoud to Dordogne, and gave him the direction of an establishment in which he was much interested. This philosophical official did all he could to discourage routine and took every opportunity of recommending the application of Pestalozzi's principles by telling the results at public meetings.

Whilst all the governments of Europe were thinking of introducing a new system of teaching into the elementary schools, a private individual, Mr. Maclure, conferred upon his country, the United States, an establishment that could vie with the most important schools of Europe.

A singular chance led him towards the improvement of his country's instruction. In 1804, he was in Paris, and had a great desire to see Napoleon. He applied to the Ambassador from the United States, who took him to the meeting where the First Consul had gone to see the result of Naef's teaching of the orphans.

During the whole time that the exercises were going on, Maclure, absorbed in looking at Napoleon, saw nothing else; but, when going away he heard Tallyrand say to Napoleon "It is too much for us." This remark struck him; he returned to the room and learned from Naef the object of the meeting; and as he was deeply interested in the improvement of the position of the poorer classes, he saw at once all that Pestalozzi's system could do to benefit their condition. He made a very favourable offer to Naef to go to Philadelphia and, later on, to New Harmony to found a Pestalozzian Institute."

We have shown the success obtained by Pestalozzi at the Castle of Berthoud, and the great reputation that his Institute had gained in Switzerland and elsewhere. But the head of the house did not share in the feeling of admiration held by the public; he was not satisfied with what he had done. At the end of his life, Pestalozzi publicly declared that in founding the Institute of Berthoud, he had entered upon a false road; we might think that this opinion was held by him later on, amidst his misfortunes. But no; from the year 1803, at Berthoud, he felt himself out of place; he wanted to leave the Institute and devote himself to a new poor school, for this thought of his youth never left him. This feeling is expressed in a letter addressed to his friend Fellenberg who wanted him to visit him.

This is Pestalozzi's answer:

“Many thanks for your hearty invitation, but I will not and cannot impose my trouble on my friend. I can, I will, and I ought to help myself; when I have done it then I can enjoy the friendship of man. But, until I feel satisfied with myself, nobody can calm my troubled heart. Help me, by the sale of my works for the aim of my life, my school for the poor. There, in quiet and retirement, I shall seek repose as some do behind bolts and bars. Oh! my friend, I am not at peace with myself, which is inexplicable, but the means of independence increase every day. Farewell; I am oppressed with a melancholy, which I have never before experienced. It will pass away.”

Meanwhile, the act of mediation, signed Feb. 13th, 1803, had re-established federalism in Switzerland. The unitary government ceased to exist and with it fell the support given or promised to Pestalozzi. But his work was too well known to be annihilated. The governments of Aargau, Lucerne, and Zurich seemed anxious to support his Institute: the last voted a contribution of a thousand francs for the publication of the elementary books. The Swiss Diet, which met at Fribourg empowered a commission to see what could be done to help forward Pestalozzi's philanthropic schemes; we do not know whether this commission made a report.

70. At the same time, the canton of Berne, which was

newly constituted, took possession of the castle of Berthoud and made it what it formerly had been, the residence of the préfet of the district. He had little sympathy with Pestalozzi, whom he looked upon as a revolutionary and partisan of unitary government, however the Institute was not left without a shelter and it was transferred to an old convent situated at Munchenbuchsee, a league from Berne, and near the estate of Hofwyl which Emmanuel Fellenberg had taken some years before for his agricultural and philanthropic establishment. It was in June, 1804, that Pestalozzi transferred his institute to Munchenbuchsee.

Mme. Pestalozzi from the death of her son (end of 1801) had left Neuhof to join her husband; sad and ill, she rarely left her room as she was not in a state to stand the noise and stir of such a large boarding school. She kept the accounts and a part of the correspondence, for Pestalozzi was too much preoccupied, too distracted and impatient to follow any regular and settled practice.

Mme. Pestalozzi's room was at the side of the large dining hall in which Pestalozzi and the masters took their meals with all the scholars. From this room, as well as from the balconies and terraces of the castle, a magnificent view was to be had of the green valley of the Emme with its rich and varied cultivation, and in the horizon the snowy summits of the Alps of the Oberland.

At this time part of the buildings was still used as a prison for some unhappy creatures who had to submit to the force of Bernese justice. Ramsauer relates a feature of this subject which gives a good idea of the character of Pestalozzi:

“There was a famous criminal, named Bernhard, big and strong as a giant, who, every time that he escaped from prison was brought back to the Castle of Berthoud and shut up in a lower cell. Then Pestalozzi, taking his hand, and slipping a piece of money into it, said: “If you had received a good education, and learned to apply your powers to what is good, you would now be a useful member of society; and they would not be obliged to shut you up in a hole and chain you like a dog.” I have myself, with Pestalozzi's permission and the consent of the gaoler, visited Bernhard several times, and the visit gave me pleasure in spite of the dreadful underground cell in which he was confined, for Bernhard was a frank, sincere, and remarkably well-endowed man.”

Another anecdote proves with what energy Pestalozzi could overcome suffering and illness. One day when he was confined to bed by a sharp attack of rheumatism, the French Ambassador, Reinhardt, came to visit the Institute. In spite of the doctor and his friends he would get up and it was with much trouble he was dressed and put on his feet; they begged him to go to bed again, and told him he was not in a fit state to enter the school. He dragged himself painfully, supported on each side. When in the presence of the ambassador he escaped from the hands of those who held him and began his explanations with great warmth. The longer the meeting lasted the stronger grew his vivacity until at last his rheumatism disappeared!

Fellenberg for twenty years was a friend of Pestalozzi; a part of their correspondence has been quoted. Some time before, Fellenberg's labourers had brought a man to him, whom they had found in the fields badly dressed and worn out with hunger and fatigue. Fellenberg recognised him as Pestalozzi, who, in his passion for minerals, had, whilst filling his pockets and handkerchief with them, lost his way, and fallen with fatigue into a ditch.

About the same time, Pestalozzi while walking painfully to the gates of Soleure, with his handkerchief full of stones was arrested by the police as a suspicious looking tramp, and taken to the house of the judge; who being absent, the old man had to wait a long time in an ante-room beside his guard. At last the judge entered, he knew Pestalozzi well, hastened to him, embraced him, and invited him to supper to the intense bewilderment of the police agent.

Fellenberg was a clever agriculturalist, an excellent administrator, a man of well regulated activity and of immense practical capacity; with noble and elevated views he was distinguished for those qualities which Pestalozzi lacked. He had given up the pleasant and easy life to which his birth and talents entitled him in the government of his country, to devote his fortune and powers to undertakings of public usefulness.

His establishments at Hofwyl had a double aim; they were intended to train intelligent and honest labourers

amongst the poor; and amongst the rich to produce capable directors of rural undertakings. Thus the enterprise of Fellenberg and that of Pestalozzi would have seemed to be mutually helpful. The former offered a partnership to the old man; he wished to manage all the economic part, whilst Pestalozzi, saved from cares for which he had neither taste nor capacity, was to take charge only of the educational direction of the Institute.

71. Pestalozzi accepted the offer at first. But Fellenberg and he were intended to esteem each other, not to live together; there was as great a difference in their character and mode of thinking as there was in their dress and appearance. Fellenberg, in spite of a really good heart, had a domineering and unbending spirit. Pestalozzi called him "*a man of iron*;" he felt ill at ease with him, and could not rest content at Munchenbuchsee.

Amongst the offers that were made to him were those from the Vaudois towns of Payerne, Yverdon and Rolle: he thought it would extend the usefulness of his method if he settled in a French-speaking country, so he chose Yverdon.

"He then left Munchenbuchsee on Oct. 18th, 1804, after taking an affecting farewell of the pupils and masters, and he arrived at Yverdon, not knowing what was to become of him: he was so poor that he was obliged to lodge in the same room with Krusi and Niederer. This room served for every purpose; it was their work room and bedroom. It was under these circumstances that he received from the King of Denmark a hundred *Louis d'or* which this monarch begged him to accept in consideration of the hospitality which he had offered to two Danes, who had been sent by their government to study the method at Berthoud. But, however pressing were his personal needs, his first thought was for the poor whom Fellenberg had scarcely tolerated; he sent for them, and placed them with Buss and Barrand who were then laying at Yverdon the foundation of a Pestalozzian institute. (Pompée, page 141).

Meanwhile the castle of Yverdon needed much repair before it could receive the Institute; and, as the completion

of this work took a long time, Pestalozzi opened a provisional school, with six or eight pupils in an apartment forming part of the house now called No. 51, Middle Street,

Pestalozzi had left with Tobler, de Muralt, Schmid, and de Turc, Steiner and some under masters. The pedagogic direction had been entrusted to Tobler, a man perfectly capable under all conditions. But Fellenberg, although only understood to have charge of the economic department, was not long in exercising a preponderating influence upon everything.

In order to understand the change that the life of the Institute suffered from this influence we cannot do better than quote the memoirs of Ramsauer :

“ At Munchenbuchsee, I felt myself unfortunate for the first time in my life. I felt unhappy. I was still a table-boy and under-master ; but I had no one to comfort my heart ; we missed above all the love and warmth that had vivified everything at Berthoud and made us so happy there ; with Pestalozzi the heart ruled ; with Fellenberg, the intellect.

“ Nevertheless, there was some good at Munchenbuchsee ; there was more order there, and we learned more than at Berthoud.

“ To my great joy, on February, 1805, Pestalozzi called me to him, at Yverdon, where I found a father's heart and my dear masters, Krusi and Buss. Some months later the whole Institute was re-united under Pestalozzi at Yverdon.”

CHAPTER XII.

PESTALOZZI'S BOOKS AND METHOD AT BERTHOUD.

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| <p>72. <i>How Gertrude teaches her Children.</i></p> <p>73. <i>The Book for Mothers. Guide to Reading and Spelling.</i></p> | | <p>73. Elementary teaching of number and form.</p> <p><i>The Master of the Natural School.</i></p> |
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72. From the beginning of the Institute, Pestalozzi wished the public to understand in a complete manner both the work of his life and the doctrine which he sought to

put in practice: he published, for this purpose, the book called: "How Gertrude teaches her children, an essay to show mothers how to teach their children."

Here is the opinion of Morf, the author of the best biography of Pestalozzi and one who best studied and understood his work and ideas:

"This is by far the most important and best thought out of all his pedagogic works, and its importance is not for the present only but for the future. His genius is expressed in it most purely and characteristically. It gives us the most faithful reflection of his noble heart, and his thoughts are expressed in his own words. We are delighted with the abundance of his intuitions, I might call them the revelations that Providence had destined him to give us. We read this book from beginning to end with unwavering attention and lively interest, although here and there some objections may be offered not to the principles and laws, but to certain ways of doing, and we should acknowledge gratefully that if experience has led us to differ upon certain points this difference has been the result of following in the way indicated by Pestalozzi. This book is and will be the foundation stone of the education of the people, but the treasures which it contains are far from having been utilised, and those who have been engaged in teaching and education have not sufficiently studied them."

This book has the faults that were common to the works of the author. The abundance and richness of the ideas and the impulses of heart and imagination disturb the order of exposition, and the proportion of its parts. Digressions abound, repetitions are innumerable, but when the same idea appears it is always in a new light.

An analytical *resumé* of this work would not give a fair idea of it; we prefer to go rapidly through it with our readers, stopping at the essential principles and translating the most characteristic passages.

The book is composed of fifteen letters addressed to Gessner; the *First* sketches briefly the life of the author, his works and endeavours to raise the people; it commences thus:

"My dear Gessner, you know it is time for me to explain myself publicly upon my ideas of the teaching of the people. Well! I will do it in a series of letters as clearly as I can.

"Popular teaching has seemed to me to be a boundless marsh: I am buried in its need and I have travelled through it, painfully exerting all my strength, until I have found the source of its waters, the cause of their stagnant state, and the means of draining the land.

"I would like to lead you for a moment into this labyrinth from which I have extricated myself more by chance than by talent."

After having described the intellectual misery of the schools of the time, and the efforts he had made to remedy them, Pestalozzi tries to characterise the work which he has undertaken by saying:

"Ah, I would rest in my grave, if I could succeed in popular teaching to reconcile nature and art which now are separated; what rouses me is that they are not only separated but put in absolute and almost incompatible opposition."

The *Second* and *Third* letters give an account of the meeting of Krusi, Tobler and Buss with Pestalozzi, and the happy determination that these men had made to stand by him and his work.

The *Fourth*, *Fifth* and *Sixth* explain the general principles of the *method*.

In the *Fourth letter*, he seeks to formulate the laws of instruction.

In the *Fifth*, he begins by declaring that these laws do not satisfy him, because he cannot express them in their essence, and their generality; he continues then to seek the natural sources of human knowledge.

In the *Sixth letter*, Pestalozzi says that he took much trouble to explain his views, and with little success, because, for twenty years, he had lost the power of giving philosophic expression to his ideas. He observes that for generations Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic have been used as the elements of instruction, whilst they are not really simple and first elements. In seeking for these he has found sound, (language) number, and form. When anything new is seen, people ask "What is it? (the name). How many things? (number). What are they like? (form).

In bringing instruction in this way to its true elements art is reconciled with nature, for we thus start from the first manifestations by which nature acts upon man.

The *Seventh* letter is devoted to the elementary teaching of language, but the means described were abandoned later on, or much modified by Pestalozzi.

The *Eighth* explains the elementary teaching of the *intuition of forms* by which the child should learn to *measure, draw, and write*.

He should at first be well exercised in observing, in order to be able to appreciate forms according to their simplest elements, the straight line in its different positions, angles, &c., and to measure with the eye distances and slopes: then, only, can he draw successfully, that is to say copy upon his slate the lines, angles and figures, at first very simple ones, that are presented to him.

These first exercises in linear drawing, by training his eye and hand, prepare him for writing. He writes first upon a slate, beginning with the easiest letters and words which are not compound, but soon he can make use of pen and paper.

In his drawing exercises Pestalozzi made great use of the square, which has many advantages.

In the first place, for drawing properly so called, it serves as a sort of frame-work for an infinite number of radiating figures, which the pupils can invent, vary, and ornament according to their taste.

Then, for the art of measuring, and as a preparation for geometry, divided into little squares or rectangles it provides an intuitive introduction to the calculation of surfaces.

Lastly, this division of the square gives place to the table of fractions, by the aid of which the pupils acquire great facility in mental calculation upon fractional numbers.

Pestalozzi speaks then of the elementary books that he was designing: "*the ABC of Intuition*," and the "*Book for Mothers*;" he hopes these books will enable mothers to educate their children themselves.

Some of the exercises of the intuition of forms which are explained in this letter were modified by Pestalozzi later on after further experience.

The *Ninth letter* treats of the elementary teaching of arithmetic, *the Intuition of numbers*. The author begins by remarking that in the study of language and form we are obliged to employ means and notions foreign to their aim, and amongst others the testimony of the senses which are liable to error, whilst arithmetic has no need of help, and provides results that are exactly true. Other sciences are only exact as calculation can be applied to them. This is why this object of teaching is of the greatest importance, whether for the development of the intelligence, or for its practical utility.

Pestalozzi then shews that all arithmetic consists in composing or decomposing numbers by processes intended to shorten the repetition of the formula: "*one and one make two,*" and take "*one from two and one remains.*" But these abbreviations which constitute all school teaching have the drawback of becoming a pure matter of memory, and of losing sight of the intuitive idea of numbers. So, we can have learned by heart: *four and three make seven* and get the required result; but this result is nothing to us, we have received it in faith, and it is possible that we may know nothing about the number *seven*. Without these intuitive lessons the child knows nothing of numbers, he only knows their names which are to him mere empty sounds.

For these exercises Pestalozzi makes use of his Table of Units in which each unit is represented by a stroke, and in which the pupil can in some measure perform by sight all the operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division up to a hundred. Later, when he can work in his head he has a fair and precise idea of numbers, because he thinks of them always as collections of strokes, and sees them themselves, and not only the conventional signs, the figures by which they are represented.

Then comes the table of fractions composed of squares of which some are entire and others divided horizontally in two, three, and up to ten equal parts. The child learns intuitively to count these parts from the unit, and to compose wholes with them.

Lastly comes, the "Table of Fractions of Fractions" in

which the squares, besides their horizontal divisions, have another vertical one into two, three, and up to ten equal parts.

Thus they reach hundredths clearly and can evidently see what has to be done to reduce two fractions to the same denominator.

In all these intuitive exercises in number the attention, observation, and judgment of the child are kept in play, and they lead him to find and say what he learns from the master's guidance. It would be a mistake to consider this an exercise of memory.

This part of the method was extended and perfected by Pestalozzi after the publishing of this letter.

The *Tenth Letter* treats of *Intuition*; this is what Pestalozzi calls direct and experimental perception, whether in the domain of the physical or moral; intuitive ideas are those that result immediately from perceptions. All descriptions, explanations, and definitions are ineffectual upon the mind of the child if they do not rest upon already acquired ideas. This understood, we can in a few lines give a *resumé* of this letter.

Intuition is the only basis of instruction, and for long it has been completely neglected in teaching. After the invention of printing the power and use of books were greatly exaggerated; the book was confounded with knowledge, and words with ideas.

In teaching, nothing but the book has been seen or employed. In teaching the child to read, that is to say, to pronounce the articulate sound of the diverse assemblage of letters it was thought that the door to all knowledge was opened; we have only men of books, men of words, men of *letters*, in the narrowest and most material acceptance of the word: and an endless and unreasoning kind of talk has been created which deceives and stupifies with a deluge of words which correspond with no precise idea.

The same thing has occurred in the moral and religious development. After the Reformation, the mania for dogmatism was carried even into the teaching of little children so as to prepare them betimes for controversy. Instead of rousing and exercising in their hearts sentiments

of faith, piety, and virtue, the first thing taught was a Catechism, that is a collection of abstract doctrines which could neither reach their mind nor their heart.

Here again it was words alone that were learnt.

This is how the school forsook nature, direct observation, the immediate impression of things and life, and practical and individual virtue.

In this way Pestalozzi finishes his letter :

“Europe, with its system of popular teaching, has fallen into error, or rather it has lost its way. On one side it has risen to an immense height in the sciences and arts ; on the other it has lost the whole foundation of natural culture for the bulk of the people. No part of the world has risen so high ; no part has sunk so low. Our continent resembles the great image mentioned by the prophet ; its golden head touches the clouds, but popular instruction, which should bear this head is, like the feet, of clay.

“In Europe, the culture of the people has become vain babbling, as fatal to faith as to true knowledge ; an instruction of mere words which contains a little dreaming and show which cannot give us the calm wisdom of faith and love, but on the contrary leads to unbelief and superstition, to selfishness and hardness. It is indisputable that the mania for words and books, which has absorbed everything in our popular instruction, has been carried so far that we cannot possibly remain long as we are.

“Everything convinces me that the only means of preserving us from remaining at a civil, moral, and religious dead-level is to abandon the superficiality, the piecemeal, and infatuation of our popular instruction, and to recognise intuition as the true foundation of knowledge.”

The *Eleventh Letter* continues to speak of intuition. Pestalozzi remarks that it is the means a mother employs with her infant, under the inspiration of instinct and love ; she shows nature to it : she brings it near distant objects, she brings to it those striking things that attract its gaze. She does this to quiet the child and distract it, she has no idea of instructing it, and yet she in this way gives it the first and most indispensable elements of instruction.

Why does not the art of teaching link on its processes to these simple and precious beginnings ?

The mothers in Appenzell suspend a bird of coloured paper above the cradle of their children ; this is the object of the first looks, the first gestures and play ; it points to a way that we should follow. The first course of the *Book for Mothers* (it was not yet written) will be intended to

continue this by the intuition of form, number, and word. The word wrongly understood spoils the course of the child's development, for it causes trouble in the use of the powers of its mind. One can see the consequences of this fault in the case of many of our contemporaries :

“The advance of nature in the development of the human species is invariable. At this point there are not, there cannot be, two good methods of teaching; there is only one good one, and it is that which is founded upon the eternal laws of nature, but there is an infinity of bad methods, and they are bad in proportion as they fall away from the laws of nature. I well know that I, no more than any other man, am not in possession of this only good method, and that all we can do is to approximate to it.”

Further on, after having said that the child must be exercised in seeing well, and describing what he sees, and that definitions should come only in the last place, Pestalozzi adds: “Premature definitions give a kind of knowledge that resembles the champignon which grows rapidly in the rain and is destroyed by the first heat of the sun.”

It is necessary for the child to learn its first elements in a complete and perfect manner.

“An incomplete germ remains arrested in its development and this cannot bring its different parts to maturity. This is as true of the mind as the garden.

“The empire of sense should be subordinated to the essential destiny of our nature, that is, to the moral and spiritual law. It is only by his internal and spiritual life that man takes possession of himself, of liberty and contentment. The education of our race should control the sensual nature which is blind and which leads to death; it should quicken the moral and spiritual nature.”

In the *Twelfth Letter* Pestalozzi begins by repeating what he said twenty years before, in the preface to “*Leonard and Gertrude* :”

“I have nothing to do with men's differences of opinion, but whatever makes them pious, honest, faithful, and gentle, and leads to the love of God and their neighbour, and happiness and blessing in their homes, that I believe is indisputable ground.”

He then remarks that his educative work is independent of the opinions that divide men. His method is good, therefore, for the people, whatever their religious belief or their form of government. One can understand how he kept aloof from all dogmatism. Nevertheless in all that he does he rests upon the Providence of God: often, even, but with less precision, upon the Redemption of Jesus Christ. He thought these two points beyond dispute, at least with the portion of humanity with which he had to deal. To-day the illusion would be impossible. What would he do? Would he think it possible to do without God in education? We think not. In instruction strictly so called, it is true, his method is independent of any religious notion; but, in the school as in the family, it is impossible to direct even in instruction without the consent of the will of the child, and the will is only formed by the moral development. Moral education is thus intimately connected with all the master's work as an integral and necessary part of an indivisible organism. Now, Pestalozzi makes the moral development proceed from the influence of a pious mother who prays with her child.

Later, Pestalozzi defends himself from the pretention of knowing all that is necessary in education; he declares in seeking to help the people he has only found some principles, and he deplores his incapacity to formulate and apply them better.

“Thus” said he, “when I affirm positively that all the forces of man arise from an organism, I do not say that I know in their full extent this organism and its laws; and when I say that in teaching we should follow a rational course, I do not pretend to understand nor to have followed this course in all its parts.”

Pestalozzi then says that he has spent his life in wishing to do good to the people but he has never succeeded. He knows that it is his own fault, he bitterly repents it, he falls into deep sadness, and finishes thus:

“I have lost all, and I have lost myself; nevertheless, Oh God! thou hast preserved in me the desire of my life, thou hast not effaced from my eyes the aim which has caused my misfortunes, as thou has taken away

the aim of thousands of men who have spoilt their own lives. Thou hast preserved my work in spite of my wanderings; whilst I was sinking without hope towards my grave, thou hast made me see it like an aurora to soften the grief of my life. Lord God! I am not worthy of the compassion and faithfulness which Thou hast testified towards me: Thou, thou alone hast had pity on the crushed worm, thou hast not broken the bruised reed nor quenched the smoking flax, Thou hast not turned thy face from this offering which from my childhood I have desired to bring to the disinherited of this world, and which I have never been able to offer them."

The *Thirteenth Letter* begins with a digression upon the abuse of language. When from the beginning it is the spontaneous and faithful expression of thought, it is at the same time its principal means of development, and it gives strength and precision. But when, from childhood, it is only the repetition or imitation of the language of others, when the words used express ideas unknown to the speaker, then it makes thought inert, it paralyses and extinguishes it. This is the cause of the empty and useless babble that fills the world.

Pestalozzi then returns to the reform of elementary education and points out a new need which should be satisfied.

Knowledge is not everything, practical skill is necessary. Practical power also requires a number of graduated exercises of the senses and limbs, commencing with the simplest and easiest. The development of skill rests upon the same organic laws that regulate the acquisition of knowledge.

The organism of nature observed in the plant and the animal is found in man; it reigns with the same laws upon his physical nature and his normal nature, and in the development of skill.

Humanity in its lowest abasement, never loses the sentiment of the need of developing its industry for the necessities of life.

As an ABC is needed for *intuition* so is an ABC required for practice.

As we spoil knowledge and intelligence by putting definitions before sensible intuitions, so we spoil the heart and conscience by speaking of faith and virtue to the

child who has not yet experienced any moral intuition of virtue or faith.

The *Fourteenth* and *Fifteenth* Letters which finish the work are devoted to moral and religious development. Here we shall let Pestalozzi speak :

“I do not wish to finish these letters without putting a question which is the keystone of the arch of my system. How does the worship of God depend upon the principles which I think to be true for the general development of humanity ?

“I seek again the solution of my question, and I ask myself : How does the idea of God grow in my soul ? How comes it that I believe in God, that I cast myself upon him, and am happy when I love and trust in him, when I thank and obey him ?

“Then I soon see that the feelings of confidence, gratitude, and obedience must awaken in my heart if I am to apply them to God. I must love men, thank them, trust them, and obey them before I can raise myself to love God, thank him, trust in him, and obey him. For he who loves not his brother whom he has seen, how can he love the Father whom he has not seen ?

“Then, I ask : How comes it that I love men, trust them, thank and obey them ? How do these feelings take root in my heart ? And I find that it is principally by the connection between the mother and her infant in the cradle.

“The mother cares for her child, feeds it, guards it, makes it happy. She could not do otherwise, for she is urged by all the strength of her instinct. She provides for all its needs, she supplies everything that its weakness requires ; the child is cared for, it is happy, and the germ of love buds in it.

“Now something appears that it has never seen before. The child is astonished, it weeps, it cries ; the mother presses it to her bosom, she plays with it and attracts its attention ; then the tears cease, but its eyes remain moist for a time. The strange object reappears ; the mother takes her child again in her sheltering arms and smiles to it. This time the child does not weep, it answers its mother's smile by a smile of its own ; the germ of confidence begins to bud.

“The mother hastens to the cradle for every need ; when the child is hungry or thirsty ; when it hears her it is quiet, when it sees her it holds out its hands to her ; when fed it is satisfied ; that is enough for it, it is grateful.

“The germs of love, trust, and gratitude develop early. The child knows the step of its mother, it smiles at her shadow, it loves whatever is like her ; a creature who has the same appearance as its mother is a good being to it. It smiles at the resemblance, it smiles at humanity. What its mother likes it likes also. The germ of the love of men, brotherly love, awakens in it.

“Obedience, in its origin, is opposed to the first natural inclinations ; it does not proceed spontaneously from them, yet it is upon them that the art of the educator rests to make it blossom.

“The child cries before it learns to wait ; it is impatient before it knows how to obey. Patience appears before obedience, and the child needs it to obey. The first manifestations of obedience have a purely passive character, and arise principally from the feeling of hard necessity. But this sentiment is also developed under the influence of the mother. It must wait till she feeds it, till she takes it in her arms. It is only later that active obedience forms in it ; and, still later, the consciousness that it is good for it to obey its mother.

“Nature is inflexible against the anger of the child ; it strikes upon the wood and stone, but nature remains inflexible, and the child strikes no more upon wood and stone. Meanwhile it is the mother who remains inflexible against its disorderly desires ; it storms and cries ; she remains firm and it cries no longer, but accustoms itself to yield its will to its mother’s. The first germs of patience and obedience are awakened in it.

“Obedience, love, gratitude, and trust united, cause the first germs of conscience to bud. This is a feeling, very feeble at first, that it is not well for the child to grieve its mother who loves it, that its mother is not in the world solely for it, that everything in the world is not for it, that the child is not in the world for itself alone. The first ray of duty and justice arises in it.

“These are the first elements of moral development awakened by the relation of the mother with her child. Well, these are also those of the religious development ; and it is by faith in its mother that the child rises to faith in God.

“Soon the time comes when the first motives which were so powerful for belief and acting disappear. Already its own strength lets it leave its mother’s strength, it feels its independence growing from day to day, and gradually the secret thought arises in the depths of its mind, “I have no longer any need of my mother.” But she reads this thought in its eyes, she presses her beloved child to her heart, and says to it in a tone of voice it has never heard before : “My dear child, there is a God whom you need, when you have no longer need of me, there is a God who takes you in his arms when I can no longer protect you, there is a God who prepares happiness and joy for you, when I can do nothing for your happiness and joy.” Then an inexpressible feeling moves the soul of the child, a holy flame which glows within him, a disposition to believe which raises him above himself ; he rejoices in the name of his God as soon as his mother speaks to him of it. The feelings of love, gratitude and trust awakened on his mother’s breast widen and raise him to God, and embrace him like a father and mother. His readiness to obey extends also. The child believes now in the eye of God as in the eye of his mother, and he does the best he can to fulfil the will of God as he obeys his mother’s will.

“This first attempt of the innocence and heart of a mother to submit the growing feeling of independence to faith in God by connecting it with the moral dispositions already developed provides for education the fundamental points of view to which it should direct itself, if it would succeed in the ennobling of men.

If the first germs of love, gratitude, faith and obedience are formed by

an agreement of instructive sentiments between the mother and the child, the ulterior development of these sentiments requires great art. But all your art, oh Educator! will remain barren, if you lose sight, for an instant, of this starting point, for then you will let the thread be broken that united the actual sentiments to their first germs. This danger is great for your child, and it soon shows itself. He called for his mother, he loved her, he thanked her, trusted and obeyed her. He called upon God, he loved him, thanked him, trusted and obeyed him. But now, the first motives that awakened these sentiments no longer exist. He has no more need of his mother; the world which surrounds him cries to him with all the attraction of its new appearance, "Now you are mine."

"The child hears this voice. The instinct which he had in the cradle has disappeared: the instinct of his growing strength has taken its place. The moral sentiments, which were the product of his first impressions, disappear also, if at this time you do not succeed in uniting them to the supreme aspirations of our nature, to the duties of life and the will of the Creator! Mother, mother! the world begins now to separate your child from your heart; and if, at this moment, nobody comes to reconcile the noblest sentiments of his nature with this new appearance of the world, all is over. Mother, mother, your child is torn from your heart; the new world becomes his mother; the new world becomes his God. The pleasure of the senses is his God, ruling pride is his God. . . .

"Here it is for the first time, you cannot trust to nature, but you should do all to preserve your child from its blind power, to give him the rules, principles, and strength that the experience of generations has taught us. The world which is now before his eyes is not the first creation of God; it is a world spoilt as well for the innocence of his pleasures as for the sentiments of his noble nature; it is a world full of war, revolt, usurpation, violence, selfishness, falsehood, and fraud. . . ."

We stop here, for it is impossible to quote all. Pestalozzi allows himself easily to be carried beyond the subject which he has chosen. He took up his pen with the intention of explaining the views that were to be realised at the Institute of Berthoud, but during his work, new thoughts came to him, and led away by his heart, his imagination, and the richness of his ideas, he launched into new regions. That is how this book gives us other things than what its title promises.

Morf has analysed this work with much care and sagacity; he thus sums up the pedagogic principles:

- I. Intuition is the basis of instruction.
- II. Language should be linked with intuition.
- III. The time for learning is not the time for judgment and criticism.

IV. In every branch, teaching should begin with the simplest elements and proceed gradually according to the development of the child, that is, in psychologically connected order.

V. Sufficient time should be devoted to each point of the teaching in order to ensure the complete mastery of it by the pupil.

VI. Teaching should aim at development and not dogmatic exposition.

VII. The educator should respect the individuality of the pupil.

VIII. The chief end of elementary teaching is not to impart knowledge and talent to the learner, but to develop and increase the powers of his intelligence.

IX. Power must be linked to knowledge; and skill to learning.

X. The relations between the master and the pupil, especially as to discipline, should be based upon and ruled by love.

XI. Instruction should be subordinated to the higher aim of education.

We think that the time has not yet come to undertake an examination of the method which is still in process of formation; Pestalozzi's experience during the few years at the Institute of Berthoud, and that of his fellow-workers, tended to modify in some points, and develop and extend it in others. Pestalozzi was working at it to the last, as we see in the *Song of the Swan*, written when he was eighty years of age. Only after having related the whole of his life can we examine the educational method that we owe to his genius and the wonderful activity of his mind.

But what we wish to state is that, in this work, before his doctrine could have been subjected to any foreign influence, he returns to the idea often expressed before, that the intellectual and moral development is regulated by the same organic law that determines the physical development, like that of the plant and the animal; in other words, that there is a human organism which comprehends a material, intellectual, and moral organism. We think, if he had sought to formulate the laws of the

organism in order to apply them to the object of his work, he would have given his method more clearness and precision.*

73. We must now speak of the elementary books mentioned in the preceding chapters.

The first appeared in 1801. It was the *Guide to Reading and Spelling*; accompanied by large letters intended to be fixed on cardboard. The employment of these movable letters produced Pestalozzi's first definite scholastic success.

His *Book for Mothers* was printed in 1803; it came far short of the ideal he had conceived, and did not produce the good intended. This non-success arose from an error which gave the world a false idea of the method, and lessened the usefulness of some elementary books which were published in Pestalozzi's name. This was not an error of doctrine but a mistaken view of the difficulties that the mothers of his time had in applying his method to the instruction of their children.

It was assuredly a fine and noble idea to call upon mothers themselves to begin the reform of education by teaching their children according to the manner in which, guided by the inspiration of maternal instinct, they had begun it. But to succeed in this they would require to forget the mode of their own education and to be imbued with the spirit of the new method; they would need to have been brought up themselves by Pestalozzi, or according to the spirit of his doctrine.

The author of the elementary books thought to simplify the elements of instruction and multiply the steps in order to make a minutely graduated series, following the smallest details, and giving mothers word for word what they were to say or rather do to their children. This understood, the work was too long and monotonous for a mind like Pestalozzi's, always carried away by new ideas; he left the chief part of it, therefore, to be done by his fellow-workers.

* We have described the laws of the organism and their application to education, physical, moral and intellectual in our first work. *The Philosophy and Practice of Education*.

The Book for Mothers was intended to initiate the child, not only into the exact knowledge of the objects of nature and art which appear to his senses, but to the relations of number and form.

From this infinite number of objects of the material world within the reach of the child, Pestalozzi chose the child's own body as the starting point. He had said in *How Gertrude teaches her Children*, "All that I am, all that I wish, all I can do, comes from myself." After the child were to come animals, then plants, then the inorganic world; after the works of God, the works of man.

It was Krusi who wrote the *Book for Mothers* according to Pestalozzi's directions; but the study of the external parts of the body, comprising their names, number, relative position, connections, functions, &c., fills a volume, and there the work ends.

Pestalozzi had written the preface: in it he announced ten exercises, seven of which only were written. The seventh is by himself and consists of a series of remarks and instructions upon the functions of the organs of the child: it contains some interesting pages.

Here is an example from the article, "*Seeing with the Eyes*:"

"From the beginning of its life, his mother takes him to the open window: he sees the sky and the ground, the garden before the house; the trees, houses, men, and animals; objects near him and others far away; great and small ones; some apart, others close to one another; he sees white, blue, red and black. But he does not know what distance is, nor size, number or colour.

"Some weeks after, his mother takes him in her arms out-doors, and he finds himself under the tree he can see from the window; dogs, cats, cows and sheep pass by him. He sees the hen pick up the corn his mother throws to it, the water flowing from the fountain; his mother plucks flowers of all colours, puts them into his hands and gives him them to smell.

"Some months after his mother takes him further; he sees now close to him the steeple which he had before seen far off. Hardly can he walk, when urged by the double need of playing and knowing, he crosses the threshold in four steps in order to get into the open air, and feel the pleasant warmth of the sun in a little corner behind the house. He tries to grasp everything he sees, picks up little stones, pulls the glowing and perfumed flower from its stalk, puts it into his mouth; he would stop the

worm in his path, the butterfly flying about, and the sheep grazing near. Nature unfolds before him and he wishes to enjoy it; every day he gains new ideas, and he appreciates all he sees better than the preceding.

Mothers! What must you do? Nothing but follow the way that nature and providence indicate. You see what objects God presents to the view of your child as soon as he opens his eyes, and the inevitable effects of his involuntary impressions; bring the child closer to the object that strikes him, and to attract him more let him see what he is most anxious to see; seek what is best within your reach in the garden, house, meadows or fields—the objects which, by their colour, form, movement, brightness, are connected with this favourite object; put them round his cradle and on the table before him. Give him time to examine the properties of the objects, to observe how they wither and disappear, and how you can restore them by filling anew the vase with flowers, calling the dog who has gone away, and lifting up the broken toy. That is something for his heart and judgment; but the most essential thing, young mothers, is that your child prefers you to all, that his sweetest smiles and lively affections are for you alone, and that you prefer no one to him."

The *Book for Mothers* did not succeed, some of the critics did not even understand the intention of the author, and regarded it only as a ridiculous essay. Daissault, a celebrated and witty journalist of the (then) *Journal de l'Empire* notices it in an amusing way, saying:

"Pestalozzi gives himself a great deal of trouble to teach the child that his nose is in the middle of his face."

After this work there appeared a book intended to give intuitive exercises in *number* and *form*, that is, in the first teaching of arithmetic and geometry. Krusi and Buss began the compiling of this, Schmid completed it.

These books have the same faults as the first; excess of detail, monotony of form &c., and were no more successful than the *Book for Mothers* although they followed the right way. . . .

Pestalozzi's method is spirit and life; it cannot be transmitted in stereotyped form. . . .

At the same time, that is between 1802-5, he wrote a work which was not finished for printing, and was left unpublished. M. Morf possesses the MS. It is called the *Master of the Natural School*. It was printed first in 1872 in Seyffarth's collection.

The *Book for Mothers* was only a fragment of a more important work projected by the author.

After having accustomed the child to speak about the impressions furnished by its senses, that is, its physical intuitions, Pestalozzi wished also to exercise it to speak of its moral intuitions. For this purpose he took for his text language itself; that is, words which express moral sentiments which it is important to make the child understand in such a way as to produce a salutary impression upon his heart. It is to this book that the title of the *Master of the Natural School* is given; in plan and form it is quite different from the *Book for Mothers*. Whether the author was dissatisfied with his work, or want of time prevented his completing it, he gave it up and presented the MS. to Krusi, telling him to do what he liked with it.

He did not, however, intend to give up writing a work upon the elementary teaching of language; on the contrary he worked at this subject to the last.

In 1829, Krusi, then Director of the Cantonal School at Trogen in Appenzell, sought to give the public the benefit of the work confided to his care. He studied his MS. made a selection of passages, arranged them in order and published them in a pamphlet entitled: *Paternal Instructions upon the Moral meaning of Words; a Legacy from Father Pestalozzi to His People*.

In the preface, Krusi relates the history of the MS., and recalls the following passage from the letters of Pestalozzi to Gessner:

“I wish to end all my reading exercises by a legacy to my pupils, in which after my death they will find attached to the principal verbs of the language, the moral instructions which are the result of my own experience, and presented in a manner to strike them as they strike me.”

The *Paternal Instructions* are, in fact, attached to a series of words, mostly verbs. . . .

Here is the dediction:

“To the poorest people of Helvetia,
I have seen your abasement, your deep abasement, and I have pitied you. Dear people, I desire to help you. I have no talent, no science,

and I am nobody; but I know you, and I devote myself to you; I give you all I can to improve you by the painful labour of my life.

Read me without prejudice, and if any can give you better, cast me aside and let me return to the nothingness in which I have passed my life. But if nobody tells you what to do, if nobody does it in a way to be useful, then shed a tear to my memory and to the life I have lost for you."

Amongst the preliminary notes are some brilliant perceptions of the moral importance of a good teaching of language which remind one of the work of Père Girard twenty years after; then follow plans for the study of language, and criticisms of the old practice then in fashion. After having pointed out the harm done by so many masters by their bad method, the author says:

"*Jesus Christ is the only Master.*" Here, then is the model Pestalozzi sought to follow.

The bulk of the work is a collection of instructions connected with the meaning of words. These words are arranged alphabetically; the principal word is accompanied by its derivative, and each word is taken in its diverse meanings. It is therefore impossible to translate into another language. The following will give the reader some idea of the first paragraph:

"I. *Achten, achtend, geachtet, erachten, beobachten, hochachten, verachten, sich selbstachten; die achtung, die Selbsachtung.*

"Children, the first word I wish to explain is *Selbsachtung* (self-respect).

It is that which makes you blush when you do wrong; which leads you to honour, virtue, to pray to God, believe in everlasting life, and overcome sin. It causes you to honour age and wisdom, never to turn your eyes from poverty, nor your hearts from misery, and makes you reject error and falsehood, and love truth. Children! it makes a hero of a coward, an active man of an idler; it gives honour to a stranger, raises the fallen, and saves the forsaken."

The MS. which, after the death of Krusi had passed to M. Morf, Director of the Orphanage at Winterthour, does not contain all that Pestalozzi gave to Krusi; but the matter of the two sources is combined by Seyffarth in his 16th vol. of Pestalozzi's Works.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FIRST YEARS AT YVERDON.

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| 74. The Collaborateurs. | 77. Charles Ritter's visits and their result. |
| 75. M. Louis Vulliemin's Reminiscences. | 78. Life at the Institute: Printing, Exercise, Manual work, and Festivals. |
| 76. Prussia adopts the method. | |

74. Pestalozzi's Institute was established in the ancient castle of Yverdon (in Vaud) and it rapidly increased. There were many more pupils there than at Berthoud, and masters also. Many of the latter had been scholars at Berthoud. But there were also distinguished collaborateurs who came from various countries to learn; some of them men of high social position and influence who furthered the introduction of the system into their various countries. Time forbids mention of them all.

But those longest and most intimately connected with the great master were Niederer, Ramsauer, and Schmid. *Jean Niederer* who came from Appenzell was a pastor and doctor of philosophy and the friend of Tobler. He is called the "Philosopher of the Method" because he gave philosophical expression to the ideas of Pestalozzi. He corrected and retouched all that Pestalozzi wrote for printing, sometimes injuring thus the originality of the form of the work.

De Muralt was a good disciplinarian, and a learned man with elevated views, but simple, friendly and cheerful with the children. He had lived in Paris, he spoke good French; and it was a great pleasure to us French pupils, always obliged to sing in German in the Institute, when on our excursions, he taught us songs in our mother-tongue.

He subsequently became Director of an important educational establishment at St. Petersburg.

Mieg, a capable man who was at once kind and firm, was entrusted by Pestalozzi with the general direction and discipline, after the departure of De Muralt.

De Turc belonged to a noble family of North Germany; he had given up a good position in the magistracy of Oldenburg in order to come to study Pestalozzi's work, and he soon after published his *Letters from Munchenbuchsee upon Pestalozzi and his Method of Elementary Education*.

This man, who was distinguished for his talents, lofty views and great force of will, after having kept a boarding school connected with Pestalozzi's Institute at Yverdon, was appointed Councillor of State at Potsdam, and for thirty years he worked zealously at the propagation and application of the work of the master.

Barraud, who was soon called to Bergerac (Dordogne) by Maîne de Biran, founded an educational institute there on Pestalozzi's method.

Ramsauer has been mentioned before; he too was from Appenzell.

Joseph Schmid was a little shepherd from the Tyrol. He had more intelligence than heart, and developed a great talent for mathematics. He became the disturbing element and led to the fall of the Institute. He had a keen, crafty spirit, a will of iron, and a hard unfeeling nature. He wrote the books upon *Number and Form*.

Steiner, a child without any early education was educated by Pestalozzi. He became an assistant-master at Yverdon and did great credit to the method: he became one of the first mathematicians in Germany. A professor at Berlin, he has published works which have greatly contributed to popularise and render fruitful this science.

Such were Pestalozzi's chief fellow-workers. Later on many others came; but these were the early days of the Institute.

75. The life of the Institute at this time is described by M. Vulliemin, the eminent historian, who spent two years of his boyhood there, from the age of eight to ten.

The historian writes for his family and friends:

"Imagine, my children, a very ugly man with *tousie* hair, a face pitted with smallpox, and covered with red spots, a pointed disorderly beard, no neck-tie, his clothes hanging loosely upon him, his walk jerky, his eyes now widening and flashing out lightning then closing in *coutemplation* and giving him an expression of deep sadness or blissful calm; a voice slow or hasty, tender and melodious, or at times like thunder: *this* was our Father Pestalozzi.

Such as he was, we loved him every one of us, for he loved us; we loved him so cordially that if we did not see him for a time we became quite sad, and when he appeared, we could not keep our eyes off him.

We knew that during the wars of the Helvetic Revolution he had gathered together a large number of orphans and devoted himself to them, that he was the friend of the poor and unfortunate, and especially of children.

My fellow-citizens of Yverdon, the old town where I was born, had generously given him the use of the old castle whose long rooms extended around wide courts and afforded space for play as well as study. We numbered from one hundred and fifty to two hundred young people of all nations. We played sometimes in the court of the castle and sometimes on the grass behind the lake. In winter we used to make a great snow fortress which was attacked and defended heroically. We hardly ever had anyone ill amongst us.

Every morning we came in rank to get a cold shower-bath. We wore no caps. One day when the wind was keenly cold I appeared wearing a cap my father had put on me. But my companions no sooner caught sight of it than they set up a cry of "A hat, a hat," and tossed it hither and thither until it was lost in the lake.

Our teachers were, for the most part, young men who from revolutionary times had lived and grown with Pestalozzi, their father and curs. There were besides, some literary and learned men among them who had come to share in the task. On the whole, there was little science. I have heard Pestalozzi boast of not having read anything for forty years. His first pupils, our masters, hardly read more. Their teaching was addressed to the intelligence rather than to the memory and its aim was harmonious culture of the germs providence had endowed us with. Let your work be to develop the child said Pestalozzi to them "and do not try to break him in as you would train a dog, and as the children of our schools are too often treated." Our studies were essentially directed to number, form, and language. Language was taught by the help of intuition. We were taught to observe well and so we came to have a clear idea of the connection of things, and what we understood we had no difficulty in describing or expressing.

The first elements of geography were taught us on the ground. We began by taking a walk along a narrow valley on the outskirts of Yverdon. We were led to observe all its details, then to help ourselves to some clay we found there. This we carried back in our baskets, and on our return home we had to make a model of the ground walked over and of the surrounding country. We did this on long tables. Then our walk was extended from time to time, and, on our return, we added the new features as we learned them.

We also had to invent our own geometry. We were told what to seek to attain and put on the way; the rest we did ourselves. So it was, too, in arithmetic. Our calculations were made in our head without the need of paper and this gave some of us surprising facility.

What is called Pestalozzi's *Method* was a mystery to us. It was the same to our teachers. Like the disciples of Socrates each interpreted it in his own way, and each said that Pestalozzi was only understood by himself; Schmid by Schmid; Niederer by Niederer.

At this time there were no scenes such as Molière has given in his *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. Faith in Pestalozzi still kept all the members of his large family united. Yet there was no order, no ability, no skill. In his childlike simplicity his heart was closed to distrust. He thought no evil: and, easily deceived, he fell later from deception to deception. But at the time of which I speak he ruled all hearts as all wills. One feature will show the spirit which ruled in the beginning.

These educators who later gave themselves up to debates and disputes received no payment in money. Their daily needs were provided for and nothing more. The box containing the school-fees stood in Pestalozzi's room, and when one of the masters needed a new coat or pair of shoes he went to the money-box and helped himself."

When Vulliemin left the Institute its external importance and its reputation extended afar, and some of its principles were established in a definite manner in the practical education of an entire people. This was a consequence of the battle of Jena; it was Prussia vanquished, dismembered, ruined, and humiliated, which first adopted the regenerating doctrine that Pestalozzi had sought so long to make known.

When Frederick William III. saw his monarchy crushed by the loss of a single battle, seizing courageously the slow and laborious but true means of raising it again he cried:

"We have lost in territory; our power and outward splendour have fallen; but we ought and we shall work to gain at home in power and splendour. For this reason I wish the greatest attention to be given to the instruction of the people."

The king was not the only one in Prussia who desired reform in public education; for long, some of the best minds were occupied with the subject. The worthy wife of Frederick William III., Queen Louise, also employed her influence. She wrote thus in her journal:

I am reading *Leonard and Gertrude*. I love to imagine myself in that

Swiss village. If I was mistress of my actions I would start at once for Switzerland to see Pestalozzi; I would heartily shake hands with him, and thank him with tears in my eyes. . . With what goodness and ardour does he not interest himself in the good fellow creatures! Yes, in the name of humanity, with my whole heart I thank him.

And later, when Zeller was sent for to teach according to the method at Kœingsberg, the queen took such a lively interest in the experiment that she often went herself to the new school.

During the winter of 1807-8, Fichte gave in Berlin his *Discourses to the German Nation*. He had visited Pestalozzi in 1793 and had been much struck with his views which he had promised to make known in Germany. And now came his opportunity, which he took advantage of. He spoke sincerely for he knew that the work was a philanthropic and patriotic one. After having stated that education was the only means of raising the people, he spoke of Pestalozzi and declared that it was to his doctrine that they must trust every reform of public instruction if it was to be effectual and salutary.

In Sept. 1808, Pestalozzi received a letter from the Minister of Worship saying that the king, who was actively interested in popular education, was fully convinced of the value of the new method and he wished to adopt it in its entirety. For this end he wished to know the best steps to take to introduce it into his country.

The result was that seventeen students were sent successively to Pestalozzi and maintained at the cost of the State. Other sovereigns followed this example. The Kings of Holland and Denmark each supported two teachers at Yverdon. Other parts of Germany were also represented, there were about forty young masters studying at a time.

Saxony was the most happy in its scholastic reform. The Minister of Instruction there for a long time was Justus Blochmann, a student and collaborateur of Pestalozzi. And popular instruction took, in Saxony, a sincerely religious, moral, and really Christian character. The primary schools of Saxony have taken the first rank in Germany.

The ardour of Germany for Pestalozzi's method led other countries to send pupils, some of whom came merely from curiosity. The rage which the Institute of Yverdon enjoyed led to some troublesome consequences. The lessons were daily disturbed by visitors; then the parents came and asked for some little changes; each wished his child's education to be adapted to the circumstances and habits of his country, and Pestalozzi was often weak enough to welcome these requirements in the hope of being thus able to spread his method in foreign countries.

But the reputation of the Institute also brought eminent men, amongst whom was Charles Ritter, who gives an enthusiastic account of it. The testimony of Ritter, the illustrious reformer of geographical science, is translated into French by M. Vulliemin in the *Evangelical Christian*. It tells how Ritter who was no ordinary tourist came with his pupils :

77. "In September, 1807, there arrived at Yverdon a German tutor, with two pupils and their mother. The tutor was Charles Ritter; and his pupils the young Hollwegs of Frankfort. . . . He was warmly received and spent a week of high pedagogic festival in the society of the head of this great family and his principal fellow-workers, Niederer, Tobler, Muralt, and Krusi. Every day there were conferences in which education was considered from all sides. Ritter was filled with admiration and respect in the presence of a mind devoted to one grand original idea, yet a nature in which simplicity and humility were united with boundless confidence in the greatness of his task. Ritter left elevated and ennobled by the contact.

Two years after, he returned and was received as an old friend of the house, and he acknowledges the influence exercised over him by the companionship of his "noble friends Pestalozzi, Niederer, Mieg, de Turc, Schmid, and others also who are engaged in the same aim, namely, the ennobling of humanity by education."

Great changes had taken place in the Institute, but these energetic men still remained. Their sphere of action had widened. The noble old man was always a child in heart and genius; full of fire, he lived in continual agitation. His wife was a model of modest virtue, and delicacy, and tenderness of heart. "With them," said Ritter, "my hours speed like minutes. In the evening, seated between the father and mother of the large family, I share with all my friends their simple meal. The dishes go to right and left, the glasses are filled, and many a witty saying seasons this banquet of friendship.

The work has become colossal, so that its founder can scarcely supervise it. There are more than fifty pupils. The assistants and

students numbered forty. I do not know the number of the masters. Add to this a Girls' School, two private establishments, and a considerable number of educators who, living outside the Institution, yet give and take lessons there, and you will have some idea of what is done here.

Pestalozzi himself is not able to give lessons according to his method in any branch of teaching. Perfectly helpless in the details, he surveys the whole; what he knows he can expound with power and clearness; and he can make intelligence act according to its conceptions. He was right when he said to me, "I cannot say that I have created what you see around. Niederer, Krusi, and Schmid would laugh if I called myself their master. I cannot calculate or write. I do not understand grammar or mathematics or any science, my youngest pupil knows more about these things than I do, I am only the *Surveyor* of the Institute, and others realise my idea."

He spoke truly, yet without him it could not exist. He has no gift of governing; yet it subsists. He has effected this work by the sacrifice of all he possessed, and yet he does not know the value of money; he cannot keep accounts, and he gives up everything with the carelessness of a child. He does not even speak intelligibly; he cannot speak either German or French; yet he is, none the less, the soul of a great society in its gay or serious moods; his morning worship, his prayers and exhortations sink into the heart of his pupils and have a great influence. All venerate him and love him like a father."

Ritter continues:

"As Pestalozzi is the *Surveyor*, Niederer is the philosopher of the castle. What the one evolves, the other deduces according to his own views. He would do honour to the highest chair of philosophy; but to him, philosophy is inseparable from religion, and Jesus Christ is wisdom.

The most vigorous of the collaborateurs, in the development of the method is the Tyrolean Schmid, whose teaching of drawing and geometry has been published and will be followed by that dealing with arithmetic and algebra. This part of the application of the method is the most advanced. The pupils of Schmid play with problems in geometry, stereometry, and trigonometry.

He is twenty three years of age; his character, like his science, is of iron and steel; and, the son of a peasant, he has preserved his childish simplicity in a religious heart."

So said Ritter, 1809. It is evident that enthusiasm over-ruled his judgment. . . Perhaps it was as well that he saw all in rose colour: the influence upon himself was most powerful and salutary; for apart from what he learned in other matters, it was his connection with Pestalozzi which awakened in him the intuitions which later on aided him in his study of geography. Listen to what he says himself upon this subject:

"I have seen more than the paradise of Switzerland, I have seen Pestalozzi. I have learned to know his heart and his genius. Never have I felt so

impressed with the sanctity of my vocation as when I was with this noble son of Switzerland. I cannot recall without emotion this society of strong men, struggling with the present with the aim of clearing the way for a better future, men whose only joy and reward is the hope of raising the child to the dignity of man. I have seen this precious plant grow; I have seen the spring flow that watered it, and breathed the pure air that fed it. I have learned to understand this method which rests upon the nature of the child, and develops like truth in liberty. It remains to me to apply it to the domain of geography. There is between nature and history a great blank yet to be filled up.

I left Yverdon resolved to fulfil my promise made to Pestalozzi to carry his method into geography, and wrote to him later on "I have happily emerged from chaos: I have the clue to a knowledge of the globe such as will satisfy the mind and heart, reveal the laws of the All-Wise, and contribute to physico-theology."

This promise has been amply fulfilled. His fine work upon Comparative Geography is the exposition of a new science. Before him, geography was a juxtaposition of facts; he has transformed it into an organic science in which the accounts of the physical conditions of the peoples are explained with their intellectual diversity. Doubtless he has been preceded by others, notably by William von Humboldt. But it is nevertheless Pestalozzi to whom he is indebted for the first impulse given to his mind and the principal part of what is best in his book. Forty years after his visit to Yverdon we heard him declare with joy;

"Pestalozzi did not know as much geography as a child in our Primary Schools, but, none the less, have I learnt that science from him for it was in listening to him that I felt awaken within me the instinct of the natural methods: he shewed me the way, and what was given to him to do I am pleased to admit as belonging to him."

Another visitor was M. de Raumer, who was studying geology in Paris, whilst Fichte was discoursing on education and Pestalozzi: this led him to Yverdon.

Then, returning to Germany, he wrote his *History of Pedagogy* in which he both praises and blames what he saw.

The *Biography of Pestalozzi* by Mlle Chavannes gives the testimony of a pupil who had become a minister of the Gospel. Here is an extract from it:

"I entered at the age of seven and a half, in June, 1808, and I remained only nine months. It was the most brilliant period of the Institute. There were one hundred and thirty seven pupils, not only Swiss, German, and French; but also Italians, Spaniards, Russians, and even Americans.

NOTE.—Ritter dedicated the first volume of his *Geography* to Pestalozzi.

"We had to rough it in regard to personal care, food, and neatness; but although I felt this very much at first, being so far removed from my good parents at Vevey, I became accustomed to it, and I liked our devoted masters all the more for their sharing in our recreations and allowing us to *thee* and *thou* them. I was especially attached to Pestalozzi, their excellent head. I can see him still with his stockings hanging over his shoes, his shirt, hair, and beard, all in disorder, but his eyes full of life and tenderness, and kindness written upon his lips. . . .

"I can add to the praise of this excellent man, that if he did not develop in me the fear of God and faith in the Saviour, I learned under him to do my work as a scholar from a feeling of duty rather than from the dangerous motives of praise and reward. Called one day to go into his office with a young Italian who had been the subject of complaint, and whom he reprimanded, I thought he was also going to scold me; but the good old man, turning towards me, said that my masters were pleased with me and that he would tell my parents this, which would gratify them. Thus I had done my duty without the masters praising me before my companions, and without being aware of it myself.

"Although I was very young, and only a very short time with this extraordinary man, he made an indelible impression upon me and I regard him as one of the benefactors of my youth."

In the morning and evening Pestalozzi pronounced his meditations whilst walking in the large room that served for a chapel, and where all the pupils and masters were assembled. Worship ended with singing and silent prayer.

78. Pestalozzi founded a Girls' School not far from the castle, where the masters went to give lessons, and the pupils came every evening to prayers at the Institute. Mme. Kuster, Pestalozzi's daughter-in-law was the first directress of the Girls' School.

She had for first assistant Mlle. Rosette Kasthoffer from Berne, who soon became the directress of the school and the wife of Doctor Niederer. The boarding school under Mr. and Mrs. Niederer became independent of Pestalozzi. It was carried on at Yverdon till 1838, and then at Geneva till the death of Mr. Niederer.

Pestalozzi also induced M. Naef, from Zurich, to found an Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, in 1811. This establishment enjoyed a great and deserved reputation at the time of the founder and his son.

These accounts give an idea of what Pestalozzi's Institute was in the days of its prosperity. Some other particulars will complete the picture.

The pupils enjoyed great liberty, the two doors of the castle remained open all day and there was no porter, all could come in or go out at any hour as in an ordinary dwelling house, and this freedom was hardly ever taken advantage of by the children. There were generally ten hours given to lessons every day, from six in the morning till eight at night, but each of the lessons only lasted an hour and was followed by a short interval during which they generally changed rooms. Besides, some of the lessons consisted of gymnastic exercises and manual work, such as gardening and cutting out cardboard. The last hour, from seven till eight, was given to free work; the children said "We work for ourselves;" and they could occupy themselves as they pleased with drawing or geography, in writing to their friends, or arranging their exercise books.

The youngest masters, who were mostly pupils from Berthoud were entrusted with the oversight of the children out of lesson-time; they slept in the dormitories, played with the pupils in recreation time and enjoyed it; they also went to the garden, bath, and walks and were much beloved. The pupils were allowed to address them as *thee* and *thou*. They were divided into squadrons and they performed their duties in turns.

Three times a week the masters gave an account of the conduct and work of the pupils, who were called five or six at a time before the old man to receive his remonstrances and exhortations.

Pestalozzi took them one after the other aside and whispered to them. He asked if the child had anything to say or ask him. Every Saturday, the work of the week was reported upon in a general meeting.

The faithful Elizabeth, the heroic servant who had of her own free will come and saved Pestalozzi in his distress at Neuhof, had followed her master to Yverdon as house-keeper. She had married Krusi, brother of the excellent teacher, and her husband was a confidential servant of the institute: he took charge of the cellar and wine for meals.

Mme. Krusi had brought her economical and culinary habits from German Switzerland and the taste of the

French speaking country did not accord with her somewhat primitive simplicity. The dishes good and wholesome in their nature, if not by their preparation, were in excessive abundance, and the meals were numerous according to German needs.

At seven o'clock, after the first lesson, the pupils made their ablutions in the court: the water, pumped from wells, ran along a pipe pierced with holes on both sides, from which each child received his stream pure and cold—there were no ewers or basins. After dressing, they breakfasted on soup. At eight o'clock lessons recommenced. At ten o'clock there was an interval of rest, during which those who were hungry went to Mme. Krusi for fruit or dry bread. At mid-day, there was an hour for recreation: bath, or game of "barrier" or "prisoners" upon the sward behind the lake, &c. At one o'clock, dinner of soup, meat and vegetables. At half past one, lessons again until half past four. Then came collation, an informal meal, sometimes of fruit, sometimes cheese, at other times great slices of bread and butter. The pupils filed in order to receive their *gouter*, (or *piece* as the Scotch call it), but they could eat it wherever they liked during recreation time which lasted till six o'clock, and which took place in fine weather behind the lake or in the great garden of the castle, where each child had his little square plot of ground to himself. From six till eight, new lessons, and then supper which was like the dinner.

When we think of the conditions under which the masters lived, we cannot doubt their devotion to Pestalozzi or the disinterested motives that had attached them to him. We have seen what the food was, the furniture was more rustic still. Some of the oldest masters lodged outside the castle, but all the rest had not a room where they could go for quiet. When they needed it, they made little cabinets of planks for themselves in the highest storeys of the round towers of the castle.

M. and Mme. Pestalozzi occupied an apartment in the second storey of the building on the north side. They often invited the masters to take coffee with them and also gave evening receptions to which some of the pupils were

admitted, and sometimes visitors came from the town or from other places.

Madame Pestalozzi made an amiable and graceful hostess. Although she had remained an invalid since the disasters at Neuhof she retained all her freshness of imagination, and a kind of poetry of heart which made her the centre of the most agreeable conversation.

As for Pestalozzi, he met everybody with the kindest goodwill; his conversation was animated, spiritual, full of imagination and originality, though difficult to follow on account of his bad pronunciation. But it was very unequal, and sometimes he passed in a moment from frank and expansive gaiety to meditative and concentrated sadness.

Habitually distracted and preoccupied in manner and a prey to feverish agitation, he could not sit still; he used to walk along the corridors of the castle, with one hand behind his back and the other holding the end of his cravat between his teeth. In this way he came into the classes every day; if the teaching pleased him his face beamed, he petted the children and spoke to them smiling; but if the master did not please him, he went out angry and shut the door behind him.

He continued to work with indefatigable zeal at the perfecting and new applications of this *method*; every morning as early as two o'clock he had one of the under masters to come to his bedside, (usually it was Ramsauer) to write to his dictation. But he was seldom satisfied with his own work, it had to be corrected and begun over and over again.

At this time Pestalozzi had set up a printing press in the castle, and it was not idle. But the works printed at Yverdon from 1807 to 1811 do not bear the stamp of the original genius of the head of the Institute; they were more the works of his collaborateurs than himself.

Amongst these works were the following:

“Upon the Principles and Plans of a Journal announced in 1807.

A Glance at my Views and Essays on Education. Report to the Parents and Public upon the Institute at Yverdon.

At the same time there began the *Weekly Journal for the Education of Man*, published from 1807 to 1811. In it were articles by the various collaborateurs; but Pestalozzi's numerous contributions have been retouched by Niederer. It also contains the remarkable *Discourse* pronounced by Pestalozzi in 1809 at the meeting of the Society of the Friends of Education at Lenzbourg. Then too, appeared the exercises upon Number and Form, which were the work of Schmid.

Before finishing this chapter we should tell what kind of physical exercises were practised at the Institute, what was the hand work done, and what *fêtes* were held.

Every week when the season permitted, some hours of the afternoon were given to military drill. The pupils formed a small battallion, with a flag, drums, music and arms; and they became skilful in the most complicated manœuvres. When they were exercised in firing, the petty officers were occupied in making cartridges under the direction of the chief instructor. From time to time they carried on mock wars in the neighbourhood of the town. They started with an ammunition and provision cart, many of the friends of the pupils and others interested joining the party. It was a grand treat to the pupils. Sometimes they shot at the target, and the successful shot obtained a sheep with its lamb and the use of a little stable in the garden.

Gymnastics, games with bars, etc. were carried on regularly. In winter, skating was added to this; in summer, bathing in the lake and mountain climbing. Every year the first day of spring was celebrated by a walk to one of the heights in the neighbourhood, and if the late snow prevented it there was great grumbling.

Manual work was carried on at the Institute, but although often attempted it was not pursued in a regular and connected manner. The great number and diversity of the pupils and their occupations was probably the the obstacle that they could not surmount. Gardening succeeded best; sometimes the pupils cultivated their own gardens, at others they were sent in two's by turns to work for some hours under the gardener's direction. The chil-

also got on well in binding and cardboard modelling. They made solids in this way for the understanding of geometry. But their skill was chiefly spent upon decorations for their festivals.

The end of the year was finished in making new year's books for their parents and friends. In these they put drawings, maps, mathematical problems, historical episodes, descriptions from natural history, and literary compositions. On New Year's Day there was a discourse from Pestalozzi, worship, distribution of presents, and a great dinner: in the evening a march to the town with torches, (each pupil making his own), then a ball, to which the pupils from the Girls' School came, and also guests invited from the town. Few lessons were given between New Year's Day and Jan. 12th, the time was chiefly spent in preparing for the *fête* of Pestalozzi which took place on his birthday, the 12th. For this each class decorated their room, transforming it more or less into a wood with thatched cottage, chapel, ruins, sometimes even a cascade which played when Pestalozzi entered. The pupils made long excursions into the neighbourhood to find pines, ivy, and moss. They made transparencies with emblems and inscriptions. The decoration of each room was not only kept as a surprise for Pestalozzi, but a secret from the other classes. They also learnt a song in honour of the father of the house. The chief idea in most of the inscriptions was "In summer you take us to see nature, to-day we seek to bring nature to you." Often on these occasions also the pupils gave dramatic representations, taken generally from the finest scenes in Swiss history of the middle ages. They made their own costumes of cardboard and coloured paper, helmets, shields, &c.

Here follows an extract from the journal of a pupil of Pestalozzi who was at the Institute from 1806 to 1810:

"Jan. 12th, 1808. Pestalozzi's birthday. At the close of the day a collection for the poor of Yverdon was made amongst those pupils who were in easy circumstances and it amounted to 95 francs.

"Sept. 30th, 1809. To-day is the fortieth anniversary of the marriage of Father Pestalozzi. Splendid festival discourse from Niederer, beautiful songs; the room is decorated with garlands; a great supper for

three hundred people in five rooms. Then a ball opened by M. and Mme. Pestalozzi, who performed a dance according to the old fashioned style."

On Christmas Eve a large fir tree was placed in the large hall and decked with wax candles, gilt nuts, apples, &c., the traditional and popular Christmas Tree of the Germans, which till then was unknown in that French-speaking country, but which has since been naturalised everywhere.

Then religious discourses and prayers alternated with joyful songs while the pupils sang heartily.

Singing which played an important part in Pestalozzi's Institute enlivened the whole house. The Swiss Pfeiffer and Nægeli have fulfilled the wishes of Pestalozzi by publishing charming collections for children. Germany, it is true is very rich in sweet melodies and simple poetry suited to the needs and character of children. Some French songs were also taught, but they were few and unsatisfactory. In spite of some praiseworthy efforts France has not been able to rise to eminence in this respect.

We have sought to show what the Institute was during the first years of his residence there. At this time the world admired its splendour, but we shall soon see that already it contained the evils that led to its fall and ruin.

CHAPTER XIV.

DECLINE OF THE INSTITUTE.

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| <p>79. Pestalozzi the first to see it ; its cause.</p> <p>80. He asks the Diet to inspect his Institute.</p> <p>81. Controversy between Niederer and the Detractors of the work.</p> <p>82. Dispute between Niederer and Schmid ; Schmid leaves.</p> <p>83. Marc - Antoine Jullien at Yverdon ; his influence.</p> <p>84. Illness of Pestalozzi.</p> | <p>85. The Allied Armies in Switzerland. Pestalozzi and the Czar at Bâle.</p> <p>86. Internal difficulties. Recall of Schmid.</p> <p>87. "<i>To Innocence, and the Serious and Noble Sentiments of my Fatherland.</i></p> <p>88. Dr. Bell at Yverdon.</p> <p>89. Death of Mme. Pestalozzi.</p> <p>90. Discontent amongst the masters caused by Schmid's domination.</p> |
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91. They leave the Institute.

79. At the end of 1807, when the establishment of Yverdon was at the height of its fame, when it called forth the admiration of learned men and sovereigns, when it attracted a crowd of pupils, disciples and visitors, when it inspired all the masters who taught there, with joy and hope, one man alone was dissatisfied with it, one man alone regarded the work as a failure, incapable of lasting, like a plant whose root is gnawed by an indestructible worm. He was in the habit of addressing a discourse every New Year's Day in which he reviewed the past year, and spoke frankly about the state of his work, of the fears and hopes that it raised in him.

His discourse of Jan. 1st, 1808 is full of sadness and discouragement ; he pronounced it beside his open coffin which he had brought into the the room which served for a chapel. We shall translate the greater part of it :

“The old year has gone; the new one is here. I am in the midst of you, but not with the joy that seems natural in my position. I seem to see my hour approaching, and to hear a voice crying to me: “Render an account of thy stewardship, for thou must die.”

Can I render a favourable account? Have I done right towards God, men, and myself?

I have been happy and the sound of my happiness deafened me like the humming of a swarm of bees seeking a new hive. But I must die. And what says this humming? That I do not deserve this good fortune, and that I am not happy. The past year has not been happy. The ice has broken under my feet when I thought I was walking on firm ground. The work of my life presents blanks that I did not suspect. The bond which unites us has proved weak, where I thought it was strongest. I have seen ill-will where I thought there was peace, and love grow cold where I never doubted its warmth. I have seen confidence disappear when I need it to live and to breathe and when it is the very necessity of my life.

You see my coffin. What remains for me? The hope of the grave. My heart is broken. I am not what I was before yesterday. I have no longer any love, confidence or hope. Why should I live? Why did God preserve me miraculously from the feet of the horses? . . . He has dissipated the dream that deceived me regarding my own worth and happiness. . . I have attached too much value to a happiness which I did not deserve.

I undertook my work, poor, weak and unworthy, incapable and ignorant. It was folly to the world, but God watched over me. My work was done. I found friends for my heart and work. I did not know what I was doing. I scarcely knew what I wished to do. And the work is done. It came out of chaos like Creation. It is the work of God. . . . Observe, my Friends, it is the work of God. And the work of God unites us, not as the wicked are united, but as the work of God unites the angels with the angels. You were astonished at my being saved from the horses, but my work has been saved in a more astonishing manner than my poor body. It is a miracle I am here! It is a greater miracle that my work has escaped the dangers of Berthoud, Munchenbuchsee, and Yverdon.

New dangers threaten it. With the help of God they will be overcome. But shall I overcome them? My heart doubts it; it is fearful and agitated. I feel I do not deserve my good fortune; it will come to an end. But my work will not end with it. Whatever is gold will not burn but be purified in the glowing furnace.

My work, however, will not endure by me. It cannot. My life is not worthy of it. I lacked power for truth, and innocence for love. Good fortune never failed me, but I did not know how to retain it. It slipped

* The month before, when descending a hill at night with Krusi, he was knocked down by horses, trampled upon and rolled into a ditch, from which Krusi pulled him out with his clothes torn to rags, but himself unhurt. Pestalozzi immediately gave thanks to God for his miraculous preservation.

from my hands whilst a child could have held it. I attributed to myself the good that God was working for me. In my folly I believed I was doing the miracles that were taking place around me. I allowed myself to be praised for what I had not done, and thought myself the author of a work that was not mine.

This work was founded upon love. Love has disappeared from amongst us. We have deceived ourselves as to the powers that this love requires, it must disappear. The work required great patience. I have it not. I was impatient when I should have been grateful. Oh God! How have I come to this? How have I fallen into this abyss? I know it, O God, and before Thy face and my friends I wish to say it openly. My blindness has become so great that I could not believe it possible. Oh God, by a series of miracles, Thou builtest without me, thou maintaindest without me, whilst I thought little was needed to maintain. Then when I saw that this support required enormous strength, I sought to make others do what I could not do myself, and I exacted without care what I should have sought for with humility: I wished to keep up the life of my house by powers which my faults and weakness banished from amongst us. *This* is what has produced misunderstanding among us. *That* is what has broken the ties which I thought were formed for ever. That is what has severed hearts which I thought to be indissolubly united.

See where I am. There is my coffin. There is my consolation. I can no longer take comfort. The poison which is at the heart of our work increases amongst us; and yet its worldly glory is still increasing.

Oh God, grant that we may no longer rest in our blindness! These laurels that are offered us cover a skeleton. I see before me the skeleton of my work, in so far as it is my work. I wish you to see it too. This skeleton is in my house: I have seen it covered with laurels; but all at once the laurels were consumed with fire. It will not support the fire of affliction which will come, which must come upon my house; it will disappear, it must disappear. My work will remain but the consequences of my faults will not pass away. They will overwhelm me; my safety is my grave.

I shall go away, but you will remain. Let these words remain before your eyes like shafts of fire.

Friends! Become better than I have been, that God may achieve by you what he has not finished by me. . . Do not allow yourselves to be misled by the appearance of success.

You are called to a great sacrifice, an absolute sacrifice, if not you will not save my work.

Enjoy the present time, enjoy the fulness of the honour of the world which has been showered upon us; but know that it will pass away like the flower of the field which blooms for a little time and then fades away.

Once again look at my coffin. Perhaps this year it will contain my bones or those of my wife who has sacrificed for me the happiness of her life. . . I already see these walls in mourning for myself, my wife, or perhaps for both.

Then let our bones rest in peace, Let your tears of love and pardon fall upon our grave, and may the blessing of God rest upon you. I

approach my end with calm and hope. But there is another misfortune possible, the prospect of which terrifies me! I may live to see my work crumble to ruin through my faults. I could not bear it.

Then I would hang the walls of my room with mourning and hide myself there for ever from the eyes of human kind, of whom I should not feel myself worthy."

Is it like the head of an Institution to speak thus in his own house, and this at the time of its greatest prosperity? Doubtless from Pestalozzi nothing can surprise us in the way of frankness, sincerity and humility. But still what reason had he for feeling thus in regard to the actual and future condition of his institute? We shall explain.

In the first place Pestalozzi felt instinctively though perhaps vaguely, and he alone felt then, that his work, in so far as he wished to realise it, was an impossibility.

He explains this towards the end of his life in a book called "My Destinies" by saying, "I had already failed at Berthoud, through an enterprise which was folly and nonsense." Indeed, when we consider that Pestalozzi wished in teaching to follow, from the first years of life, an entirely different order from what was in use elsewhere, a natural and complete order, that he counted upon the strength acquired by the child in its first exercises to enable it to overcome the difficulties of the following exercises, one does not understand how he could have believed himself able to follow a similar course in an establishment which received pupils of all ages and from all places. If a big boy came to the Institute he could neither be made to commence the elements with the little children nor be placed in a higher class for which he was not prepared. This difficulty which often occurred obliged Pestalozzi to make compromises which injured the method, whilst they did not satisfy the requirements of the child's instruction.

Again, Pestalozzi founded his moral and disciplinary influence upon the relation of family life; he wished to be the father of his pupils. This beautiful and touching idea of paternity which had succeeded with him in his early experiences, in which it was a living and wholesome reality, could no longer be sustained in an Institute which was a

little world in number, diversity of language and culture, antecedents and habits. At Yverdon Pestalozzi failed in spite of heroic efforts. In vain he sent out the pupils amongst his fellow-workers to replace him and to give an account of him; in vain he called them by turns into his study to speak familiarly with them; in vain he gave them caresses and exhortations when he met them; they continued to call him Father Pestalozzi, but he no longer knew them as a father knows his children.

Thus the discipline of affection gradually disappeared without being replaced by that of the schools, which is more or less a discipline of the barracks, and at the Institute of Yverdon the family life soon changed into a sort of badly regulated public life.

Pestalozzi complained especially that love and concord no longer existed in his house; that was the great evil, the real cause of its ruin. But he attributes the fault to himself, he wrongfully blames his own impatience and exactions with a magnanimity that might have touched all hearts. When he had for fellow-workers Niederer and Schmid, he had two powerful helpers, both valuable and in a manner necessary for the execution of his plans. But neither of these two men could identify himself with him as his first collaborateurs had done with perfect disinterestedness, simplicity, and the trustfulness of children.

Niederer had grasped the idea of the master from its philosophical, theoretical, and speculative side; he formulated it in a way which, although not perfectly satisfactory to Pestalozzi, appeared nevertheless useful to spread it abroad and make it known to the learned. It was to this philosophical idea, as he had formed it, that he continually drew Pestalozzi, opposing everything that seemed to be a deviation from the principle. But Niederer was not a practical man so far as concerns management, economy, and discipline. In these matters he could not supply what Pestalozzi lacked.

Schmid, on the contrary, regarded his master's work as little more than an excellent method of teaching mathematics; and this method he had developed, and

applied with such success as to draw forth the admiration of visitors, a result which had more than anything else contributed to the reputation of the Institute. Then, in administration, he supplied Pestalozzi with great practical skill while exercising a will of iron. He cared little for the principles where the reputation and material prosperity of the Institute were concerned.

These two men appealed to Pestalozzi in opposite ways; their influence was incompatible, and each tried to prevail. They could neither understand nor like each other. This antagonism had broken the harmony of the great family, and that was what Pestalozzi meant when he said "love has disappeared from amongst us."

These were the causes of the ruin which Pestalozzi discovered in his Institute on January 1st., 1808. For more than fifteen years he struggled against them, sometimes with temporary success; at last, after many vicissitudes, he was overwhelmed, and suffered the dreadful evil he had feared; he survived all his undertakings.

It remains to relate the different phases of this sad period of decline. In the face of an inevitable catastrophe this account would have but a commonplace interest if we had not always with us the heart and genius of Pestalozzi, which never weakened; for if the old man became more and more clumsy and incapable in the affairs of life, if he ended by being subject to the will of others with a blind confidence which caused him to add fault to fault he preserved nevertheless, even until his last day, the ardent love for the poor and weak of the world, and the original and powerful mind ever applied to the reform of education which had been the aim of his life. In following henceforth the thought of Pestalozzi, we find a precious resource in the discourse which he pronounced before the whole Institute gathered together for the principal solemnities of the year, especially at Christmas, New Year, and on his birthday. They were the overflowings of his heart in which his fears and hopes, his sadness and joy, his ideas and sentiments were accurately disclosed; one constantly meets with his religious faith, his love of men, his ardent desire to raise the people and the educative views by

which he seeks to succeed. The most of these discourses have been faithfully collected and published at different times.

80. The discourse of Jan. 1st 1808 had painfully surprised all the masters, but it had not convinced them of the evil that was undermining the establishment. The masters endeavoured to encourage the old man and persuade him he was mistaken, by showing him the increasing prosperity of the Institute, and the admiration it received from visitors, and the splendid testimonials that came from far and near.

Pestalozzi was reassured; but his confidence and security did not last long; he began to find things going badly whilst the masters assured him all was well.

But to take away all doubt they proposed that he should ask the Helvetic Diet to have an official inspection of his Institute, and the old man consented.

In June, 1809 the Diet met at Fribourg when it received the request of Pestalozzi. It consented and named a commission composed of M. Abel Mérian, member of the little council of Bâle, M. Treschel, professor of mathematics at Berne, and Père Girard of Fribourg, to examine the Institute Yverdon.

The commissioners arrived at the castle on Nov. 9th, 1809, and spent five days there, questioning masters and examining everything with the greatest care.

It is curious to see how Père Girard speaks of this inspection in the book which he published thirty seven after :

“Of the Regular Teaching of the Mother tongue.” by P. G. Girard, Cordelier.

“The cultivation of the mind of youth was my intention as well as my duty; but I did not then know how much the mother-tongue could contribute in this respect. It was when paying an official visit to M. Pestalozzi at Yverdon, whilst conversing with my two respected colleagues and in being occupied very carefully in the preparing of the official report, with which I was entrusted, that the chiaroscuro in which I was, was changed into brilliant light. On a preceding visit I had remarked to my old friend Pestalozzi that I thought, as he did, mathematics occupied too much sway, and I feared the results for education. He answered me

with his usual smile: "The reason for this is that I do not wish the children to believe anything that cannot be demonstrated to them as two and two make four." My answer was similar: "In that case, if I had thirty sons I would not trust you with one of them; for it would be impossible for you to demonstrate to him, as you can that two and two make four, that I am his father and he must obey me." This led to an explanation of the exaggeration which had escaped him, and which was not uncommon in a man of fire and genius, and we ended by understanding one another.

Meanwhile, exaggerated prominence was given to mathematics to the loss of the mother-tongue which was far less cultivated. My colleagues and I were struck with another anomaly. We found that the children had attained surprising facility in abstract mathematics, whilst in the arithmetic of ordinary practice they were far below our expectations."

This last criticism contains an evident error which is surprising, coming from such a superior man as Père Girard, if we did not know how difficult it is to view things from a different standpoint than that to which we have been accustomed. Pestalozzi did not wish children to have abstract calculations; he began by exercising them with concrete numbers, and his pupils easily did all the calculations of practical life. But they did them mentally; the written arithmetic came later, and for a long time they were weak and backward in it. Now, it is precisely the practices founded upon the arbitrary and conventional system of written numeration which constitute abstract arithmetic; and these are the practices which Père Girard called here "the arithmetic of ordinary use," and in which he found the pupils "below all expectation."

The result of the inspection was not satisfactory either to masters or inspectors. At Yverdon they foresaw that the report would be unfavourable. Pestalozzi expected it, but Niederer and those who shared his illusions were surprised and irritated; they thought they were mis-judged. It had been arranged that written documents would be sent to the commissioners to give them more complete information.

This was the subject of a very wordy correspondence between Niederer and Abel Mérian, president of the Commission, and with Père Girard, who was entrusted with the report.

Niederer said that the commission had not entered into

the spirit of the Institution, that it had only grasped its form which varied, and not its invariable idea. To which the commissioners replied that their instructions had empowered them to examine facts and not ideas.

In a letter of the 31st Jan., 1810, Père Girard says to M. Abel Mérian that he was surprised not to receive the documents which were to be sent to him from Yverdon, then he adds :

“ My opinion is that the Institute is not worth troubling oneself about. Since I have considered it on all sides, I think it far inferior to the cantonal school of Aarau, and the institute of Saint Gall, to say nothing of the old institutions. It is inconceivable how it has gained such celebrity and esteem.”

This is how Pestalozzi judged later on the work of the commission :

“ The commissioners were at first frightened to see how we neglected the teaching of some ordinary subjects which are treated with the greatest care in the smallest schools ; then they had neither faith nor courage to penetrate deeper, and many good things escaped them.”

But if Pestalozzi thought the commission had not seen all the good, Père Girard thought they had not seen all the bad ; for he said, in December 9th, 1809 : “ Besides, the Institute has hidden many things from us.”

The Report of Père Girard appeared in French, in Sept., 1810, and the German translation by Bernard Hüber, in Oct. It was written with much moderation and consideration towards Pestalozzi, who could not certainly have wished a worthier judge than Père Girard ; nevertheless it pointed out grave omissions. It praised the discipline of the house, but it pronounced the religious teaching to be insufficient, and blamed the plan of Niederer for this branch of study with which he was entrusted. It reproached him with beginning his course by a kind of natural religion, of passing then to the Old Testament, and only taking the Gospel in the preparation of the pupils for the sacrament, and then only at the request of their parents.

We can affirm, from our own experience, that such was not the habitual plan of M. Niederer. We have often attended the lessons on religion at Pestalozzi's, at the time of the inspection, in a class for children of eight or nine years of age, in which we had to read at first the gospel according to St. Matthew, and we had to learn by heart a part of the Sermon on the Mount. But we merely had to repeat it: there was nothing regular and coherent in the teaching at Yverdon, unless, perhaps, the mathematics, in which we were not so much subjected to change.

The report of Père Girard ended thus:

“The instruction given in Pestalozzi's Institute is not in harmony with that of the establishments of public instruction. The Institute, besides, has not sought to establish this harmony. Resolved, at all hazards, to seek the development of the faculties of the child according to Pestalozzi's views it has only taken account of its own ways, and it betrays an ardent zeal to open new paths, even if they should be opposed to those consecrated by custom. This was, perhaps, the only way of arriving at new discoveries; but it has rendered harmony with the public establishments impossible. The Institute goes its own way, the public establishments follow theirs; and there is no likelihood of their coming to an understanding. What a pity it is that the course of events urges Pestalozzi aside from the path along which his zeal and heart would lead him. But we should do justice to his good intentions, his noble efforts, and his untiring perseverance. Let us profit by the excellent ideas which are the foundation of his work, and let us follow the instructive example which he gives us; but let us deplore the fate of a man whom the force of circumstances has always hindered from realising what he wished to do.”

This report was presented to the Diet which met at Soleure in 1801; the Diet thanked Pestalozzi and thought no more about him.

Meanwhile Pestalozzi's work had been attacked in several publications in Switzerland and Germany.

Every reform is challenged at first. This is especially the case in educational matters. Sometimes it was urged against Pestalozzi's ideas that they were not new, sometimes that they were unpractical, while the real faults of his Institute were not only pointed out, but exaggerated.

81. The Report of Père Girard was a cause of rejoicing to the adversaries, and furnished them with fresh arms; their attacks became more impassioned and unjust

especially in the *Scientific Announcements of Gottingen*, in which Professor Heller styled the Institute of Yverdon as a nest of revolutionaries, and in the "*Popular Gazette of Burckli*" of Zurich, in which Canon Brémi published an article against the work of Pestalozzi, entitled, "*Three Dozen Questions.*"

The old man wounded by this last shaft said, in answer to Brémi; "I confess I am grieved to see my establishment and my friends calumniated in the city of my birth, more than in any other place. I am pained that it is in my native town that they have written all that is spiteful and dangerous against me and my work, and printed the most bitter writing to ruin my house and my undertaking."

Then began an impassioned and endless controversy between the Institute and its detractors.

Niederer generally answered the attacks even under the name of Pestalozzi. This war of words and pens occupied a great deal of the time and energies of the occupants of the Castle, who worked more to establish the reputation of the Institute without than to merit it within.

Many improvements, doubtless, which were possible, were not undertaken. Nevertheless the first cause of the evil was in the nature of things; the method of Pestalozzi was irreconcilable with the method of the public schools, unless by a modification to which Pestalozzi and his fellow labourer would not consent.

Schmid alone was disposed towards it, because he attached more value to the success of the Institute than to the support of the spirit in which it was founded. This difference of view added civil war to foreign strife; and the former antagonism between Niederer and Schmid broke out with fresh violence.

82. Before the publication of Père Girard's report and in anticipation of what it would contain, Schmid had demanded reforms in a general assembly of masters, reforms which were rejected.

A reconciliation could not be effected, and this time Niederer prevailed and Schmid was obliged to leave the Institute. He left in July 1810, with some of his adherents. Then Pestalozzi said: "If I were only forty years of age I

would go too and undertake something I could do, but I have begun too many things so that my strength is exhausted."

The great Chancellor de Beyme, who, came at this time to visit the establishment at Yverdon for the King of Prussia, said in parting, "Truly, if I learned to-morrow that the Institute was dissolved I would be less astonished than if it lasted another year."

Notwithstanding this, many visitors and pupils flocked to it; new masters came and gave lessons and new subjects such as Chemistry, Latin and Greek, were added to the curriculum.

Let us return to Pestalozzi's discourses; we can read in them from year to year the state of his mind and the growth of his idea.

In Jan. 1st., 1809, he was re-assured; he thanks God who has raised him and saved his work from the dangers that threatened it; he admits that he does not deserve this favour and he humbles himself. Then, after God, he attributes all the prosperity to his collaborateurs, whom he thanks.

The discourse of Jan. 1st., 1810, is a pressing exhortation to the renewal of a life of faith, love, peace, devotion, and effort. The examination of the Federal commission had just taken place, and Pestalozzi, whilst he thought his Institute misjudged, seemed to feel the need of some reform; he wished it to begin with the New Year and to advance with its course; he urged all to rid themselves of illusions, vanity, weakness, and negligence. He addressed the pupils; then the young men who were there studying the method in order to teach it in their own countries; then his old fellow-workers and friends; lastly he examines himself and passes his whole life in review, he thanks God for all he has received in spite of his unworthiness, and he asks help to enable him to become better.

The discourse of Christmas 1810 speaks at first of the great joy that this day recalls and which it should bring back to all men. Jesus Christ became a man to save us; and we, pardoned, sanctified, and united by love, in communion with God and the Saviour for ever: this is the

great joy, divine and celestial which surpasses all other earthly joys, and it is for all men and all time. But in order to participate in this the heart must be full of the spirit of Jesus Christ, and full of gifts for men.

After having developed these ideas, he applies them to the work of his house.

The discourse of January, 1811 is remarkable in that Pestalozzi addressed himself personally to Niederer, Krusi, and the absent Schmid. He begins by a religious exposition of which this is an abridgment. Life passes like the years, the years like the hours of the day; everything changes, everything fades. God only remains eternal, as also man who is created in his image. Man is only man and is immortal only by the divine nature which is in him, the love of God and the love of man.

When man lives for what is divine in him, when all his faculties and all his feelings are quickened by the love of God, then he regards the course of time and years as a part of eternity, for he has already eternal life in him.

Pestalozzi thus began the year 1811, which added much to the external prosperity of the Institute without delaying the course of its internal decline.

Controversy occupied nearly all the time and energies of Niederer in answering violent attacks; he had just published a pamphlet entitled, "*The Educational Establishment of Pestalozzi in its relation to the Needs of our Time.*" This is how Pestalozzi speaks of it in a letter to Knusert, of the canton of Appenzell, who from 1801 had been his pupil, then one of his under-masters, and who in 1807 had entered the service of France as lieutenant, had taken part in the war in Spain, and was now at Barcelona :

Yverdon, April, 1811.

" My dear Swiss,

When you return you will find many changes amongst us. The chief work progresses satisfactorily. But, like you in Spain, we have guerillas round us who spy our weak points in order to strike us: sometimes they even glide into our houses and eat our soup and meat so long as we give it to them. There are even great dons of the Junta who do not stop at finding out our weakness, but who have united in a fusillade against us. Fortunately many of our enemies fire badly, but their shots make a great noise, although they do nothing more. The most of these

shots are directed against the general of our corps of genius, your compatriot; not him of Gaïss, but him of Wolfhalden,* But he is a match for them all, for, whilst they attack him on all sides he casts cannon of enormous size and mounts them as high as the Tower of Babel so that they can reach to the clouds. You see I talk strangely, but our circumstances are so peculiar that in our schoolmastering life we can say as little of what we think as you in your mode of life cannot do what you will.

I am well, thank God; but my strength fails. I have seen my best days; I have an inexpressible desire for rest, and if I can only find it in the tomb, I wish it would soon come.

Keep well, my dear Knusert, and write soon.

Your friend,

PESTALOZZI."

From the time of the establishment of the Institute many important changes had taken place in the personal teaching.

Pestalozzi had lost several of his good and old collaborators, Tobler, Buss, Knusert, then Steiner, Muralt, Mieg and Hoffmann. The most of these friends had left to spread abroad the principles of his method. Later on Schmid had gone bearing bitter resentment against his colleagues, who would not adopt his ideas or submit to his domination. He had gone to Vienna where he had published a pamphlet against the Institute, in which he called it "the shame of humanity." The establishment had also lost several other less remarkable masters.

As these fellow-workers left they were replaced successively by a larger number of masters, who were, perhaps, better informed; amongst them were some distinguished, such as:—Ramsauer whom we already know and who had become an excellent master of arithmetic, elementary geometry, and especially drawing; Göldi, Weilenmann, Baumgartner, Leuenzinger, Schacht, Blochmann and Lehmann. (Space forbids a description of these men who became pioneers of the system in various parts of Europe.)

83. In the summer of this year, 1811, a Frenchman arrived at Yverdon who exercised a great influence over the future state of the Institute. He was named Marc-Antoine Jullien of Paris, Knight of the Legion of Honour,

* That is: not Krusi but Niederer.

member of several learned societies, and author of the "Essay on Education Physical, Moral and Intellectual;" "Essay upon the Employment of Time, etc."

Jullien soon grasped and appreciated the merit and importance of the educative reform which he saw being tried under his eyes, and he resolved to study thoroughly Pestalozzi's doctrine and its application; he prolonged his stay at Yverdon, and had many conferences with Pestalozzi and his staff, and in spite of his ignorance of German and the bad French of his interpreters, he patiently persevered until he learned all he wished to know. The following year he published at Milan, *Summary of the Educational Institute at Yverdon*, a pamphlet of 91 pages, and *Spirit of the Educational Method of M. Pestalozzi*, 2 vols.

Jullien placed his son with Pestalozzi; and then by his personal interest and that of his works he drew a large number of pupils and some French masters, so that the Institute was no longer essentially German; we shall later on point out the effect of the modifications which this led to in its management and internal life.

The year 1811 seemed to be a fortunate one for the establishment of Yverdon, and Pestalozzi expresses his joy and gratitude in his discourse of January 1st, 1812.

He addresses himself personally to Niederer, Krusi, and the other collaborators.

In the speech which he then addressed to his wife we find a confirmation of a fact that was not established, namely: that the old man who, all his life had known nothing of money matters, nevertheless took necessary means to secure to his wife, and after her to her grandson Gottlieb, the remains of the dowry she had brought, and which was estimated at the value of Neuhof. Here are his words:

"I address myself to thee, the faithful companion of my life. Do not take for indifference the calm with which I survey my life. God has given me this calm, the past year has brought me this peace, the present will complete it. This year has also been blessed to thee, noble and dear one! Thy health is stronger. God grant that thou mayest yet see the goal to which I am pressing forward; it would gladden thee, thou

deservest it; thou hast suffered much for me in the time of struggle and preparation which lasted so long in my life; thou didst look forward with anxiety to the future of our grandson; he was compromised by my fault. But God who directs all did see thy anguish, his Fatherly hand sent thee unexpected help; our child is thy heir. I shall die poor; I have promised so to do; I wish to consecrate myself to my work and make all the sacrifices that it requires. But God is good, dear one! Let our faith in him be steadfast."

Pestalozzi then addressed the children of the establishment, then the pupils of the girls' school, and their mistress Mme. Kuster his daughter-in-law, and also their teacher Mlle. Rosette Kasthoffer. To all he acknowledged his gratitude and confidence, to all he gives encouragement. Lastly he prays that the blessing of God may rest upon them all, not forgetting the absent ones, in the year that is beginning.

84. This year 1812, which Pestalozzi thought was commencing so favourably soon brought him a new trial—a painful, long, and dangerous illness.

One day, whilst walking about in Mme. Krusi's room in a pre-occupied, and absent-minded way, he seized a knitting needle and scratched his ear with it. He knocked himself so violently against the stove that the needle went into his head, not through the drum of the ear, but through the bone. This is what the doctor told us, and he was surprised that the old man could get over such an accident. Pestalozzi was for a long time confined to bed; he suffered much and could not bear the least noise, and for four months it was not expected that he could recover. Sometimes he thought he was about to die, and he seemed to rejoice at the thought, at other times he said: "I wish to live yet awhile, for a great deal remains for me to do." At last he began to mend, but his convalescence was long and painful. The old man, however, could not give up work; in the midst of his sufferings, when parched with fever, he continued his dictations, for his mind never ceased to labour at the perfecting of his method. When he was able to lie on a sofa he began to write a little, and he carried out a plan which had engaged him for some time.

He considered the best way of teaching a new language

to be the way that nature employs to teach the child its mother-tongue; this is by use, by the practice of articulate speech. This was how in his Institute and with such success the Germans learned French; and the French German; grammar did the rest.

Meanwhile Pestalozzi was wondering whether a similar method could be employed in teaching a dead language, and he wished to try the experiment. He had half a dozen children who had not learned Latin brought to him every day. The writer of these lines was one of the number.

Pestalozzi had carefully chosen and extracted from Cæsar's Commentaries some short passages, some isolated phrases connected with the same subject and containing the same words; he had filled large pages with them in illegible writing. We were ranged round the sofa where he was lying weak and suffering. He said a phrase to us which we repeated until we knew it by heart; he explained the different words to us, then some variations to which they were subject according to the modifications arising from the sense of the sentence. In this way we were soon able to make changes ourselves and to make sentences with the elements that we knew; thus, with a very limited vocabulary, and always in the same order of ideas, we spoke Latin like Cæsar.

These lessons went on during the whole period of his convalescence; after that time we had no more. Whether he gave up this experiment because it did not succeed or because other cares left him no time to pursue it we never learned.

At the beginning of 1813, M. Niederer married Mlle. Kasthoffer, and Pestalozzi gave them the Girls' School, which had been established in a large house in the square of the castle, where it remained for twenty-five years. Mme. Kuster was thus supplanted by her assistant, and without complaint this excellent lady renounced the position she had held.

The establishment profited by the change for the uncommon capacity of Mme. Niederer gave it great and long

continued prosperity. In this year the financial position of the Institute was very low. From 1810, the number of the masters had increased. The castle was inhabited by a crowd of young men who paid nothing for their board, having been admitted to study the method because, they said, they wished to spread it abroad. In this matter Pestalozzi was extremely credulous, he refused nobody, he received the shallowest and worst qualified persons, sometime rogues even, who disappeared at the end of some months leaving debts which Pestalozzi thought he was obliged to pay. The diet was simple, it is true, and the faithful Lisbeth Krusi gave all her efforts to the house keeping, but in seeking to provide plenty, she fell into prodigality and there was much waste. Then the printing cost a great deal, especially as the controversy carried on by Niederer required many publications. These were the principal causes of the bad state of the finances which was already felt, but the disastrous effects of which only were discovered later.

From the time that Schmid left, Ramsauer was Pestalozzi's favourite and right hand in the practice of teaching as Niederer was in the exposition of principles.

It is a pity that Ramsauer at this time did not assume authority in matters of management and finance; perhaps this would have saved the Institute. But he limited his activity to his connection with the pupils and to perfecting the means of study for the elementary subjects.

Linear drawing and perspective were his favourite parts of the work; he excelled in these, and to him is due the credit for the rational and graduated course which has led to the introduction of this branch of teaching into popular schools. Often foreigners while visiting asked him for a collection of his copies to teach in their country, and thus his method spread everywhere. It was almost the same collection that was published later in Paris by Boniface and Rivail.

Meanwhile let us listen to Ramsauer, who gives us an account of his connection with Pestalozzi:

“In summer, it was not unusual, four or five times a day, to see strangers arrive at the castle, to whom it was

necessary to explain the method in the midst of the lessons. In the years 1812, 1813, 1814, besides my ordinary occupations, I had so often to give explanations aloud that my chest suffered from the fatigue. When I was really ill, Pestalozzi reproached himself for having allowed me to work so hard, and he wanted to nurse me himself. But he was so clumsy that it was necessary to see him to imagine it.

“The most trying time I passed with Pestalozzi was in 1812-15, when I often had to write in his room from two till six o'clock in the morning. Even when I did not go to bed till eleven or twelve o'clock, I had to be at his bedside by two. Whenever I was a few minutes late, in his impatience he would jump out of bed, dress himself scantily, and through the long dormitories of the pupils, (and often in summer or winter,) crossing the court he would call me in a voice that was not always friendly. But when I arrived in time, or even when I appeared after I was called, he praised and embraced me, went into bed and began to dictate. It was very difficult to write to his dictation, on account of his bad pronunciation (he always had the end of his neck-cloth in his mouth) or because he began each sentence in several different ways. When he talked one had to guess what he meant to say by the remarkable expression of his face, seeing that his speech could not always follow the flight of his thoughts and feelings. Similarly, his secretary was sometimes obliged to guess his words by the intonation of his voice. This made my task as difficult as it was interesting; and whilst the old man always impressed me with love and respect he seemed to me sometimes to be worthy of pity.

“During the years 1812, 1813 and 1814, in which I enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Pestalozzi in a very special manner, he invited me every afternoon to take coffee and cherry water in the apartment of Mme. Pestalozzi or of Mme. Krusi, the faithful housekeeper. He was then generally gay and full of wit, and his wit was sparkling, for whatever he was, he was completely,—abandoning himself ever to the sentiment of the moment.

“Pestalozzi was often angry when the masters displeased.

him ; then he would leave the room in a rage, shutting the door loud enough to strain it. But if at that moment he met a little pupil, the sight of him calmed him immediately, he would kiss the child and re-enter the room saying "Pardon! pardon! I have been violent ; I was a fool." (*Short Sketch of my Pedagogic Life by John Ramsauer*).

Here we should say something about the letter to Mr. Delbruck which Pestalozzi published towards the end of April, 1813. Mr. Delbruck was tutor to the Prince Royal of Prussia ; sent by the King to Yverdon, he stayed there until he understood the work and doctrine of Pestalozzi whose admirer and friend he was. On his return to Berlin, he wrote to Pestalozzi advising him to give up controversy and not to answer the attacks directed against his Institute.

Pestalozzi in his lengthy reply tries to shew him that an educational Institute cannot keep silence when it is accused of corrupting youth in matters of politics and religion ; he seeks thus to excuse Niederer for the violence of the language with which he was charged ; then he adds :

"The remembrance of what has passed through my heart, my explanations, do not console me ; I almost hate my words whilst I write them. When one begins a struggle with people lacking nobleness of heart, one is always liable to lose something of the nobility of one's own nature. This thought saddens me. I would give a part of the days that yet remain to me to be able to efface this portion of my history."

The end of this letter shows that the old man had fallen into the illusions which himself had recognised. By the furious work to which he gives himself up with his collaborateurs, he thinks he will soon make his Institute able to realise the application of his method in all departments of teaching.

85. This year 1813 disclosed, against the power of Napoleon I., all the consequences of the disaster of his great army in Russia. The Germans thought it a favourable time to deliver their country from a foreign power that had brought upon it so many humiliations ; they rose with enthusiasm everywhere to fight the French. The young

men in Pestalozzi's Institute who belonged to Germany could not remain passive at such a time; they left in great numbers and went to take arms for the deliverance of their country. All the Prussians left. They had finished their studies; some masters followed their example, amongst others Schacht and Ackermann.

Pestalozzi approved of this; he did not seek to keep them, and he gave them his best wishes for the success of their patriotic undertaking. He considered the great power of Napoleon in Europe as an obstacle to his work so far as it consisted in raising the people by education. We saw that in 1803, Napoleon had rejected the proposals of Pestalozzi without listening to them, saying he could not trouble himself with questions of ABC; later however he had seen that the work of the Swiss philanthropist went beyond ABC; that its aim was to lead to individual development and emancipation from the routine of the old school, which was only a kind of teaching *en masse*. He had no sympathy with this work, and when he heard it spoken of he said "The Pestalozzians are Jesuits."

Thus Pestalozzi sympathised with the success of the allied sovereigns whose union freed Europe.

Upon this subject there was great division of opinion amongst the Swiss; they could not maintain their neutrality, and the Austrian troops crossed Switzerland to enter France by the frontier of the Jura. On Christmas Day, 1813, a regiment of Hungarian Huzzars from Esterhazy arrived in the square of Yverdon, and a number of Croatian infantry soon followed.

On January 9th, 1814, the municipality received orders from the Commissary of the Austrian wars at Pontarlier to prepare a military hospital at Yverdon; some days after two delegates arrived to choose the place and order the necessary furniture at the cost of the town. They required four buildings: the castle of Yverdon with two hundred and seventy beds, the old barn in front of the castle with two hundred beds, the baths at Yverdon with ninety-four beds, and the castle of Grandson with one hundred and sixteen beds

The municipality at once informed the Government of

the canton and prayed it to deliver the commune from the danger which threatened it. The little council only answered that it would consider the expense necessitated by a military hospital as a cantonal charge and would cause it to be borne by the state treasury.

Notwithstanding, the population of Yverdon was greatly frightened, for the Austrian army encumbered with sick and wounded were suffering severely from typhus.

The municipality charged two delegates to go to the head quarters of the allied armies to beg a revocation of these orders. Pestalozzi, the existence of whose Institute was threatened, joined these deputies: and this saved the town.

Those who knew the representatives of the town of Yverdon personally feared much that they would hardly appreciate the true worth of Pestalozzi; they felt themselves little honoured by their fellow-traveller, who, to vulgar eyes was only an untidy buffoon. Their surprise was great when, on their arrival at Bâle, they saw the reception which he got from the allied sovereigns. On January 21st they returned to Yverdon; and the next day they announced that "their mission had been perfectly successful, that no military hospital would be established at Yverdon, and that M. Pestalozzi had been received with extraordinary favour."

Nevertheless, the old man had not comported himself at the head quarters any better than he did elsewhere.

When admitted to the presence of the Emperor of Russia, who was surrounded by dignitaries, he took the opportunity to preach to him upon scholastic reform and the liberation of his serfs; and he did it with such enthusiasm and warmth as to forget his position completely; he approached so closely to the Emperor that the latter had to draw back; after having thus pushed him to the wall, he was on the point of seizing him by the button of his coat, when he suddenly bethought himself of his indiscretion. "Pardon!" said he, and he wished to kiss the hand of the Czar, but Alexander embraced him heartily.

In spite of its eccentricity this discourse of Pestalozzi had produced a great effect, and for a moment in the suites of the Emperor there seemed hope that it would not be long

before the effort would be made to realise the views of the Swiss philanthropist. But, alas! the Muscovite serfs had to wait for fifty years for emancipation; and the Russian people have yet to get good schools.

The Czar gave Pestalozzi the cross of Saint Wladimir of the third class, and sent for his Institute a collection of minerals from the Oural. The Emperor of Austria sent him a case of Tokay wine.

Thus this poor and ugly old man, the weakest and most clumsy of men, as well as the meanest in appearance, aroused the attention and sympathy of sovereigns at a time when they were intoxicated with fortune and glory. To the honour of humanity it was moral beauty that triumphed, a consoling thought which might wipe out the remembrance of much injustice.

Of the four buildings chosen for military hospitals one alone was put to this use, the castle of Grandson, some leagues from Yverdon. Typhus spread thence into the little town and its neighbourhood, where for several years it continued its ravages. The town of Yverdon did not escape; one pupil of the Institute was seized but he was cured. It is not without significance that from the foundation of the Institute of Pestalozzi not a single pupil died.

The same year, (1814) the King of Prussia visited his principality of Neuchâtel and Vallangin which he went to take possession of, and where he was cordially welcomed by almost all. When at Neuchâtel, Pestalozzi, although very ill, wished to go and thank him for having sent so many student teachers to be trained, and at the same time to preach a little on behalf of the work that these young men were undertaking in Prussia. This is what Ramsauer, who accompanied him, tells :

“ During the journey Pestalozzi fainted several times. I was obliged to carry him from the carriage into a neighbouring house, then I urged him to return home. “ No! ” said he, “ be quiet! I *must* see the king, though I should die in doing so. If I succeed in getting only one Prussian child better educated, I shall be amply rewarded.”

Meanwhile the peace gave a new period of great external

prosperity to the Institute of Yverdon; pupils, young masters, and visitors flocked to it from all countries; France and England at last followed the example given by Germany. But this great gathering of people of every language was as dangerous to the internal progress of the establishment as it was to its financial position.

Ramsauer gives an account of one of these frequent visits which delighted Pestalozzi, but which threw the lessons into confusion :

“In 1814, the aged Prince Esterhazy arrived; Pestalozzi ran through the castle calling “Ramsauer, Ramsauer, where are you? Come quickly! Take the best pupils in gymnastics, arithmetic, and geometry; come quickly to the Red house (the hotel where the Prince was staying). He is a very important personage, immensely rich; he has thousands of serfs in Hungary and Austria; he will certainly found schools and liberate his peasants when he understands our work, &c.” I went to the hotel with fifteen pupils. Pestalozzi presented me to the prince, saying, “This is the master of these pupils, he came to me, fifteen years ago, with other poor children from the canton of Appenzell; he has been brought up without constraint, and by the development of his individual powers, now he is a teacher, and you will see that amongst the poor there is as much ability, if not more, as amongst the rich; but with the first the powers are rarely developed, and when they are it is not done methodically. That is why it is so important to improve the popular schools. He will explain to you better than I can.”

Pestalozzi left us: and I questioned the pupils, explained, and talked till I was in a perspiration, never doubting but that the prince was fully converted.

In an hour Pestalozzi returned, the prince expressed his satisfaction to him and we left. As we were going downstairs Pestalozzi cried “He is perfectly convinced, he will certainly found schools on his estates in Hungary.” At the foot of the stairs, Pestalozzi cried “Hullo, hullo, what is the matter with my arm? It is very painful, and look it is swollen I cannot bend it!” and sure enough, the wide sleeve of his overcoat was too tight. I then looked at the great door key of the hotel, and I said “See, when we entered an hour ago, you struck your elbow against that key, and you have hurt it.” And during that hour of joy and excitement the old man had not noticed it. Such was the fire that animated him yet in his seventieth year, when he thought he could do any good; and I could quote many similar examples.”

At this time there were nearly as many French as Germans at the Institute of Yverdon; and often a master was obliged to give his explanations in both languages;

many times a pupil could not be placed in the class that would have suited him, because he did not understand the language that was spoken in it. The pupils who came from the French Lycées, being then subjected to an almost military discipline, were disposed to abuse the liberty that was allowed at Yverdon; accustomed to consider their masters as natural enemies, with whom the scholars should necessarily be at war, they liked to play tricks and torment them; deprived suddenly of the incentives of self-conceit, they were little inclined to work without the prospect of reward or the fear of punishment; and even the German cookery and the rather rustic simplicity of the inhabitants roused their aversion and contempt. All this could not fail to produce disorder and confusion.

M. Jullien had undertaken to obtain some French masters for the Institute; amongst those whom he succeeded in engaging there was only one distinguished man worthy of being a collaborateur of Pestalozzi; this was Alexander Boniface, the author of one of the best French grammars. "Amongst the men of merit," said M. Jullien, "Boniface alone was willing to leave Paris to bear the hardships of Yverdon."

Boniface had the nature, gaiety, vivacity and wit of a Paris city arab, but at the same time he was good and simple-hearted; he was not long in understanding, admiring, and loving Pestalozzi; he became the centre of the French-speaking portion of the Institute and his influence was excellent. The children loved him because he became their companion and they respected him although his appearance was not imposing; he was small in stature, exceedingly short-sighted, and he always wore red or green slippers, which was considered intensely eccentric. Endowed with good classical learning and a refined taste, he gave excellent lessons in grammar and French literature which were much enjoyed by his pupils. When he returned to Paris he founded a school of the first rank according to the principles of Pestalozzi.

86. At this time unfortunately the masters and assistant masters were not all like Boniface, they were not all zealous and assiduous, and in the absence of energetic

direction each did what he liked. The devotion of the good masters was powerless to counteract all the elements of disorder which were growing in the Institute, and none were in a position to make up for the want of administrative power in the head. At the same time the financial position grew worse; the causes of ruin, pointed out before had increased with the growth of the establishment since the peace.

In this state of matters, Schmid was thought of as the only man able to re-establish government with a strong hand. Niederer his former rival was the first to advise Pestalozzi to recall him, and he even undertook to ask him to return.

Schmid was then director of the Public School of Bregenz, and his talents and energy had caused the establishment to prosper. Hither Niederer went and asked him to return to Yverdon. He had never doubted the great capacity of Schmid, and he seems still to have had confidence in his character. One can judge of it from the following passage in a letter which he wrote a few days after this interview :

“Be assured of the love of Pestalozzi who has never ceased to regard you as a son. You have great strength, which makes you valuable; that nature gives you. But you have better still; you are true, you wish to do right with a strong will. This, man gives himself, and this is why you are respected.”

Schmid returned to the castle of Yverdon at Easter, 1815, Pestalozzi received him as a saviour, a son who was sacrificing himself for his father, and he vowed eternal gratitude to him.

As soon as he arrived, Schmid set about quietly and coldly all the necessary reforms; he worked nearly all day and all night. He dismissed useless masters, lowered the salary of others, checked waste, re-established the order and regularity of the lessons, as well as the discipline of the pupils. All the good fellow-workers willingly seconded him in these reforms, which they felt to be necessary.

But Schmid wished to be master, that is to say, to have sole authority in the name of Pestalozzi; he knew how to profit by the position that had been given him as an indispensable man, and he worked to gain his end with a tact and cleverness, perseverance and coldness that never swerved for an instant.

Under the guise of respect and affection he made proposals to the old man as conditions of safety without which nothing could be done.

At the same time he succeeded in winning to his side the ladies of the house,—Mme. Pestalozzi, because she was tired of the philosophy of Niederer in whom she could not see a man able to save the financial position of her husband; Mme. Kuster, to whom he remarked too late that Mme. Niederer had acted badly towards her in taking her place as Directress of the Girls' School; and lastly the faithful housekeeper Lisbeth Krusi herself, who hoped to find in Schmid the support necessary to maintain order and economy in the household. Schmid in fact had this merit, he was satisfied with very little, and he preached simplicity to all. We shall see that Mme. Krusi had reason to repent the confidence she gave him.

87. In the same year, 1815, Pestalozzi published at Yverdon a volume upon which he had been engaged the previous year, entitled "A word about the Present. *To Innocence, to the Serious, and Noble Sentiments of my Fatherland*"

If it is particularly to Switzerland that the author addresses himself it is not to her alone, but also to all Europe which, freed by the fall of Napoleon, was about to enter upon a new era. "This may be an era of weakness, vanity, and selfishness, which has already produced revolution, licence, and despotism. The peoples of Europe are spoilt by a sensual civilisation which only stimulates their appetites and their vanity, which makes those who suffer envious of those who enjoy, and those who enjoy insensible to the ills of those who suffer. True moral civilisation is wanting, which raises man to the nobility of his nature, to love, pity, and self-sacrifice. This civilisation can only begin by a reform of public education."

We have endeavoured to give in a few words an idea of the subject treated by Pestalozzi; but what has been said can give no idea of the richness of the true, original, and precious thoughts which the reader will find in this new work, which is in a measure, a second edition of what the author had written more than twenty years before: "*Researches into the course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race.*" But the second work is more mature, clear, and practical; although it is more than half a century since it was published it is as applicable to the present time as it was then; Europe would do well to think of its advice and profit by it.

88. About this time old Dr. Bell, the father of the English schools of Mutual Instruction (the monitorial system), came to visit Pestalozzi, his rival in reputation as the inventor and propagator of a new educational method. He came to seek in the celebrated Institute some methods which he might apply to his system. Bell neither knew French nor German, but he found at the castle, an interpreter whom he already knew; this was the Saxon Ackermann, a teacher of eminence, who had left Pestalozzi in 1813 to fight for the liberation of Germany, and who before returning to Yverdon, during a visit to England had examined the Mutual Schools of Dr. Bell. The latter attended several of the classes, then with the help of the masters and assistants he gave a kind of demonstration of his method; lastly a conference was held when Pestalozzi and he criticised each other. Ackermann was always at his side to translate and explain. The Englishman certainly had a talent which the Swiss lacked; the latter, by his pedagogical works ruined himself pecuniarily whilst the other gained an income of £2000.

After leaving Yverdon, Bell went to Fribourg accompanied by Ackermann and Jullien to see the schools of Père Girard, who with true pedagogic tact and elevated views, knew how to utilise what was good in the method of Bell and Lancaster. In parting from Ackermann, Bell said to him, "In a dozen years, mutual teaching will be adopted all over the world, and we shall hear no more of Pestalozzi's method."

A few days after one of these illiterate people whom fashion alone led to visit Pestalozzi, met him in the walk behind the lake. He addressed the old man thus, "Sir, is it you who has invented mutual teaching?" "God forbid" answered Pestalozzi.

Nevertheless at Stans, seventeen years before, he had employed mutual teaching, but in his own way.

89. In the beginning of December, 1815, Mme. Pestalozzi fell ill, her strength was exhausted. Without suffering and with beautiful tranquillity the good and amiable old lady felt her life fading away; she was seventy-nine years of age.

At last, on the evening of 12th December she expired, seated on the sofa.

Her funeral took place on the 16th. In the morning the coffin was placed in the prayer room. All the inmates of the house were gathered there; they were singing some verses of a funeral hymn, when the bereaved old man entered and approached the coffin. When the hymn was ended he addressed his faithful companion as if she could hear him; he reviewed their forty-five years of union with their labours, trials, and disasters, dwelling especially upon all that his beloved wife had sacrificed and suffered for him and his faults. Coming to the time which he describes thus: "We were avoided and abused by everybody; overcome with misery and sickness we ate our dry bread with tears" he added "What, in those sad days gave us strength to support our troubles and to keep hope?" Then seizing a Bible which was near, he placed it close to the corpse saying: "This is the source whence you, and I also, drew courage, strength, and peace."

Soon the coffin was shut and carried away, followed by all those present and a large party of the inhabitants of the town, to the end of the garden, where a grave had been dug between two large chestnut trees, according to Mme Pestalozzi's desire. There another hymn was sung by the boys and girls, then a prayer was said by Niederer, who also preached a sermon after the return to the chapel. The service was concluded by the singing of the beautiful poem of Klopstock—Song of Triumph of Christian Hope.

Pestalozzi's grief was deep ; for a long time he used to go secretly at night and pray and weep on the marble slab between the two chestnut trees, on which they had engraved the name of his wife, and the dates of her birth and death.

And he had a good reason to lament her who for so long had been his support and counsel, his good angel ; deprived of her he was soon tossed by the wind of adversity like a vessel without a rudder.

Notwithstanding, Pestalozzi had a singular mobility of impressions ; and when he was particularly interested in his favourite thought for the raising of the people he forgot everything else. A short time after the death of his wife, one of his old pupils, much affected by the event, came to see him. After the first words about the sad subject of his visit, the old man spoke of new plans, and his new hopes for the success of his method. A prey to his illusions and enthusiasm he finished by saying, " I swim in joy."

The year 1816 began very sadly for Pestalozzi and it became disastrous. The old man became more attached to Schmid than ever as his only means of safety ; he resolved to sacrifice everything to keep him, and he could only keep him by obeying his will ; there was no other will but his.

Schmid, henceforth sure of his power, no longer observed discretion. He put down the master's meetings and himself gave orders in the name of Pestalozzi. He was rather tall than short, with a spare, strong, and nervous figure, his brown visage with its eagle glance, expressed an

NOTE.—The remains of Mme. Pestalozzi now rest in the cemetery of Yverdon, to the left on entering. The first inscription has been completed as follows :

The Worthy wife of
Pestalozzi,
The Friend of the Poor,
The Benefactor of the People,
The Reformer of Education.

Associated unreservedly during forty-six years with his work of devotion, she has left after her a blessed and venerated memory. Her mortal remains, taken from the grounds of the castle, have been religiously brought here to the field of rest, by the care of the municipality, August 11th, 1866.

impassive severity. Much as Pestalozzi was loved, much as Schmid was feared, the latter knew how to gain a large number of pupils. He went through the castle holding his head high with a proud walk as if he wished to prove to all that he was master.

To show the way he had made since his arrival at Yverdon, we shall quote an anecdote of 1805 which was given by an eye witness. Schmid was then very untidy in his appearance; he wore a cap not fit to be seen: during a lesson which he was giving to the children, M. de Muralt entered the class room and seeing the greasy cap of the young master lying on a form, he threw it out of the window into the river which flows under the walls of the castle; the pupils laughed, and Schmid did not trouble himself.

Meanwhile, the behaviour of this domineering spirit made the life of the old friends of Pestalozzi intolerable. Ramsauer left in the spring of 1816; for a long time he had refused offers of the most brilliant appointments, in order not to leave his benefactor; it was only after having been completely slighted by Schmid that he decided to accept one of three proposals then addressed to him.

The fellow-labourers of Pestalozzi were generally as disinterested as himself, and did not know the value of money; they often refused very good positions in order to retain their modest and arduous duties, unless their master himself engaged them to go to spread his method of education afar.

Pestalozzi had always cherished the hope of founding a new school for the poor and it was Ramsauer he counted upon to direct it; with this intention, so early as 1807, he had him taught some manual trades. Is it not strange that this poor deserted child, brought up to instruct other poor children should become tutor to the Princes and Princesses of Oldenburg?

One of the most cruel losses that the good Pestalozzi had to submit to was that of his faithful housekeeper, Lisbeth Krusi, to whom he owed all.

Schmid wished to introduce into the housekeeping a reform which, perhaps was necessary, and which probably

the old Lisbeth was no longer able to accomplish. But she should, at all hazards, have had a happy position in the house. He seems not to have given her a thought, for she had to go.

She had lost her husband several years before and she had but one child, an idiot son. This heroic woman who had saved Pestalozzi at Neuhof and who had served for the type of his Gertrude, went away to end her days in the poor-house of Gaïs, her husband's commune.

She was replaced by Mlle. Ray from Grandson; the cooking became rather more French and more varied. The soup and fruits were sometimes replaced by coffee, chocolate, and a kind of pastry called *salée* in the country. At the same time the waste diminished. But, alas, the finances did not improve.

Towards the end of this year, 1816, the German masters resolved to celebrate the triumph and independence of Germany. On October 18, after dinner, they went to a height called the Duke of Burgundy, where, according to tradition the tent and camp of Charles the Bold were situated during the battle of Grandson. A great bon-fire was prepared and there they sang German hymns, drank wine and remained till night.

Pestalozzi, who was one of the party, was full of spirit and gaiety; but what he celebrated was not the triumph of one nation over another but the freeing of the peoples by the fall of Napoleon.

Ackermann, to whom we owe the account of this fête, relates that they yet could trace on the "Duke of Burgundy" the remains of the encircling wall which he himself climbed to the summit, giving a toast "To the liberty of the human kind," to which the thirty assistants replied by a triple hurrah.

90. Soon the German masters could not endure the domination of Schmid who in their eyes falsified the spirit of Pestalozzi's Institution and compromised its reputation. They resolved to present their complaints and anxiety to Pestalozzi in a collective letter which was written by Blochmann and signed by sixteen masters, under masters, and student teachers.

One evening the old man called together all those who had signed the letter. He was in bed. At his side Schmid read his written defence; then as the complainants were neither satisfied nor re-assured told them that he would rather see them all depart than restrain the power of Schmid who was the only one able to save him.

91. A most painful scene then ensued; sometimes the old man deplored the ruinous state of his Institute and begged them all to help him, at other times he seized the hand of Schmid, calling him his saviour, his good angel. But Schmid remained inflexible; it was impossible to gain an understanding with them, so the complainants left Yverdon.

Later, Blochmann acknowledged in a truly christian spirit that self-conceit had not been completely foreign to the determination taken by his colleagues and himself, and that it would have been better for them to have remained and suffered.

Some children of well to do families of the country, formerly admitted gratuitously, had become under-masters, they and some new comers replaced the masters who had gone away, and the teaching suffered in consequence. Niederer and Krusi were almost the only teachers of merit who remained with Schmid, and the last named made their position gradually more painful. Krusi, simple and modest, a gentle and loving soul groaned in silence, and bore all without complaint. But Niederer could not submit to this state of things; he was constantly at war with Schmid and the animosity between these men grew stronger daily.

At the same time the financial situation of the Institute became perilous. At the entreaty of Jullien, some experienced and honourable merchants of the town came every week to examine the books.

Their intervention only confirmed the evil without curing it. The same year there were rains and floods, and famine reigned in the country for the price of food was more than trebled. Pestalozzi was obliged to raise the fees of the pupils but this did not meet the expenses and the number of his boarders diminished rapidly.

Then it occurred to Schmid to publish an edition of

Pestalozzi's works by subscription in order to make up the means required by the Institute, and he had not much trouble in persuading the old man to do so.

Here it is necessary to say that the views of Schmid and Pestalozzi did not agree as to what was to be done with the product of the subscription. Schmid wanted the money to re-establish the finances of the Institute, and to be assured of its continuance in the future, even after Pestalozzi's death. Pestalozzi wished above all to found a school for the poor, which had been the dream of his life, and about which Schmid cared nothing at all. This difference of view will be made clearer later on.

In the month of March, 1817, Pestalozzi published an appeal asking for subscribers for his complete works. In this paper he describes his position in a very touching manner: after a long life of work and sacrifice, he is obliged to see the fruit of his labour lost to humanity; he had undertaken work beyond his strength, but now he wishes to profit by his experience, by realising the wish of his life for the elevation of the people; at the same time, he speaks of his Institute as a work which no longer belongs to him and which should continue in the interest of humanity. The object of the produce of the subscriptions is so vaguely stated that it admits of any interpretation. But the conditions of the sale and the receipt of the money are regulated in a minutely business-like way; and friends, schools, and the governments of all countries are urged in the most pressing terms to subscribe and seek for subscribers.

Niederer and Krusi refused to regard this Statement as the work of the noble Pestalozzi; they accused Schmid of it. They thought that the old man would dishonour himself by giving it his sanction. Their entreaties were vain; the appeal was published. Then they decided to leave their old benefactor, him whom they called their father. They left him alone with the man he had chosen. From that day, the ruin of the Institute was inevitable.

NOTE.—Krusi had a strong inducement to leave the Institute. Although he had been married for several years he could not keep his family upon his small salary; he founded a boarding school at Yverdon in order to make a living.

CHAPTER XV.

AGONY OF THE INSTITUTE AT YVERDON.

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| 92. Pestalozzi in despair after the departure of Niederer and Krusi. | 97. The School removed to the Castle. |
| 93. He becomes ill and goes to the Jura. | 98. Gottlieb Pestalozzi arrives at Yverdon. |
| 94. Negotiations with Fellenberg to secure calm independence to Pestalozzi. | 99. Quarrels between Pestalozzi and the Municipality. Law-suit between Niederer and Schmid. Arrangement. |
| 95. Pestalozzi's Discourse Jan. 12, 1818. | 100. <i>Views upon Industry, Education, and Politics, &c.</i> |
| 96. Foundation of the School for the Poor at Clendy. Mr. Greaves. | 101. Ruin of the Institute. Schmid banished the Canton; Pestalozzi accompanies him. |

92. For seven years more the Institute lingered on at Yverdon but it was only a shadow of its former self.

Henceforth Pestalozzi was entirely subject to the will of Schmid whom he regarded as a devoted son to whom he should be for ever grateful, also as a saviour and an indispensable support. In return he felt he should do whatever pleased him, espouse his quarrels, and desert his old friends when Schmid objected to his receiving their help.

These wretched years were troubled with quarrels and law-suits. Niederer and Schmid abused each other in pamphlets and newspapers: then actions for calumny were instituted in which Pestalozzi was implicated because he took the responsibility of all that Schmid did. This unfortunate controversy produced a very unfavourable opinion of Niederer upon the public; still more so of Schmid. Some biographies even accept without proofs

accusations which we believe to be calumnies and which we shall not repeat. We shall restrict ourselves to the relating of authentic facts. These two fellow-workers of Pestalozzi have been too long the firm supporters of his work, and they have rendered too great services to the cause of education for us to recall how they forgot themselves in the heat of passion.

Whilst Pestalozzi seemed to be blindly following Schmid's advice, whilst he was showing himself to be more and more weak and incapable of the management of the Institute, he had lost nothing of the strength of his philosophical and investigating genius, nor his passionate devotion to the cause of the poor and weak of this world. In this respect Schmid did not share his views, and Pestalozzi, although yielding to him in every other matter, never gave in upon this point.

We shall see later on that in this struggle it was the old man who lost his temper. He is always working to extend and perfect his doctrine, cherishing the illusions of youth, making excellent plans of re-organization and perpetual foundation, even undertaking with surprising success a new school for the poor, whilst all that remained of his visible work was crumbling under his feet.

It has been necessary to anticipate in order to characterise this present period; now let us take up the thread of events.

After the departure of Blochmann and his German colleagues in 1816, some good masters still remained with Schmid, Niederer, and Krusi. Amongst these were Boniface, who has been mentioned before; Stern, who taught Latin and Greek very well, and who later became the director of the Gymnasium at Stuttgart; Knusert, who had left the service of France at the peace of 1814, and had resumed his duties under Pestalozzi (he directed the military drill at that time); Hagnauer, a young Argovian of talent who was professor at the cantonal school of Aarau.

We said that the masters who left were replaced by young in experienced men: an exception must be made in favour of an able teacher who at a critical time was of

great use to Pestalozzi. This was M. Lange, a well educated and refined man, of gentle but firm character. He spoke French very well, and he used to say the morning prayers with the French-speaking pupils. But when, in the spring of 1817, Niederer and Krusi decided to leave Pestalozzi, these masters just mentioned soon followed.

The announcement of the subscription for Pestalozzi's works, which led to this rupture, was published in the end of March, 1817, but Niederer and Krusi left before then, for they asked (on the 14th of March) from the Municipality of Yverdon a certificate of good conduct for all the time they had passed in the town; either because they thought it necessary to have this document in order to live in the town unconnected with Pestalozzi, or because they feared the attacks of Schmid. M. C. Naef, Director of the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, made the same demand on the same day, although his position was already quite independent of the Institute.

On July 5th, 1817, Pestalozzi asked the municipality that the castle might be kept gratuitously for five years after his death by persons whom he would appoint as his successors. This demand was granted. Some days after he asked to rent for agricultural purposes the Bertrand field, a meadow of about twelve acres, adjoining the town, on condition that its lease, like the use of the castle, might continue after his death. This new demand was also granted. One can guess the object of these requests, and understand them better from the sequel.

Meanwhile Pestalozzi had never thought that Niederer and Krusi would forsake him; he only realised the fact after receiving rather a hard letter from Niederer which said that his old fellow-workers would stand aloof so long as he kept Schmid with him.

93. The old man was quite forlorn and distracted; there were times when fears were entertained of his losing his reason. Schmid advised him to go for change of air to the Jura, to recover from the blow that had injured his health. There Pestalozzi passed some weeks in the almost uninhabitable village of Bulet, more than three thousand feet above the Lake of Neuchâtel. He lived in an

unpleasant room in the house of an old woman who supplied him with the bare necessities of life. But he breathed pure and invigorating air, and lived amongst splendid scenery,—the Lakes of Neuchâtel and Morat, then the Vaudois table-land and Fribourg with its thousand charms, further away Lake Lemán, and lastly the long chain of the Alps with their abrupt and frozen summits. In his lofty solitude the old man found the rest he needed, but it was a desolate repose, and he poured out his griefs in verses which are worth keeping, not for their literary merit, but as evidence of the suffering that his weakness cost him. Pestalozzi had rarely written poems; although he was a poet in heart and imagination, we can hardly understand why he chose then to write in verse if one did not know that at that time of his life, and for a long time before, he was engaged upon a series of elementary exercises in language, in which he often made use of measure and rhyme as a mnemonic aid to the child's study. This form of composition came naturally to him therefore when he wished to pour out his sorrows at Bulet.

The English translator has no poetic gift and regrets being unable to give a rhythmic rendering of Pestalozzi's verse. It is eloquent, touching, and elevated; in keeping with his great thoughts and surroundings. One poem especially beautiful and appropriate, is addressed to a *Rainbow* appearing after a storm on the mountains; and the poet, taking it as a symbol, begs God for a sign to encourage him after the tempest and sorrows of life.

Meanwhile, rest, and the mountain air, had brought back calm and strength to Pestalozzi, and he returned to Yverdon. Then his friends tried once more to save him from the domination of Schmid, and make the end of his life happy and peaceful.

94. Jullien, Fellenberg and Charles Ritter together sought to devise a way to save Pestalozzi and his Institute. Pestalozzi had been several times to Hofwyl on long visits during which he recovered his spirits and gaiety, and continued to work upon his exercises in language. One evening when he arrived at Hofwyl from Berne on foot (a distance of more than three miles) as was his

wont, Fellenberg, wishing to shield the old man from the noise of his School, had him established in the neighbourhood, in the castle of Diemerswyl, the residence of M. Van Mnyden, a Dutchman who was much interested in education, and who later on became Councillor of State at Lausanne.

On October 17th, 1817, after long discussions, Pestalozzi and Fellenberg drew up an agreement in eighteen articles, the principal of which are given here :

An asylum school was to be founded in a place yet to be chosen by Pestalozzi who was to draw up the plans and instructions, and this establishment was to be financially independent of the Institute of Yverdon. The latter was to be re-organised under the direction of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg together, who would choose a director and masters suitable for a good educational establishment for the middle classes ; to be self-supporting. Any overplus in the receipts to be employed in receiving poor children into the Institute. When Schmid was no longer needed by the Institute, he was to leave Yverdon and direct the school for the poor under Pestalozzi who would supply him with two assistants. In order to ensure their existence these two foundations would be put under the protection of the friends of humanity, and particularly of a great commission amongst whom the following would be asked to take part,—Messrs. Zellweger, of Trogen ; de Rougemont, of Neuchâtel ; May de la Schadan, of Berne ; de Mollins, Lausanne ; and Father Girard, of Fribourg. Gottlieb, Pestalozzi's grandson was to come constantly to Hofwyl to attend the work of the Agricultural School, and Fellenberg's School for the poor, in order to be able to direct at Neuhof both the estate and the school for the poor which Pestalozzi wished to establish there.

But Schmid had Pestalozzi's promise that he would make no final agreements without consulting him ; this is why the old man, although he agreed with Fellenberg on all points of the covenant, declined signing it till he had added a condition which involved a short delay.

Schmid disapproved of the arrangement and persuaded Pestalozzi that it would put him entirely under the power

of Fellenberg: the whole scheme thus broke down, and from this time, the old man's friends could do nothing more for him.

Fellenberg relates fully all the negotiations and he judges Schmid very severely, attributing only interested motives to his part in the proceedings. Whatever they might have been, an association between Pestalozzi and Fellenberg was as unlikely to succeed in 1817 as it was in 1805.

Towards the end of 1817, Jullien, all the French, many other pupils, and nearly all the good masters had left the Institute, which had now sunk into a low condition in every respect.

On the other hand, the subscription for Pestalozzi's works succeeded admirably, so great still was the sympathy for the old man over a large part of Europe. The Emperor of Russia subscribed 5,000 roubles, (a rouble is worth about four and sixpence, in all £1,125); the King of Prussia 400 dollars; and the King of Bavaria 700 florins. Thanks to Schmid's tact and the good nature of the editor, Cotta, of Stuttgart, the author of "Leonard and Gertrude," without running any risk received 50,000 francs.

This success restored the courage, hope, and alas! the illusions of Pestalozzi; he thought the time had come when he would at last realise the idea of his life. He recalled his grandson, Gottlieb, his sole heir, in the hope of making him the successor and continuer of his work. Gottlieb, who was formerly a pupil at the Institute of Yverdon, had shown so little inclination for study that his grandfather had thought it better for him to learn a manual trade; and he became a tanner at Zurich.

95. Pestalozzi's discourse on January 12th, 1818, his seventy-second birthday, is one of the most important and remarkable that he ever uttered. In it his educative and philanthropic doctrine is expressed with more strength and clearness than perhaps anywhere else; he states his plans, projects, and hopes for the future, then the state of his thoughts and feelings with regard to everybody around him, even to his old friends who had just forsaken him.

The length of this discourse forbids its being given in its entirety; this is a translation of its most instructive parts

"I am now in a position of the father of a family who, seeing his end approaching, and wishing to set his house in order, gathers round him all who belong to him, at this solemn hour opens his fatherly heart to them, explaining the condition of his house, the projects and wishes of his life, and implores them to do their utmost for the attainment of his hopes."

"I am now entering my seventy-third year, and my life has been rather a public than a private one. What concerns me most just now, is not my private position which I wish to ensure after my death, but my public work, the little which I have been able to do for a great aim, for the revelation and diffusion of the true principles of the care of the poor, and education; an aim which requires the joint efforts of many men devoted to their fatherland and humanity."

"Friends, at this time, I feel compelled to say, and I do so from steadfast conviction that in matters of the raising of the people and the education of the poor, our part of the world has plunged into such an atmosphere of error that it employs only artificial means, which counteract its aim. This error has so thoroughly penetrated the thoughts, feelings and habits of men that truth and love are powerless against it; it is like a thick fog which shuts off both the warm rays of the sun and the gentle light of the moon. I know that what I say now will not be thoroughly understood, simply because this error of thought, feeling, and habit has become second nature to the men of this generation."

"But I am dead to the present. This world and this century are no longer for me. I am possessed by a dream,—the education of man, the education of this people, the education of the poor in a world that is clogged with all that is false and artificial. But I give myself up to my dream and it inspires me. Inward and holy education, the best education appears to me under the figure of a tree planted beside flowing water. See it. Whence comes it with its roots, its trunk, its branches, its boughs and its fruits? See, you put a little seed in the ground. It contains the spirit of the tree, its essence: God is the father and creator of the seed and of the fruitful earth; God is great in the seed of the tree. "The seed is the spirit of the tree, it makes a body for itself. Look at it as it rises from mother earth. Before it appears it has already struck root. When the internal essence of the seed develops its external covering disappears. Its internal organic life is passed in the root, and all has come from it. Look at the entire tree, too, the weak branches which bear the fruit: it is the work of the root. Thence come the sap, the wood, and the bark. In the trunk, in the branches, in the boughs, there is the same sap, the same wood, the same bark, distinct and separate, but continuous and without flaw, protecting, sustaining, and nourishing one another by the same organic life, and in harmony with nature and the essence of the tree."

"As the tree grows, so does man appear to me to grow. Before the child is born even, it possesses invisible germs of dispositions that life will develop. The different powers of its being and its life are forming as in

the tree by remaining continuous and united, although distinct, during the whole course of its existence.

“And as the essential parts of the tree, always distinct and animated by the invisible spirit of their physical organism, that is to say, working in the harmony pre-established and assured by God, all unite in the formation of the final production of their forces, the production of fruit, so in man all the faculties of knowledge, power and will, distinct but united by the invisible spirit of the human organism, working in the divine harmony of faith and love, unite together to form the internal being distinct from flesh and blood, the eternal being of justice and holiness, man created in the image of God, to become perfect as his Father in Heaven is perfect.

“The spirit gives life, the flesh contributes nothing. The spirit of man is not in any one of his particular powers, it is not in what we call force: it is not in his fist neither is it in his brain. The point of union of all his real and effectual force is in his faith and love.

“These forces of the heart; faith and love, are to man what the root is to the tree. But we do not look only at the tree that flourishes; see that one whose root encounters a hard rock, or the hot and burning sun, or stagnant water. See then this root dry up or rot, and the whole tree dying with it! Then, reflect upon yourselves and see if the organic forces which should give you life are not so lost as to make you perish.”

After having developed the preceding ideas, and recognised that the human organism differs from the animal and vegetable organism because it is endowed with liberty and conscience, Pestalozzi explains the part education has to take, which should preserve and direct the development of the salutary forces of the child, as the gardener preserves and directs the growth of the tree. Then he adds:

“Each of our forces, moral, intellectual, or industrial, can find only in itself and not in external artificial influences the reason and means of its growth. Thought must proceed from thought and not from the knowledge and intelligence of what love is and what deserves to be loved. Art must come from art and skill; not from endless discourses upon art and skill. And this return to the progress of the true organism of human nature for the development of our powers requires the work of education to be subordinated to the knowledge of laws which regulate our knowledge, power and will.”

Then Pestalozzi reviews his whole life, which he has devoted to seeking the means of elevating the people by education. He admits he has always been too weak to make any of his enterprises succeed. But experience has

taught him many things, it teaches him every day, and he thanks God for not permitting him to put his hand to the plough until he was ready, and for obliging him to work continually. He has ruined himself, and he suffered long, for having tried to found a school for the poor at Neuhof. Notwithstanding, the recollection of this is dear to him. He never has sold this property although it costs him more than it brings in. He hopes yet to found a school for the poor there; and with this object he will begin repairs in the spring. Further, he says that such a shelter could only take the place of the home by the heart of a father and mother, and he adds:

“The religious spirit which blesses the domestic hearth still exists in the midst of us; but it lacks internal life; it is reduced to a reasoning spirit which discourses only upon what is holy and divine. . . .

Nevertheless, the blessed spirit of the true doctrine of Christ seems to be taking new and deep root in the midst of the corruption of our race and to be drawing thousands to a purer internal life. . . .

The great evil of our century, and the almost insurmountable obstacle to its regeneration is that the fathers and mothers of our time have almost entirely lost the consciousness that they can do anything; that they can do everything for the education of their children.”

This discourse is curious and instructive on several accounts: in it Pestalozzi is to be found and also, here and there, the influences of Schmid. We wish it could be translated at length, but in the first edition it occupies not less than one hundred and thirteen pages, in Cotta's it has been subjected to large omissions that can hardly be attributed to anything but the censure of Schmid; for example, the pressing appeal addressed to Niederer and Krusi, which had no effect, is omitted. It is in the first edition of Pestalozzi's letters that in general these thoughts should be sought, and these books are not now to be had; but the primitive text and the changes which it has undergone are reproduced in the collection of Pestalozzi's works, recently published by Seyffarth at Brandenburg.

Fellenburg records that on Jan. 12, 1818, immediately after the old man's discourse, Schmid spoke, saying that

he did not approve of the gift that Pestalozzi was giving, but that, notwithstanding, wishing to devote himself entirely to the foundation, he would give all he possessed to it, which was 6000 francs. Fellenburg says that Schmid was not in earnest, that it was with the intention of raising the subscription that he urged Pestalozzi to announce his plan of the foundation, and that two years after, when Gottlieb was his brother-in-law, he obliged the old man to declare that he was unable to carry out the plan of the foundation to which he had pledged himself. It is known that Fellenburg did not like Schmid, and that he judged him very severely; this accusation must therefore be received with reserve.

Meanwhile the School for the Poor was ever the favourite plan of Pestalozzi; he always returned to it; and for this aim he easily forgot the more aspiring plans which lately had occupied his mind. He wished to start the work at once, but Schmid objected as he had other things to do. The old man insisted, but always met with the same objections. A grotesque episode connected with this struggle is related by an eye-witness who is perfectly trustworthy: Mme. (widow) Kraft who now lives at Berthoud, (in 1818 she was Mlle. Anne-Francisca-Theresia Kuster, aged thirteen years, eldest daughter of Pestalozzi's daughter-in-law,) says that one day Pestalozzi urged Schmid to let him found a school for the poor. The latter declining to listen, turned his back upon him and went hurriedly away, the old man following him faster and faster. At last, as Schmid continued to lend a deaf ear, Pestalozzi who could not overtake him, took off his slippers and threw them at his back.

96. But this time Pestalozzi won the victory. The school for the Poor was opened the same year, 1818, at Clendy, a little hamlet near Yverdon, in the house which is now the Daulte School. It began with twelve poor children of both sexes, the most of them orphans or abandoned by their parents. The old man devoted himself to them entirely, and despite his seventy two years, with the same activity, zeal, and warmth of heart, as in youth; also, what seems almost incredible, with the same success

that had crowned his first efforts at Neuhof, Stans, and Berthoud. Such is the power of the heart for an education suited to the laws of nature that this man whom we always find awkward, embarrassed, and absent in practice, this man who lacked skill, tact, and all external advantages, won as by enchantment, the attention, will, and hearts of the little children who surrounded him.

At the end of a few months, the number of the pupils at Clendy rose to thirty, and their progress was wonderful. To give an idea of it we shall translate what Professor Henssler says of it; he is one of Pestalozzi's best biographers:

“Some children of from five to six years of age were joyfully engaged for hours with exercises upon number and form. Some of the youngest learned by themselves, merely being present at the lessons. Some were so zealous that they needed to be restrained rather than urged. Soon the pupils were called to teach themselves and they did so with pleasure and success. In winter and summer, day and night, they often hurried to Grandson, some distance from Yverdon, to give lessons to others older than themselves, and they took charge during part of the night. At Yverdon their teaching was preferred to that of the incapable masters. It was said that they knew how to teach children without making them feel that they were learning, and on watching them closely it seemed as if they drew the knowledge from the pupils themselves.”

This new success of Pestalozzi aroused new admiration. People came from all parts to see Clendy. The English were especially enthusiastic, as the Germans had been at first, and then the French. They persuaded the old man that England might be won over to his system; they asked him to receive rich children at Clendy, who would pay for their board and afterwards carry his method across the Channel. Pestalozzi was weak enough to yield, and soon his Institute lost the character that he wish to give it. The teaching became more advanced and more scientific: English, too, was taught there. At the same time the internal management of the house lost something of its early simplicity.

Meanwhile, Schmid who had given a reluctant consent to the foundation of an Asylum for the poor, took advantage of the circumstances to hinder its continuance.

Dwelling upon the success the Clendy pupils had obtained in teaching, he advised Pestalozzi to convert his Asylum into a Normal School and transfer it to the castle where all the means of instruction were at hand. In a writing published in 1820, entitled, "*A Word about the condition of my Pedagogic Works, and the Organisation of my Institute,*" Pestalozzi admits that Schmid advised him.

The plan of uniting the two establishments was entertained as early as the spring of 1819, as one can learn by a leaflet printed and freely circulated at Yverdon and its neighbourhood. This document written in French, signed by Pestalozzi, and dated May 26th, 1819, is so curious that we translate it fully, changing nothing of its style :

"During the fifteen years that I have been established in this town, my house has been free to everybody from morning till evening. Indeed, this has subjected me to intolerable inconvenience, to which I yielded, from stress of circumstances. But these have changed and this freedom can no longer be granted unconditionally to all. Although my wish is to act openly, and I desire nothing better than to let my efforts be known and understood by all interested in education, I must request all who wish to see my Institute of Clendy to apply first to the office of the Castle, in order to learn at what hour it will be convenient for us to receive them.

The children gathered together in this new establishment form a family rather than a school, and as they take part in the domestic occupations they are no more ready to receive visitors than are any members of a townsman's family. As I am obliged to prepare the children as quickly as possible for their work in life, I exercise great economy in the use of their time. If it please God, the result of their education will soon be seen in the Institute at the Castle, and will enable me not only to apply fully what is done at Clendy, but to open advanced classes in the method for persons not connected with the Castle, and the most advanced pupils of the Clendy Institute will be admitted to these.

First and especially, lessons in the English language will be given at the Castle very soon by English persons, and to people of both sexes if desired. I expect some people to arrive next summer from abroad who wish to become acquainted with parts of the system, and I shall willingly grant to others the opportunity of joining the classes which will be formed. The public may be assured that I overlook nothing that can possibly be done to improve education in my efforts ; but, it must not give offence, if, on one side, I wish to give myself up to those who take a true interest ; and if on the other I wish to dispense with the visits of those who are only brought by curiosity and who waste both my time and that of my charge."

It is a matter of deep regret that Pestalozzi should have given his signature to a paper like this, the object of which was perfectly just and necessary, but which is so drawn out as a claim that we fail to recognise the noble reformer of education.

97. In July of the same year the Institute of Clendy was joined to that of Yverdon in the castle, the girls were established in the second story, facing the north, in the apartments that used to be occupied by M. and Mme. Pestalozzi. At the same time some repairs were made in the castle, several new rooms were made in the towers, and chimneys put in the rooms that needed them.

On July, 23rd, 1819, the municipality of Yverdon, in answer to Pestalozzi while granting him some more repairs, takes the opportunity to say that it regrets the amalgamation of the two Institutes, and that public opinion does not approve of a mixed school in the same building.

The school for the poor at Clendy had only lasted one year and had been a source of joy to the old man. In his last days, in his days of deception and ruin, it had shone bright and welcome, with a fleeting glory that recalls the rainbow which he wished for his tomb, when he wrote his poetry of desolation at Bulet.

This last success, ephemeral as it was, was not without its benefit to humanity. The little children gathered at Clendy, amused, occupied and instructed under the rational, mild and fatherly discipline of Pestalozzi, have served as the model of a precious educative institution of our century. Let us hear what Professor Vulliemin says upon the subject :

“The work of Pestalozzi has lasted longer than his Institute; it has survived him and it will continue to live. The flower and fruit have disappeared, but the seed is spread all over the globe. It is impossible for a book of education to be written without giving Pestalozzi a prominent and honorable place in it. And how many mothers have learned from him to regard with new care the first years of their children’s lives! How many schools have been renewed by his breath! Infant schools now are found everywhere: I have seen them rise near him, and in this way.”

“The Institute of Yverdon was coming to a close when Pestalozzi thought of beginning in his 73rd year a school for poor children such as that with which he had begun. You know the hamlet of Clendy, to the

east of Yverdon on the shores of the lake ; there I saw him resume his task with the same devotion and youthfulness, and a purer faith to gain the same success and avoid the same shoals. Clendy fell as the great Institute soon after fell. But there was a man there who helped the short-lived enterprise ; he was an Englishman named Greaves, who had a truly Christian heart and an enlightened mind. What he saw there he took to England ; he planted it there, and hence arose Infant Schools. From England they came back to Switzerland, first to Geneva, then to Nyon, then everywhere. We understood the English better when they gave us the clearer, adapted, and somewhat colder translation of his work."

The year 1820 was one of illusions and dreams to Pestalozzi. He had gathered together in the castle poor and rich, boys and girls, an elementary class of little children, a college and a normal school. The poor children, admitted for philanthropy, who paid little or nothing for maintenance had a more frugal diet than the rich, and discharged certain domestic duties during the hours of recreation, whilst the others amused themselves.

It was generally these pupils, boys and girls, who were intended to become masters and teachers.

Schmid, probably, only suggested this amalgamation from motives of economy : but Pestalozzi regarded it as a condition of new and precious success. In order to let others share in his convictions upon the matter, he published a pamphlet entitled : *A Word upon my Pedagogic Works and the Organisation of my Institute.*

This little work begins thus :

"In presenting to-day the new plan of organisation of my house to the public, I feel obliged, on the one hand, to say a few words upon my former works for the progress of education ; and on the other, to give some general explanations of what I feel should and can be done to consolidate my work and assure its continuance after my death."

After repeating that the helping and elevating of the people by education was the aim of his first works ; after having admitted that he lacked the strength and capacity necessary when he founded his Institute at Berthoud, he speaks of the controversies that have taken place on account of his weakness and he attributes in a great

measure the faults that have spoilt his work to them. But now the cause of trouble has disappeared, all the fellow-workers are now on the road leading to the same aim. At the same time the financial progress is such that the Institute is no longer fettered as it used to be. Nevertheless, the public cannot yet quite appreciate the idea of his works; to remove prejudices facts and not words must be cited. Then he adds :

98. "The resolve of my grandson to continue my work, to devote his life to it, and to connect himself with Schmid by the closest ties gives solidity, even in an economic sense, to our undertaking.

"But what is much more important than any economic assurance, or any external means is that by training teachers in my Institute I have succeeded in establishing a new basis for the execution of my old undertaking in every essential point; and nobody can doubt it after having seen the results of the union of my two Institutes, which has lasted for a year and a half.

"One can see that the pupils work together most cordially and that they mutually help each other, so that each goes on according to his application and talents, without jealousy or humiliation. I can say, that it is an incontestible fact that when rich and poor children are brought together in the same Institution, although they are there subjected to different conditions, they nevertheless, in these circumstances, find a means for their moral development."

Pestalozzi then explains at length the advantages of his new organisation. First, those of home, for his Institute is the model of a family; the children entertain the feelings that they should have for their parents, and the boys and girls are accustomed to the gentleness, modesty, and respect that should exist between the sexes. There are also social advantages which may have a very happy influence on their future. Children of different means and position in society are there united without being confounded, and preserve the character fitted for their family; they receive the same education and elementary instruction, profiting from all the resources of the Institute; they learn to know, esteem and love each other; when they enter upon active life they will help to dispel the prejudices which make such dangerous antagonism between the different classes of society.

Pestalozzi is aware that his magnificent ideal of social regeneration is not to be realised in his time, but his experience of a year and a half makes it a possibility. He admits his own incapacity, but he relies upon Schmid, who already bears the burden, to continue the work and finish it. Here he renews his praise of his valiant fellow-worker, whose worth he alone can estimate.

He ends by giving lists of pupils, conditions of admission, charge for board, dress, &c.

But Pestalozzi's new experience and the pamphlet intended to recommend it did not convince the public.

Those families who were in easy circumstances scarcely appreciated the benefit of such a mixed Institution, many withdrew their children, and financial difficulties recommenced.

99. The year 1821 was in a measure occupied with quarrels of Pestalozzi, or rather Schmid, with the municipality of Yverdon. The latter had hitherto granted all the repairs required at the castle. But when the number of pupils was much reduced, when the poor formed the greater part, it was suggested to Pestalozzi that the rooms were not comfortable enough for the rich pupils, and great changes were desirable.

A letter of Pestalozzi's, dated January 12th, 1821, addressed to the municipality of Yverdon, complains that the bad condition of the building is the cause of the decline of the Institute, asks for further repairs, and threatens to go to law to oblige the communal administration to fulfil all its engagements.

On February 2nd, the municipality replies that the charges and threats which are addressed to it contrast strangely with the former communications which have passed between Pestalozzi and the administration, which have always been cordial and agreeable, and it can only attribute the unsuitable tone of his letter to a Secretary whom he has been pleased to employ. It is astonished that he should want more rooms when there are fewer pupils. It remarks that the nature of the Institute has been changed: on one side a school for the poor has been added to it; and on the other, it is wished to conform the

internal arrangements to the tastes and luxurious habits of the English who are numerous at the Institute, and are not content with its old simplicity under which the establishment prospered so much. It adds that it names a commission to confer and come to an understanding with Pestalozzi upon the required repairs.

February 13th. Another letter from Pestalozzi asks that the free use of the castle, after his death, in favour of persons whom he will name, may be granted not only for five years, but for twenty.

February 24th. The municipality proposes an amendment according to which the cost of repairs will be borne partly by Pestalozzi and partly by the town; on these conditions it consents to grant the free use of the castle for fifteen years, counting from 1821.

In the letter of March 3rd, Pestalozzi refuses to contribute anything to the repairs. The result of this is that the municipality withdraws its offer; it expects that Pestalozzi will summon it before the tribunal as he threatened.

Soon after, the municipal delegates appeared with Schmid before the justice of the peace; they could not come to an understanding, so a lawsuit began. On August 17th, the municipality made another arrangement; it allowed Pestalozzi 2,000 livres more for the repairs, on condition that he would not ask it for five years. This term passed, the repairs would be shared equally between Pestalozzi and the town, provided that the half did not exceed fifteen louis a year.

This new proposal was also rejected and the case went on; then in November 15th, 1821, Pestalozzi ceased to sue. In consideration for him, the municipality consented to defray the expenses which he had occasioned, which amounted to 330 livres.

Whilst Schmid was thus compromising the name of Pestalozzi by ridiculous quibbles, the old man ever at a loss in matters of administration, never stopped working in his study; he was endeavouring to complete the application of his principles to elementary instruction and the elevation of the people.

On January 12th, 1822, his seventy-sixth birthday, he

made a present to a child of a copy of his "Leonard and Gertrude," accompanied by a letter which we copy :

"My dear Child,

If I were not near the grave I could hope to see the development of your youth ; I would not give you the remembrance of my work and views in this inert form, but I would delight in using all my powers to awaken and develop yours.

But my time is past. This is why I can only give you a dead form, *Leonard and Gertrude*, as a souvenir of the experience of my life. May it so impress you as to lead you to combine in the like wisdom, strength, and holiness, what is divine and human in life.

Child, the world is full of evil ; fear its wiles, fear its enchantments, fear its gold ! But above all, fear your own weakness. Learn to know yourself. Seek to note what God has given you that is great, good, holy, or elevated, for therein will come the first help from the Lord against the flesh and the blood, and the world. Pray to God that none of your gifts may be given you in vain. Do not bury your talents like the useless servant of the Gospel. Try as far as God has given you to become perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect. These bodily gifts which you have sanctify by faith and love in order that they may become holy and divine powers employed in imitating your Saviour, and sacrificing yourself to the service of God and man. Dear Child ! whilst developing in you what is of God, do not neglect what belongs to man. Let holiness mingle with all the duties of your earthly life. May it guide and sustain you in all positions and under all circumstances.

PESTALOZZI.

Yverdon, my birthday, 12th January, 1822."

This letter proves that, at seventy-six years of age Pestalozzi had not lost his activity of heart and mind, although the weak old man allowed himself to be blindly led into foolish suits and impossible undertakings. But it is interesting for another reason. At this time the canton of Vaud was stirred by apostles of what was called the religious revival. Many of these men shewed, in addition to strong convictions upon doctrines of the Bible that were too much neglected, a sectarian and narrow spirit which led them to consider believers out of the conditions of ordinary life, to the great detriment of their family relations and society. Pestalozzi evidently fears this tendency and warns the child in whom he takes such a tender interest.

Indeed, the essential point of his exhortation is to unite what is divine with what is human in the life of man.

We have now the painful duty of referring to the deplorable quarrels of Pestalozzi and Schmid with their old collaborateurs. It was in the first instance to exonerate himself from having forsaken the Institute that Niederer accused Schmid, and the latter, to excuse himself accused Niederer. This newspaper and pamphlet warfare became more and more bitter. Pestalozzi, really, had nothing to do with it, but as he would not have his friend Schmid unprotected he took the whole responsibility of his actions. Niederer tried to control himself and respect his old master ; but he wished to strike Schmid and the blows fell on the old man.

In order to gratify his spite, Schmid knew of two ways of attacking his adversaries in the name of the interests of Pestalozzi and his Institute.

The first was the gift made by Pestalozzi to M. and Mme. Niederer of the Institute for girls which he had founded. Schmid pretended that for this object a pecuniary indemnity to Pestalozzi was due, and Niederer did not admit the existence of this debt. After several years of dispute Schmid and Pestalozzi gave up this claim.

The other way was in getting from the government of the canton of Vaud a prohibition against the collaborateurs who had left the Pestalozzi Institute, having separate educational establishments. With this end in view Pestalozzi addressed a memorial to the Vaudois government ; on October 23rd, 1818, he sent a copy of it to the municipality of Yverdon, telling them to make it known. The latter refused, and answered that in the canton of Vaud free trade is guaranteed, and that consequently, the Council of State itself had not the right to accede to Pestalozzi's demand. The 30th of the same month, M. Niederer, Krusi and Naef asked for information from the municipality of Pestalozzi's memorial ; this request was also denied. We do not know what the answer of the government was, but it could only be negative.

Niederer continued to direct the Girls' School ; Naef

that of the Deaf Mutes; and Krusi and Knusert founded a Boys' School at the head of which Knusert alone remained, his partner being invited to direct the cantonal school of Trogen in his native district, Appenzell.

Whilst this was going on, Niederer had attacked Schmid for calumny before the judge; this case lasted a long time, and in the end, Schmid was acquitted.

But this state of things which had deprived the Institute of the strength it required, and which ended by bringing about its ruin, made the old man very unhappy: he was willing to do anything to restore peace except the one thing necessary, which was to send away Schmid.

From the death of his wife he had been deprived of that sympathy, counsel, and hearty support which had for forty five years supported his courage, in spite of the hardest experiences; he still had devotion and faith in his work, also his own lively imagination, and persevering activity; but with intervals of weakness and desolation.

In one of these sad moments, in February, 1823, he wrote to M. and Mme. Niederer begging them to put an end to the suit against Schmid, of which the old man says he is himself the cause, because he wished to answer for his friend. This is the letter, which has been printed in the book of Pestalozzi, entitled "My Destinies," page 254.

"I beg you, in the name of God and his holy merey, to deliver me from the martyrdom that I have endured for six years, in this guilty war which has been going on in such an obstinate and unchristian way between our two educational houses which call themselves Christian. Think, my dear Niederer of what we have hoped together, and what we have been to each other. Be again, as far as you can, my old friend Niederer. I would like so much to become what I was to you. Oh Niederer, how I wish that we might meet again on the old footing without fear of becoming the cause of wonder and scandal to the whole community amongst which we live. . . . Dear M. Niederer, dear Madame Niederer, I am near the grave, let me go to it in peace; I have yet something to do on earth. Help me that I may henceforth work free from torture to which our unworthy lawsuit subjects me. Give me the assistance I implore, and which is necessary for my aim; I promise you love and gratitude to my last breath."

People have wondered how Niederer could resist this

appeal. Had he really lost all the friendship, admiration, and respect he had entertained so long for Pestalozzi? No, but he dared not trust himself to the weak old man, so long as he saw him under Schmid's power.

Meanwhile the Vaudois government understood the state of matters; it had been informed either by the demand of Pestalozzi and Schmid, or from the municipality of Yverdon of the lawsuit that had been intended. It deplored the quarrels which were ruining such a useful and celebrated establishment, and wished to put an end to them. It commissioned its representative, Lieutenant de Thon, to interpose between the parties and endeavour to bring about a reconciliation. After much trouble, this magistrate succeeded in getting the parties to sign a kind of treaty of peace, which was written in French by Niederer, and which we give word for word.

It should be observed that in the preamble of this document, Pestalozzi is mentioned apart from the others as if he had no part in the matter :

“The undersigned, Dr. Henry Pestalozzi, founder and chief of his educational Institute at Yverdon; also on one side M. Hermann Krusi, director of the Cantonal School of Appenzell at Trogen; M. Conrad Naef, head of the Institute for Deaf and Dumb, and Dr. Niederer, minister of the Gospel and Head of the Institute for young ladies; and on the other M. Joseph Schmid, being resolved to end their differences amicably, and in a manner consistent with the personal character, dignity and position of those concerned, have agreed to the following points.

1. “They declare contrary to truth, upon a better knowledge, and closer conviction, all the interpretations and imputations which have been made on account of the misunderstandings since the return of M. Joseph Schmid to the Institute in 1815. . . . They disavow formally the accusations and defences, based upon a relation of compatibility not terminated, as being without foundation and proceeding from an error which has become impassioned in as much as they offend the honour and uprightiness of the persons concerned.

2. “The cases pending before justice will be withdrawn by both parties. . . . Each will pay his costs.

3. “The conditions of agreement will be referred to four arbitrators who will then decide. Each party will name two of the umpires. Their choice will be free and without restriction. The decision can be published if they desire it, etc.

(There are six clauses but the first three are the most important. Trans.)

“Yverdon December 31st 1823.

Pestalozzi,
Joh. Schmid,

J. C. Naef,
Jean Niederer,
in my own name and that of
M. Hermann Krusi.”

This document was published 1824 in the ninth volume of Pestalozzi's works, Cotta's edition. It is accompanied by a declaration of March 17th, 1824, which begins thus :

“I am very sorry to have to insert in my works this remembrance of extremely unhappy days. But I cannot do otherwise, for the nature of these hostilities from their first causes to their last results which have lasted ten years has ruined my hopes, by gradually destroying in and around me the means that were necessary to attain the aim of my life. I hope the public will sympathise with the grief that I feel in saying that these circumstances have made it impossible for me to carry out the foundation that I planned and from which I hoped so much good, and they have rendered me utterly unable to fulfil the engagements that I had contracted with so much earnestness.”

Pestalozzi then explains how these troubles have brought troubles to his house and caused it to lose the confidence of the public, thus injuring his Institute on which he counted, a fundamental and indispensable part of his projected work. He adds that he has spent his last penny, that he has even affected the fortune of his grandson, that nothing remains as a resource for him but his pen, that he will employ what it brings him in continuing the undertaking of his life, that he has already some MSS. nearly finished, and that he will work with redoubled zeal.

Pestalozzi's friends blushed while reading this declaration. They accused Schmid of having raised false hopes whilst he sought to make the subscription for his works succeed ; of having squandered the proceeds in lawsuits and fruitless efforts to give the appearance of success to an Institute which could no longer exist ; and lastly of having opened his eyes when it was too late for it to continue.

The fact is, Pestalozzi never had the disposal of his

50,000 francs, Schmid, clever as he was, was a very bad manager, and the noble friend of humanity died as poor as he had lived.

Pestalozzi suddenly saw the irremediable ruin of his hopes for some weeks before the date of his declaration to the public, and he was still occupied with the repairs at the castle for which the municipality had granted him 1,000 livres by the decision of January 30th, 1824.

Meanwhile, the pupils who could pay for their board had left the Institute; some poor children only remained there. Gottlieb Pestalozzi and his wife had gone to settle upon the estate at Neuhof; money was wanting for the household at Yverdon, and Pestalozzi had arrears of rent to pay for the Bertrand field, which he had leased in 1817.

The rest of this year 1824 was passed in struggling against money difficulties, and the old man must have been reduced to great straits, whatever ascendancy Schmid exercised over him, to have stooped to make such a declaration, which we could scarcely credit were it not in the archives of Yverdon.

As the municipality pressed Pestalozzi to pay the rent due for the field, the old man in a letter of November 5th, 1824, asked that this debt might be deducted in consideration of what was due to him for having been at Bâle in 1814, when a military hospital was about to be established at Yverdon.

100. It was Schmid who managed business matters and Pestalozzi took such a small part in them that he was always pursuing his work in his study. Whilst elaborating his elementary lessons on Language, he finished and published at this time a pamphlet of eighty pages entitled: "*Views upon Industry, Education, and Politics in their connection with the condition of our Country before and after the Revolution,*" with the epigraph; *Nosce te ipsum.* (*Know thyself.*)

In this curious memorial, which should be better known, the author foresees a great development of industry and personal property which must lead to an excessive increase of the artisan class, of those who working from day to day by industrial labour, are more than others exposed

to discontent. This state of things seems to have two dangers: the multiplication of the number of the poor and the antagonism between the classes of society. In his eyes the only remedy is in a good popular education. The memorial terminates by two appendices; one the "*Portrait of an Institute for the Poor*, the other treats of *The Religious Education of Poor Children*."

Whilst Pestalozzi, led by his heart and imagination, was indulging thus in philanthropic dreams, his ruin was accomplished.

The harshness of Schmid and his domineering spirit had estranged many people; they reproached him with all that for years had seemed unworthy in the noble character of this old man; and the ruin of the Institute was attributed to him.

There was a strong desire to get rid of him; they were persuaded that it would be a great advantage to the town of Yverdon, to the Institute, and to Pestalozzi himself. Schmid had never gone through the formalities that are required of foreigners resident in the canton; and unfavourable reports concerning his character (which we think were unfounded), were circulated. People took advantage of these circumstances with the council of the canton of Vaud. The names of the complainants are unknown but their sentiments were shared by the great majority of the inhabitants of Yverdon. These complaints had their effect; in the secret register of the Council of State, in the sitting of October 6th, 1824, we read:

"The department of Justice and Police declares that having been informed that M. Victor-Joseph Schmid, a foreigner has committed acts against law in M. Pestalozzi's Institute at Yverdon, it has charged the Justice of Peace to question a gentleman named M. Theodore Frank, a teacher at the said place, who can give information upon the subject.

"It seems from the deposition of M. Frank as well as from other information furnished by the Justice of the Peace that Mr. Schmid is gravely compromised in the matter under consideration. He comes from the Tyrol."

The Council of State, adopting advice given before by the department with some qualifications, decides to send

M. Schmid from the canton, and to write the following letters :

“To the Justice of the Peace,

Sir, the Council of State charges you to tell M. Victor Joseph Schmid, a foreigner, who has no permission to live or stay here, and who is in the Institute of M. Pestalozzi, at Yverdon, to leave the Canton, authorising you to allow this foreigner six weeks to arrange his affairs if necessary.

“The Council of State takes the opportunity to express its surprise that M. Schmid has been tolerated so long at Yverdon, without the right of citizenship. It asks you to be careful that all foreigners who come to any of the Institutions at Yverdon be legitimately domiciled, according to law.

“2. To the same Justice of the Peace.

“Confidential.

“Sir, we anticipate that in the position which M. Pestalozzi holds to Schmid, the banishment of the latter will give pain to the good old man, whose misfortunes should inspire us with the keenest interest. The Council of State desires to soften the blow to him as far as it can. For this reason, it asks you before telling M. Schmid of his banishment, to see Pestalozzi to let him understand in a general way what is going to be done, without entering into details as to the facts laid to this foreigner's charge; that pressing reasons, which affect equally the Institute and good order, have obliged the Council of State to take this step; that it does not in any way affect the confidence and esteem that the government has for him, and that the government will not cease to take interest in what concerns him.

“You will see, Mr. Justice of the Peace, that the aim of this confidential letter is, on one side to avoid any outburst that might lead to the noising abroad of disagreeable facts, and on the other, to do all that you can to spare the feelings of an old man whose useful work, devotion to his fellow-creatures, and present circumstances, deserve the greatest consideration.”

Thus the justice of the peace was charged with letting Pestalozzi understand a decision the reason of which was not given.

Schmid easily persuaded him that it was his Institute and himself that they wished to strike. Pestalozzi protested warmly to the Council of State that to send away a man he could not do without was sending away himself. But he only obtained a delay of some months. In letters dated Feb. 19th and 21st, 1825, he announced to the municipality that he was going away from Yverdon with

the intention of returning, and that he would keep the use of the castle.

The administration did not think itself bound to prolong the use of the castle when the Institute no longer existed. Notwithstanding, it was only after two years of correspondence and after having commenced judicial proceedings that it took back the use of its building, in which Pestalozzi had left a servant and his natural history collection. The rest of the furniture had been sold.

So it is with some show of reason that Schmid attributed the closing of the Institute to the Vaudois Council of State.

101. In the beginning of March, 1825, Pestalozzi went with Schmid to seek a home with his grandson Gottlieb, at Neuhof, which had been the scene of his first labours for the elevating of the people.

Some biographers say that Pestalozzi wished to take with him the pupils who remained at the castle of Yverdon, and that none of them would follow him. On its side the municipality, in a memorial addressed to the Council of State, affirms that some time before the closing of the Institute not a single pupil remained. Despite this, we shall see that Pestalozzi certainly took four pupils with him to Neuhof.

The Institute of Yverdon had lasted years, it had enjoyed unheard of prosperity, and it did not cease to exist until it had sunk to the lowest depths of decay.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LAST YEARS OF PESTALOZZI.

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| 102. Retirement to Neuhof. | 104. Last act of tenderness to the |
| 103. He writes his last works and builds a School for the Poor. | Poor. 105. Biber's Pamphlet. Its effects. |
| 106. Death of Pestalozzi. | Funeral. His Grave. |

102. PESTALOZZI was now nearly eighty years of age; he had lost his last hopes with his lost illusions; he experienced the fearful trial which he had so much dreaded—he survived his work. He saw the dream of his life vanish: the ideal that he pursued from his childhood, which was his sole passion, the object of his faith, almost of his religion, and to which he had sacrificed everything.

Now he was left with the master to whom he had yielded and who led him like a child. There can be no doubt that the tyranny of Schmid was hard for him to bear; he had subjected himself to it, voluntarily it is true, but as to a fatal necessity which was imposed upon him by gratitude and the interest of his work. As early as the discourse of January 12th, 1818, he had admitted that he well knew Schmid's faults, and that he often suffered for them. One would think that so much misfortune, deception, and subjection would have extinguished the spirit, activity and originality of the old man. But it did nothing of the kind.

103. He had hardly arrived at Neuhof before he began to work with inconceivable activity. He first wrote his "Song of the Swan," one of his most remarkable works and which may be regarded as his pedagogic will; then his "Destinies," in which he relates the vicissitudes of his life, accusing himself as the cause of his own misfortunes

and trying to justify Schmid, sometimes at the expense of Niederer.

We shall soon give an account of these two publications. At the same time he was preparing others: a fifth part of Leonard and Gertrude; a new manual to guide mothers in the instruction of their children to the age of seven years, for he was not satisfied with the "Mothers' Book" which had been published; and lastly, a series of exercises intended to teach Latin to children in the manner in which they learned their mother-tongue.

All this writing did not make him forget his plan of a school for the poor; he wished, at last, to realise this undertaking of his youth in the same place where he had tried it half a century before.

With this aim, as soon as he arrived, he had a building commenced which was intended for this purpose.

Whilst the building was going on, too slowly for the taste of the old man, he liked to pass hours in the village school of Birr, giving lessons to the little children; and he also took great pleasure in visiting the peasantry, his old acquaintances, questioning them about their families and circumstances, and giving them exhortations and advice.

Pestalozzi, who with Schmid now lived quietly at Neuhof with his grandson, Gottlieb, who resided there with his wife and two children, had still four pupils who had followed him from Yverdon, two of whom had come from Cadiz.

He tried to propagate his method in France, England, Spain and Portugal; and for this cause Schmid went to Paris and London; and the old man planned the publication of a newspaper in the French language.

All these details are furnished by Henning, an old Prussian pupil of the Institute of Yverdon, who became Director of a Normal School, and who visited Pestalozzi at Neuhof in the month of August, 1825. This is the account he gives of his impressions:

"Thirteen years had elapsed since I had last seen him; I found him aged no doubt, but altogether little changed, active and strong as ever, simple and open; his look just the same, kindly and sad; his ardour for

the good of mankind, particularly for the education of little children and the poor, was as lively as it had been thirteen years before. . . . In spite of the heat, Pestalozzi accompanied me to Lenzbourg, and bravely climbed with me the few hundred steps that lead to the castle, which is the building used for the educational Institute of Lippe.* From the vivacity of his speech and the vigour of all his movements I hoped his earthly life would long be spared. It touched me much at Lenzbourg when I had to take leave of good Father Pestalozzi. I shall never forget the hours that I have had the pleasure of passing with him."

One can see from the preceding that Pestalozzi, although subject to Schmid's will in economical matters pertaining to external and material life, freely pursued his philanthropic work.

On May 3rd, 1825 Pestalozzi was present at the meeting of the Helvetic Society at Schinznach. He was welcomed with the greatest consideration and named president for the following year. At the banquet after the meeting he gave a toast; "To the Society that does not bruise the broken reed or quench the smoking flax."

On April 26, 1826, the Helvetic Society met at the Bear Hotel in Langenthal. Pestalozzi had prepared a discourse which was read by the minister M. Schuler, of Aerlisbach, and printed in Cotta's edition of his works. An account will be given of this remarkable writing which treats of social questions that are agitating our own day.

During the summer of the same year, Pestalozzi and Schmid went to visit the Orphanage founded by M. Zeller, at Beuggen, on the right bank of the Rhine, near Rheinfelden. Zeller conducted this Institute with much zeal and talent; he followed in general Pestalozzi's method of teaching, but he objected to one point, namely, the regarding of education as a work of development as if in the child everything was good; for he himself was one of those Christians who believe that the natural dispositions of childhood are bad. In his religious ardour Zeller loved dogmatism as much as Pestalozzi disliked it.

In spite of this difference of opinion, Pestalozzi was received at Beuggen with all possible marks of respect and esteem. The children sang a poem of Goethe's,

* Lippe had been a teacher at Hofwyl and Fellenberg's right hand.

already quoted in Leonard and Gertrude, and which had reference to the guest whom they wished to honor; then they offered him an oak wreath which he refused, saying with tears in his eyes: "I am not worthy of this crown, leave it with innocence."

On November 21st of the same year, 1826, the Society of the Friends of Education met at Brugg. Pestalozzi who was present at the meeting, had a paper read by his neighbour, the pastor, M. Steiger, of Birr, which he had prepared, upon "The simplest means by which children can be brought up at home, from the cradle to the age of six years." Then he, himself, spoke, adding new ideas to the subject, and with so much warmth, zeal, and love for childhood, as if he had recovered the strength of his youth.

104. It was pity for the poor which had inspired Pestalozzi's first efforts in youth, and this feeling continued to animate him until his last breath.

On the approach of winter he saw with concern the price of fuel rise, which prevented his neighbours laying in a sufficient supply for the bad weather; he feared that this would bring suffering to many a home, and he cast about to find an economical remedy. He thought that these poor people would pass the winter in much more favorable sanitary condition if the bare soil of their rooms was first covered with a bed of gravel to cover the damp; then one, two, or three layers of straw. This seemed to him to be within the reach of every peasant; but he did not content himself with advising them, he wished to show them an example by trying the plan himself. With this intention he chose in the unfinished house an unplanked room on the ground floor, and he began by throwing through the open window some little stones with which he had filled his pockets; then his grandson sent some loads of gravel which were thrown down before the window. The old man wanted no help, and in the month of December he was to be seen on his knees in the snow, taking up the sand with his trembling hands and throwing it through the window. At last the severity of the weather and his failing strength interrupted the work, which he never resumed. For a long time after his death this heap of

gravel was to be seen in front of the window as a monument of his love for the suffering. These last facts are related by M. Lippe, who often came at this time from the castle of Leuzbourg where he lived to visit Pestalozzi.

105. Meanwhile the unfortunate old man had to endure yet another grief, more cruel than all the others, and this brought him to the grave.

In writing his "*Destines*" under the inspiration of Schmid whom he wished to justify, Pestalozzi had allowed himself to give way to exaggerations; he had been unjust to his old collaborateurs who had left him. Niederer, especially, had been deeply wounded by it, and had uttered his complaints at Yverdon with all the violence of his character.

His complaints had been readily welcomed by a man named Biber, a Wurtemburger, who was employed at the school founded by Krusi. This Biber had arrived at Yverdon after the departure of Pestalozzi; he only stayed there one year, then had been at Saint-Gall where he wrote for the justification of Niederer an odious pamphlet entitled: *A Memoir to help the Biography of Henry Pestalozzi and the understanding of his new work "My Destiny,"* &c. Biber was a man without tact or feeling; his book is only a long insult addressed to the venerable philanthropist, who, after having devoted himself until the age of eighty to the happiness of men, was ending his days in misfortune.

He attacked Pestalozzi in his character and in his educational opinions. In passages some angry expressions of Niederer are to be recognised, sufficient to make it appear that he was the instigator of this infamous writing, in which Pestalozzi was worse spoken of than he had ever been before. In spite of the cloud that had come between Pestalozzi and Niederer, the latter had never ceased to profess his respect and admiration for his old master; meanwhile it was the latter that Biber's pamphlet injured most, the latest biographers attributing the responsibility of it to him.

The grief of Pestalozzi can be imagined when he saw himself attacked in all that was dearest to him, in his work

itself. But when in a Zurich paper in a notice of Biber's work he read the following sentence: "It seems that Pestalozzi acts like certain animals who hide themselves under the stove when they see the stick; if it were not so he would answer these attacks,"—then he was deeply exasperated and cried: "No, I can bear it no longer."

Deeply affected by this terrible blow, he fell ill, and had to keep his bed; he sent for his doctor, Staebli of Brugg, and said to him: "I feel death near, but I must have six weeks yet to refute these shameful calumnies."

The doctor tried to re-assure him, forbidding him, at the same time, to work in his present state. But the old man paid no heed to this advice, he set to work at once, using the little strength that remained until the pen fell from his hands. A page written by him during these hours of fever was found upon his table. This is the translation of it:

"Ah! I suffer indescribably! No man can understand what grief afflicts me. They despise and buffet the weak and infirm old man; they think he is no longer of any use. I do not mourn for myself, but for my idea that they despise and hate; they trample under foot all that I hold most sacred, the work which I have pursued during my long and sad life. To die is nothing. I die willingly, for I am worn out and I want at last to find rest; but to have lived, to have sacrificed everything and attained nothing, to see one's work ruined, and to go down with it to the grave! Oh! it is dreadful, I cannot express it; I would weep, but the tears cannot come.

And my poor, the poor, oppressed, despised and rejected! Poor people, they will abandon you, buffet you as they do me. The rich in their abundance do not think of you; they may give you perhaps a piece of bread, nothing more; for they themselves are poor, they have only gold. As to inviting you to the spiritual banquet and making men of you they never think of that, and they will not think of it for long! But God who is heaven, God who thinks even of his sparrow, God will not forget you, as he will not forget to console me."

Meanwhile, in trying to write always in spite of his weakness and sufferings, the old man had several times taken cold, and this seemed to give a serious turn to the illness of which he died—gravel. His sufferings were very great, he needed frequent surgical aid, and the doctor wished to have the invalid near him at Brugg.

Gottlieb Pestalozzi engaged a little room on the same floor of the house of Mme. Beck, widow, in the centre and principal street of the little town; when everything was ready to receive him, they took the old man well wrapped up in a closed carriage, for the ground was thickly covered with snow. This was on February 15th, 1827.

The next day M. Lippe arrived from Lenzbourg to see his old friend, but the invalid had already lost consciousness. He had around him his grandson's wife, who assisted by two nurses never left him, and nursed him to the end with the most devoted affection.

On the morning of the same day which was the day before he died, a crisis of dreadful suffering made him delirious, and from mid-day he did not speak.

106. The next day, at four o'clock in the morning, the crisis had passed, the invalid recovered his tranquillity of spirit; he arranged his own bed and spoke for nearly an hour to all his own people who were around him.

"My children," said he to them, "you cannot execute my work, but you can do good around you; you can give land to the poor to cultivate. As for me, I am going to read in the book of truth. I pardon my enemies, may they find peace, now that I am going to eternal peace. I would willingly have lived six weeks longer to finish my work; nevertheless I thank God that he is taking me from this earthly life. Do you my children remain peaceably at Neuhof, and seek you happiness in the family circle."

About six o'clock, Dr. Staebli arrived; he saw that the end was approaching. There was no agitation or struggle.

At half past seven, Pestalozzi breathed his last, a smile upon his face. "He seems to smile at the angel who has come for him," said those who witnessed it.

Pestalozzi left a great grandson aged three years who is now Colonel Charles Pestalozzi, Professor at the Polytechnic School at Zurich. He relates that he has often heard his mother speak of the last days of his great grandfather; she could not say enough of the admirable way in which he bore his sickness; patient in the keenest suffering, serene and affectionate as soon as he had a

moment of respite, always good and pleasant, contented and grateful for the slightest care, and joyful at the last.

On the 10th, the mortal remains of the great philosophic friend of the poor were committed to the earth at the village of Birr, near Neuhof. The news of his death had hardly reach Aarau it was not thought that the interment would take place so soon; communication was almost intercepted by the snow. These circumstances prevented many friends and admirers being present at the funeral ceremony; but the inhabitants of the neighbourhood came in great numbers.

The coffin was borne by schoolmasters, followed by Gottlieb with a small number of relatives and friends; the children of the village completed this modest procession which was received by about eighty teachers of the primary schools of the districts, who intoned a chant as the cortège entered the cemetery of Birr. The pastor M. Steiger said in his funeral discourse; "If ever he was great, it was in his last days. Oh! why did not each of us witness his patience and resignation in suffering, the confidence with which he gave himself to God, the joy with which he left this world and all the wishes he had formed there!" This simple and touching ceremony was terminated by a special chant which had been composed by the pastor Frölich.

When Pestalozzi had been asked what monument they should raise to him, he answered: "An unhewn stone of the fields, for I am nothing else." He had wished to be buried near the school at Birr without pomp, and with no procession but that of the poor children and peasants. This last wish was accomplished.

Pestalozzi was buried near the church, and on the side of the school house which adjoins the cemetery, which is very narrow at this place. A rose tree only marked the spot, and this state of things continued for nineteen years.

At last, when the school building at Birr had to be reconstructed, the great council of the canton of Argau wished that the Fatherland should discharge its debt towards its immortal benefactor; and it decided upon the erection of a monument in his honour. The whole side of

the new school which adjoined the cemetery, and which is only a few steps from the primitive grave, was consecrated to this purpose.

The inauguration took place solemnly on January 12th, 1846, the hundredth anniversary of his birth. The Council of Public Instruction was present, as well as the Commissioner of the Schools, numerous delegates from the authorities of various cantons, and a crowd of friends and sightseers. Chants by the different choral societies alternated with the bells whilst they raised the coffin from its first resting place; it was covered with garlands and lowered into the new tomb.

The monument is simple and suitable; in front the earth is covered with slabs of stone and surrounded with an iron railing. In the middle of the façade, in a niche, there is a bust of Pestalozzi; above is the following inscription:

Here Lies

HENRY PESTALOZZI;

Born at Zurich, January 12th, 1746,

Died at Brugg, February 17th, 1827.

Saviour of the poor at Neuhof, at Stans father of the Orphans, at Berthoud and at Muchenbuchsee founder of the public school, at Yverdon the educator of humanity, a man, a Christian. Everything for others. Nothing for himself. Peace to his ashes.

To Our Father Pestalozzi,
Grateful Argäu.

CHAPTER XVII.

PESTALOZZI'S LATEST WRITINGS.

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|----------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| 107. The Song of the Swan. | | 109. Discourse at Langenthal. |
| 108. My Destinies. | | |

107. WE thought it better not to interrupt the foregoing sad account by giving a description of the books written by Pestalozzi during the two last years of his life; they are "*The Song of the Swan*"; "*My Destinies*"; and the "*Discourse*" which he delivered at Langenthal as President of the Helvetic Society. We shall now give an account of them.

"*The Song of the Swan*" and the "*Destinies*" formed a single work but the author soon saw that it was better to separate them: there were many reasons for this; the first work would have lost much by being joined to the second.

There is an interesting summary of "*The Song of the Swan*" in the biography of Pestalozzi by F. Paroz, under the form of a discourse feigned to be spoken by Pestalozzi; but such a recasting of the work is necessarily too artificial and arbitrary to give the reader the opportunity of forming a full and independent judgment of the original.

We prefer to let the author speak for himself. This we shall do by giving a number of quotations which contain the principal ideas by which the octogenarian vainly addressed his contemporaries in a last great appeal which posterity should take to heart.

The Song of the Swan. By H. Pestalozzi.

PREFACE.

"For half a century I have tried with unwearied activity to simplify the elementary instruction of the people, so that it might conform to the

course which nature takes in developing and perfecting the powers of man. And during all this time, in spite of my weakness, I have worked for this cause most zealously. It is true that my want of skill has often marred the conception and execution of my undertakings, and brought many troubles upon me.

"But until the present time, I have borne them with constant patience, and without interfering with my earnest efforts to attain the aim of my life.

"During such a life it would be impossible not to gain important experience in the object of my quest and some results which are not without value to the friends of humanity and education.

"I am now eighty years old. At this age a man should consider every day as his last. It is because I have felt this more than ever for some time, that I do not wish to delay longer giving as clear an account to the public as I can, not only of what I have succeeded in, but also of the failures in my experiences. This is why the work gets its title.

"Friends of humanity! Take it for what it is, and do not expect from a literary point of view what I cannot give. My life has produced nothing finished or complete, nor can my writings offer anything finished or complete. Such as it is, give it an attentive examination; and whatever you find in it that is good for men, receive kindly for the sake of the object itself; independently of the value of my personal efforts I desire nothing better than to be put aside and replaced by others who can serve humanity better than I have done.

"I do not know if it is necessary to add that a man of my age often repeats himself, and that, feeling himself near death, he never tires of repeating and expatiating to the last upon the things that are nearest his heart.

"But nobody is displeased with this; people generally are touched by it. At my age and in my position, I hope to be pardoned, if in these papers I often repeat myself, and if I have forgotten many things that should be mentioned.

"As for those who would like to know more about my pedagogic attempts during the time that my educational Institutes lasted, I would beg them to read the history of these undertakings which appears at the same time as the present volume."

I. (Passages taken from page 1-9).

"Examine everything, and hold fast that which is good! and if anything better has ripened in you, add it in all truth and with love to what I try to give you here in all truth and love!

"The idea of Elementary Education to which I have consecrated my life consists in restoring the course of nature in the development and perfecting of the dispositions and powers of human kind.

"But what is human nature to us? It is essentially that which distinguishes man from the animal; that which should predominate and rule over all that man has in common with the animals. Elementary education should then devote itself to the developing of the human heart in such a way as to render the flesh subject to the spirit.

"To work in this development one feels that there is a way to follow,

that this way should be that of nature, and that is governed by immutable laws.

“The diversities which strike us among men, great as they are, do not really contradict the unity of human nature, or the universality of the laws which govern its development.

“These laws apply to the whole of the disposition of man, to his heart, his mind, and skill; they maintain an indispensable harmony there. A means of education which does not set in action all these elements excites and favours only a partial development; it is not conformable to nature; it only produces seeming and misleading results; it is like the sounding brass and the tinkling cymbal; it compromises the harmony of natural development, and exercises only a baneful influence.

“The idea of Elementary Education requires the equilibrium of the powers, and the balancing of the powers requires the natural development of each of them. Each power develops according to the particular laws of its nature, which are not the same for the heart, mind and body.

“Nevertheless, all the human powers develop by the simple means of use or exercise. Man develops the foundation of his moral life, that is to say, love and faith, by the practice of love and faith; the foundation of his intellectual life, that is thought, by the practice of thought; the foundation of his industrial life, that is to say the power of his senses and his muscles, by the practice of this power.

“Man is led, by the nature itself of the powers which are in him to employ them to exercise them, to give them all the development, all the perfecting of which they are capable. These powers at first exist only in the germ, and the desire to exercise them increases with each successful effort. But this desire to exercise the powers is weakened if not extinguished by each failure, especially if man suffers by this check.

“The idea of Elementary Education consists in regulating the exercise of the powers in such a manner that each effort should succeed and not fail, either in the moral powers or in the intellectual and physical powers.

“The natural means of this education of infancy lie in love, faith, the care of parents, enlightened by the conquests of the human kind in all the spheres of his activity.

“This course of nature is holy and divine in its principle; but, left to itself, it is troubled and erring, from the predominance of the animal instincts in man. Our duty, the wish of our heart, the aim of our piety and wisdom should be to keep it truly human, that is to say, to vivify it by the divine element which is in us.

“Let us now see what are the natural and fundamental means of human development, under the three-fold aspect of moral, intellectual, and industrial life.

II. Moral Life (pages 9-15).

“The first cares of the mother for her child relate to its physical needs, which she satisfies with constant solicitude; she rejoices in its well-being; she smiles lovingly, and the child responds by a smile of gratitude, confidence and love; these are the first manifestations of moral and religious development.

“But the satisfying of the child's wants should produce calm, and this tranquillity of soul is an essential condition of moral development. When it is replaced by unrest and agitation, then gratitude, confidence and love disappear, and evil passions take their place,—selfish, proud, or sensual passions.

“This absence of calm of mind in the child is often caused by its needs not being promptly satisfied; then waiting becomes a suffering which irritates him; so that when the too-long-expected satisfaction comes, it only finds in him a violent instinct to satiate the needs of his animal nature, and not the milder and more peaceful enjoyment which awakens his gratitude, confidence and love.

“This want of tranquillity of mind in the child also results often from quite an opposite cause, namely: from the excessive indulgence with which he is treated, his needs being anticipated, and his pride and sensuality excited. Then, instead of limiting himself to satisfying his true needs, he becomes greedy, and this gives him unrest. As his greed cannot always be satisfied, he is necessarily exposed to deceptions, to refusals which embitter him and which arrest all development of good feelings in his heart.

“A good mother seeks to avoid both these ways of troubling the repose of her child's soul: she does this by her tenderness and the tact which her maternal instinct naturally gives her; she is powerfully aided by the ordinary circumstances of life in a safe middle course.

“Unhappily it happens too often still, that the tenderness of a mother is paralysed by vice, that her tact is spoilt by error and prejudices, and the circumstances of life are either so hard as to hinder her from satisfying every want of the child as soon as it appears, or so easy as give her the temptation to forestall them, to go beyond them, and so arouse artificial wants in him.

“When internal care succeeds in maintaining calm of mind in the child, this benefit extends to all the relations of the family; the father, brothers and sisters share in it.

“The domestic hearth is then a home of moral and religious life; nothing can change the confidence of the child in its parents; it loves what they love, it believes what they believe: it worships their God, and their Saviour.

“But when this calm is wanting in the cradle, then all the family life is troubled; the home is no longer the sanctuary of peace and happiness, and its happy influence for the development of moral and religious sentiments disappears.”

III. *Intellectual Life, (page 15-23.)*

The starting point of thought is *intuition*, that is to say, the immediate impression which the world makes upon our *internal and external senses*. Thus, the *power to think* forms and develops at first from the impressions of the moral world upon our moral sense, and by those of the physical world upon our bodily sense.

"These impressions received by the understanding of the child give it its first ideas, and at the same time, the desire to express them, at first by pantomimic gestures, then by speech.

"In order to speak, it is necessary first to have ideas, then organs trained and exercised. One can only speak clearly and exactly about what one has experienced, seen, heard, felt, tasted or touched.

"In teaching the child to speak one must then first make him prove, see, hear, &c., many things, and especially things that please him, so that he may readily give his attention; he must observe them in an orderly way, and each of them until he knows it well; at the same time, he must constantly be encouraged to express his impressions by language. This is what a good mother does for her child when it begins to speak.

"Later on, a foreign or a dead language can be learned in another way; first, because the organs of speech are already exercised, then because the intuitive ideas are already acquired, lastly because the child's mother tongue gives it a point of comparison.

"In order that the child may learn to compare and judge what it knows, its powers of thought should be exercised upon two special elements of human knowledge which are *number* and *form*. The fundamental elements which serve to develop the power of thought are then *language*, *number* and *form*; the art of education should present them to the child in the greatest simplicity by following a psychological and progressive order."

Pestalozzi quotes the following phrase which he had written in 1824, and which shows that the old man cherished his illusions to the last:

"What was done at Berthoud, then more completely at Yverdon, for the elementary study of number and form sufficed to make the latter establishment last in spite of all the causes of its ruin; and now that its end seems near, thanks to this spark, I have yet hope for it.

IV. *Industrial Life.* (Page 23-26.)

"The art, practice, and skill by which man can realise without, what he has conceived within for his individual family, and social life, this is what we call industrial life. What are its fundamental elements? How are they developed?

"Industrial life has two elements; one, external, is the strength of thought: the other, internal, is practical skill of the senses and limbs. To be completely beneficent it requires the harmonious agreement of the development of heart, mind, and body. We have already spoken of the two first, we must now examine the fundamental elements of bodily development.

"As elementary exercises relative to number and form are necessary to constitute intellectual gymnastics, so elementary exercises in art, work, and practice are needed too as bodily gymnastics which enable man to succeed in his industrial life. Professional apprenticeship is only a speciality of this kind of gymnastics.

"As our moral and intellectual powers are naturally led to act and thus give man a liking for what exercises them, so our industrial powers seek naturally to be applied, and thus give us a liking for every exercise that develops them.

"The bodily instinct which leads us to exercise our senses and our limbs belongs generally to our animal nature, and our art has hardly need of developing it. But this instinct should be subordinated to the moral and intellectual ones which constitute the excellence of human nature; and this subordination is the essential work of education.

"The exercise of the physical powers in their subordination to the moral and intellectual, produces naturally the discipline of an industrious and well-ordered family life.

"This exercise varies widely according to the individual circumstances of each family; but in the midst of this diversity lies the general law of the development of the human powers. Thus, the child begins always by fixing his attention, he observes; then he imitates, first servilely, then with more freedom; lastly invention arrives, and he produces spontaneously."

V. *My idea of Elementary Education.* (Page 26-137.)

"It consists in developing, according to the natural law the various powers of the child—the moral, intellectual, and physical powers, with the subordination necessary to their true equilibrium.

"This equilibrium alone produces a tranquil, happy, and useful life. Piety, faith, and love lead man to tranquillity, and are its condition. Without these virtues the greatest development of the mind, of art, and of industry lead to no repose, and leave man full of trouble, agitation and discontent.

"As an individual, the man who lacks this tranquillity generally feels his misery and his weakness. But as the member of the mass, of the party or of the sect, he does not feel his state, he deludes himself, and drives it from him. He believes himself strong with the strength of all, clever with the cleverness of all. Faith with the majority in the party, in the sect stands with him for individual faith; his partiality stands in the place of virtue; and collective opinion holds the place of truth.

"Predilection, partiality, whether religious or political belongs rather to the flesh than to the spirit; Elementary Education corrects and lessens it, by developing the individual powers in their harmony, and in their truly religious direction.

"Meanwhile, I am considering the idea of Elementary Education in connection with the whole of the means of teaching which it requires. According to its nature, it requires in general the greatest simplification of these means; and this was the starting point of all the pedagogic works of my life. At the commencement of these works I wanted nothing but to seek to make the ordinary means of teaching the people so simple that they could be used in every house. For this end, I tried to organise

for each branch of knowledge or talent a series of exercises whose starting point was within the understanding of all, whose connection, without leaps or blanks, set in action the powers of the child without exhausting them; constituting a continued, easy, and attractive progress, in which knowledge and its application remained always intimately united.

“There are general laws of development of the human powers and their application in all directions of their activity; but there is also a great diversity in the means of their development, according to the objects to which they apply, and according to the position, faculties, and character of the individuals.

“The duty of Elementary Education is to reconcile these diversities with the natural and general law, and to realise the true development of the powers, whatever may be the particular means of their application.”

This is done by giving the child at each step something complete and finished, before allowing it to go on further. Thus the child contracts the habit and the need of doing well what he does, of striving towards perfection, not only in instruction, but in the work of his whole life.

“Before showing the results from this point of view, I wish to examine the question: Is the idea of Elementary Education a dream? Is it the basis of a practicable work? And on all sides I hear people say: *“Where is it truly realised?”*

“I answer: “Everywhere and nowhere. Everywhere in a partial manner, nowhere completely.”

“It exists nowhere as a method organised and applied to all. There is not a school, or an institution whose entire organisation is elementary.

“The knowledge and talent of mankind, those even of its highest and best representatives, are and will ever be fragmentary. There are not, there will never be circumstances which will allow the complete realisation of this great idea. (Elementary Education). Human nature opposes an insurmountable obstacle to it: the weakness of our heart and mind, whose divine element is subject to the impulses of the perishable flesh which does not allow us to obtain any absolute perfection; and what is true of the work of each individual man is still more true of a collective work for the education of mankind. No institution, whatever may be its resources, can ever realise, spread, and make acceptable to a country, a general, complete elementary method of education. From this point of view the idea is unattainable, it is only a dream.”

“And, notwithstanding, it has been partially realised, not only in institutions and schools, but also in families; it has already produced much good and much progress.

At all times and in every country it has been the

condition and the means of the harmonious development of the powers of man and of the supremacy of the mind over the body. It is the means and the condition of true civilisation, of the perfecting of humanity—a perfecting which is our essential and necessary duty, which we shall never give up, and which we are not permitted to declare impossible. From this point of view the idea of Elementary Education is not unattainable, it is no longer a dream, and we should pursue it without swerving as we should pursue good and perfection.

“My idea of Elementary Education was suggested to me by the sight of the evils which I saw result around me from the routine that governed education. Everywhere a course contrary to nature; everywhere the predominance of the flesh over the spirit and the divine element relegated to the shade; everywhere selfishness and the passions taken as motives; everywhere mechanical habits instead of intelligent spontaneity.

“I had no power in me but that of a heart full of compassion and love for my fellows; I was very weak in spirit, talents, and skill. I had against me the institutions, as well as the habits, idleness, interests, and passions of the clever. I was in the position of a child who tries to struggle with grown men.

“The idea which I considered my strength was only a dream. Nevertheless, it is not altogether a dream; it is only in proportion to the blindness and hardness of men dominated by routine, selfishness and indifference to the progress and spiritual interests of humanity.

“This idea has ceased to be a dream in certain of its applications, and to certain minds; the more civilisation advances, the less will it be a dream; it will become more and more a general reality, although it will never reach absolute perfection.

“*It is life that educates.* This is the principle which has guided me in all my attempts in elementary education. Let us see what are the results of this experience from the moral, intellectual and industrial aspect.

“(a). In its moral connection Elementary Education belongs to family life as it finds in it all its means in maternal, paternal, and fraternal love, natural and instinctive feelings which God has given to humanity and which are for ever the starting points of love and faith;

that is to say of all morality and religion. In our Institute, it is true, we did not take children from the cradle. But the simplicity of our means was such that, from a moral point of view, they could have been employed with children of a much more tender age than that of the pupils we received. The child loves and grows before it thinks and acts; the influence of domestic life wins it, and raises it to the internal feeling of its moral strength. Our experience lets us say with truth, and many noble hearts have rejoiced with us in the fact, that our means of Elementary Education which put each child in a position to transmit his little knowledge and talent to others, have shown in a thousand ways amongst us their power for moral development; they made confidence and brotherly love reign in our house in a manner which would have been almost impossible with the artificial and unnatural course of ordinary education.

“(b). From the intellectual stand point, *it is life that educates*; for life develops successively the powers of intuition, speech and thought.

“The power of intuition, by observation and experience, provides ideas and feelings.

“The power of speech develops by exercise; it renders the child capable of making himself understood, and of understanding others. *Knowing how to speak* does not proceed from the knowledge of the language; on the contrary, the knowledge of the language proceeds from *knowing how to speak*.

“Speech proceeds from life, and it is for life, this is how its development varies according to the social conditions of families. The means of teaching and exercise should then vary also, so as to suit the resources and needs of earthly life. But there are some needs of ours which require a wider and more elevated speech.

“Man does not live by bread alone,” each child needs religious development; every child needs to pray to God in simple simplicity but with love and faith. This need is a privilege which raises the humblest and develops them, at first morally, then also intellectually, by language and thought.

“When the power of speech does not proceed from life itself, it does not develop the powers of the mind; it only produces a superficial babbling. This is an evil from which all classes of society now suffer, from the poorest to the richest.

“The *power of intuition* and the *power of thinking* are separated by a gulf until they are united by an intermediate power: that of speech.

“As the child can only speak about what it has itself experienced, so it should not and it cannot examine its thought until it has expressed it clearly to itself by language. Grammar is an exercise of the *power of thinking*, a philosophical study of thought itself, as well as of the form of language which expresses it. This form should be first perfectly acquired by the child; then only can it examine it, study it, learn foreign languages, then dead languages.

“A child soon learns to speak a foreign language with an illiterate person who chats with him without pedagogic art, whilst he does not learn it with a clever professor who follows the routine of grammatical teaching.

"It is then from life itself that the development of the *power of thinking* proceeds.

"When the child has received clear and solid ideas from intuition, when he can express them by speech then he feels the need of examining these ideas, of separating and comparing them; this is a pleasure to him and he is attracted to it by his life itself; it serves for the development and progress of his judgment, and of his *thinking power*.

"From all time education has sought to favour, facilitate and strengthen this development, but it has not followed the course of nature and of life.

"Sometimes it has presented to the child a crowd of ready made judgments, which he has seized by memory alone, and which have left his power of thinking inactive, has weakened instead of strengthened it. Sometimes, under the name of logic, it has presented him in a more subtle than clear manner with a system of eternal rules which govern human thought; but these rules are a dead letter to the child who does not yet know how to think.

"Number and form are the intuitive elements that furnish the most suitable exercises for developing the power of comparing and judging and consequently the thinking power. But for the study of number and form to be of educational value, it must not consist of shortened and mechanical processes, but of a course of well-graduated exercises which the child performs with pleasure and success; so that his thinking is ever active, his judgments are of his own forming, and this work is always in close connection with the real life of the child.

"(c). From the industrial or artistic side, it is equally true that *it is life which educates*. Industrial power implies two elements: one, intellectual or internal, which is only the power of thought developed by the practical study of language, number, and form; the other, physical or external, which is only the power of the senses and limbs developed by exercise. These various developments should be adapted to the idea of Elementary Education, that is to the course of nature; they should result from a course of well graduated, well-connected exercises based on the dispositions, needs, and natural tastes of the child."

The exercises intended to develop industrial or artistic power should have reference on the practical side to the circumstance of the child's position in life; for *it is life which educates*.

"It is the conditions and needs of real family life, then, at home, that the child should begin to learn to use and improve his powers for art and industry.

"This apprenticeship is much easier, more fruitful, and salutary in families that win their daily bread than among the rich where the need of work is not felt, and where the child's help is not needed by the parents.

"The idea of Elementary Education thus applies to art as well as to the heart and intelligence; it makes the child active from the beginning; it makes him produce with his own powers results which are good for him;

it gives him, at the same time, the power and the will to rise higher without servilely copying others.

"It is for want of these principles in education that we see so many men of taste and skill without strength, development, or originality. This is why ninety-men in every hundred follow thoughtlessly the stream of custom or of the world, incapable of doing anything of their own ; this is why in the upper classes the enjoyment of luxury is more a matter of vanity than of taste."

So far we have given the first third of the "*Song of the Swan*." We have abridged it much in translation by suppressing, though with regret, all the developments which did not seem indispensable. We could not continue thus to the end without exceeding the limits we must give to this book. This first part besides is the most important and methodical of the whole work ; and was written with the greatest vigour.

Further on, the order and connection of the ideas sometimes become difficult to grasp, repetitions are frequent, and rather tedious. In spite of these faults, the "*Song of the Swan*" is rich to the end in clear, original, and fruitful ideas ; a man who could reproduce them in their logical order with clearness and eloquence would write an admirable treatise on education.

We must limit ourselves to a sketch of the last two thirds of the "*Song of the Swan*." Let us first quote some ideas which have struck us :

"A child accustomed from its first years to pray, think, and work, is already half educated.

"The education of our time in method and practice generally tends rather to lead us away to what is foreign to us, than to develop what is in us, and what we most require as independent beings.

"Each separate knowledge or talent, considered alone, is of little use in developing and educating us, the harmony of our organism arises from their mutual and reciprocal influence in their entirety. Elementary and harmonious culture of all the branches of activity produces in us a moral, intelligent and clever individuality.

"If the religious element does not penetrate all education it has little influence upon life, it remains isolated or formal.

"Religion is not an effect of the work of man, but of the divine element which is in man and of the grace of God.

"Elementary Education, by developing all the natural forces which are in man, also develops quite early the religious element according to its

true nature. This is why Elementary Education is in perfect agreement with the spirit of Christianity."

In writing the "*Song of the Swan*" Pestalozzi had an ardent desire to save from the wreck the mother-idea of educational reform which he proposed to humanity, for he feared to see it included in the discredit that had overtaken him from the fall of the establishments which he had founded. In order to show that his undertakings were ruined by his own fault, he relates his history from the period of his early education. It is from this part of the "*Song of the Swan*" that his first biographers have drawn the materials of their work—true and precious elements, but so fragmentary that for forty years, until the work by Morf, there was not a complete history of the reformer of education. Morf's work stops at the Institute of Berthoud.

In speaking of the Institute of Berthoud, Pestalozzi says: "I should repeat here what I have hundreds of times said to myself during my years of misfortune. In putting my foot upon the first-step of the stair of the castle of Berthoud I lost myself as I entered upon a career that could not fail to make me unhappy; for the position that I occupied at Berthoud required above everything else strength and talent for management of which I am completely destitute.

Further on, after having compared his Institutes to a "Tower of Babel," he adds: "This confusion which was deadly to the spirit of our work had to end at last; and in similar circumstances my firm conviction is that the ending of my establishments of Yverdon should be considered a fortunate occurrence, as a necessary means of replacing my work upon a clear foundation, and not as a proof of its uselessness and the impossibility of obtaining salutary results from it.

We now quote the last page, which summarises the character and the end of the whole work.

"At this solemn hour, I dare say calmly that some part of this high idea of Elementary Education has ripened in me more perhaps than in

many other men, more than they would have done in me, were it not for the vicissitudes of my life. I see these results of my work, though rare and isolated, like ripe fruit attached to the tree of my life, and I do not wish them to be blown away by any friendly or adverse wind. I say again for it is my most cherished sentiment, these fruits of the work of my life though poor, are so near maturity that it is the most sacred duty of my life to struggle and to die to preserve them. The hour has not yet struck when, as to their fate, I can yield to repose :

But another hour has struck, and very loudly to me, or rather to the grain of sand which I bring to the building, and I say bitterly it is the hour when it is necessary to cry for "help," for people to examine and test this idea of Elementary Education.

This enquiry is the only thing necessary; and if I succeed in causing it to be made as it should be I desire nothing more. That is why I finish my *Song of the Swan* with the same words as I began :

"Try all things, hold fast that which is good, and if anything better has ripened in you add it to what in these pages I try to give you in love and truth; at least, do not reject the work of my life as a thing already condemned and which is not worth another examination. It is not yet condemned; it certainly merits careful examination, not for my sake, but for its own."

108. *My Destinies or my Fortunes as Chief of my Educational Institutes at Berthoud and at Yverdon.* Leipsic, 1126.

This book was intended to explain the misfortunes of Pestalozzi and the ruin of the establishments which he had founded; but the desire to justify Schmid, and to seek to make the public share in his admiration of him, led the author into a controversy that was unworthy of him, and it is difficult not to attribute the chief responsibility of this to the person interested in it, who had led the old man astray.

This controversy is especially directed against M. and Mme Niederer: the faults laid to their charge are exaggerated and those of Schmid made light of. Notwithstanding this, the injustice of these judgments cannot justify the answer

of Biber, who by an odious pamphlet caused the death of Pestalozzi.

If the book called the *Destinies* was only a controversy we would have nothing to say about it; but Pestalozzi often forgot the part he was playing as Schmid's advocate to become himself again, and then the book is admirable.

In the first page he says:

“At Berthoud, I soon had a large number of pupils, and unfortunately a hundred times more flatterers. This praise and success had the effect of a fairy dream upon me. At the beginning we lived in an intoxication of joy, honour, and hope, as in a paradise without fear of the serpent which in every earthly paradise prepares snares for weak, vain, wandering humanity, and easily leads it on to ruin.”

Pestalozzi acknowledges his perfect incapacity to direct and manage an institution, and declares that by his weakness and errors he has, himself, been the cause of all his misfortunes.

Then he shows that an establishment such as he had undertaken was an impossibility, and that his, from the foundation, carried within itself a germ of destruction. It seems astonishing that he should attribute the cause of his ruin to the opposition which, from the first, was seen to exist between Schmid and Niederer.

Whatever it was, Pestalozzi was wrong when he spoke of his complete incapacity. Did he not succeed every time that he acted freely and when he had no material obstacles in the way? And had he not gained wonderful success in the education of children at Neuhof in his youth, at Stans and Berthoud in his prime, and lastly in his old age at the school for the poor at Clendy?

He was wrong, too, in thinking that his Institutes did so little good. In the matter of elementary method they have realised incontestable and great progress, in almost every branch of education; and this progress, taken into other countries by his pupils, led to the commencement of a general reform of the old processes of routine in the schools.

When, in his account, Pestalozzi comes to the foundation

of the school for the poor at Clendy, he quite forgets the controversy that he has been engaged in, and speaks fondly of this last work which was so dear to his heart. He gives admirable precepts for the early education of the poor and the training of teachers for the popular schools; lastly, he deplores the deviation from his principles to which he was obliged to consent at Clendy, which caused the ruin of the establishment.

This part of the book, in which Pestalozzi is quite himself, is of very great value and will never be forgotten.

At the end of the work, he transcribes the letter which he wrote to M. and Mme. Niederer in 1823 in which he begs them to forget the past, to become reconciled to him, and to let him die in peace. He ends by saying that he still entertains the same feelings that he did when he wrote that letter which was without effect.

Before leaving the book of the *Destinies*, we think it our duty to quote the opinion of Blochmann, who was a collaborateur of Pestalozzi from 1810 to 1816, and to whom Saxony owes in a great measure the distinguished rank which she holds for establishments of public instruction.

"In the *Destinies* he puts forth great and striking truths and I am sure that those who have lived near him and who have long followed his career will be convinced of the justness of his views in general, whilst they recognise two great illusions in this work: his injustice to himself and to the value and the results of the Institute of Yverdon, and the blind obstinacy with which he over-rates Schmid's work, and misunderstands his true character which is hidden under the appearance of fidelity and filial affection."

109. *Discourse given at Langenthal*, April 26th, 1826, of cementing the union between the different parties of the Swiss Federation, to rouse them by a love of their Fatherland to all the virtues that make a people happy, and to restore in a measure the simplicity of ancient manners.

Pestalozzi had been prevented for a long time, on account of work, from attending the meetings of this society, but he heartily sympathised in its efforts. Besides, he was one of the last survivors of that enlightened and devoted band of patriots who, a long time before the

French Revolution, would have been able to realise salutary reforms if they had had practical views and a more correct knowledge of men.

The agreement between the work of the Helvetic Society and that which had fired his youth inspired Pestalozzi's *Discourse at Langenthal*, which was written with a vigour that is astonishing in an old man of eighty, recently subjected to cruel misfortune.

The author begins by describing the happiness which Switzerland enjoyed after the wars which won its independence: it was peaceful within, and respected abroad; then the needs of the inhabitants were proportionate to their resources; religion, patriotism, benevolence and moderation reigned generally in hearts; there was really a certain equality in the positions and manners of the inhabitants, in spite of the inequality of rights which the feudal system upheld; there were very few poor, the great mass being composed of small proprietors.

Pestalozzi then relates the changes that this state of things has gradually undergone under the influence of foreign service, of the Reformation, and especially the introduction of manufacturing life, which has increased capital.

In countries where great industry has prospered there is an increase of wealth and even of the general well-being, but a still greater increase in the needs, and at the same time an enormous inequality in the division of this wealth.

Some colossal fortunes are made rapidly, and give us an idea of the luxury of the great capitals, whilst the numerous class of artisans multiply—those who only have their hands, and who often lack wisdom, forethought, economy.

As for the small proprietors who were so numerous formerly, how many of them, attracted by money which manufactures offered them, are disgusted with the tilling of their fields and now possess nothing!

The author then shows that this state of things tends to get worse every day and will soon become an imminent danger to social order and civilisation. Then, as the only means of lessening this evil and gradually curing it, he points out an elementary education brought within the

reach of all which, by a way suited to nature, develops all the powers of the child and especially his moral powers in their application to the real life for which he is destined.

Such is in substance the last writing which remains to us of Pestalozzi. We know that, on November 21st of the same year, he had a paper read to the Society of the Friends of Education who met at Brugg: a paper upon the *Early Education of Children at Home*, but that has not been preserved.

CHAPTER XVIII.

110. Personal Recollections of the Author.

110. UNTIL now, whilst relating the history of this great man to whom we owe such fruitful ideas, I have naturally hesitated to speak of myself, even to give my impressions and experience during the nine years I was the pupil of Pestalozzi. I feared to interrupt or lengthen my story; what I wished was to bring to the notice of my readers the authentic documents, and even the words of my master; then those of distinguished men who were better qualified than I to judge.

Meanwhile, the numerous publications which I consulted did not always suffice to arrive at the truth, if my personal recollections had not enabled me to appreciate the relative value of these sometimes contradictory documents. This is especially the case in reference to the sad story of the decline and fall of the Institute of Yverdon; it is necessary to have really seen and known the men and circumstances to be able to eliminate all the calumnious imputations which were uttered in the heat of passion by those who quarrelled around Pestalozzi, to the grief of the worthy old man.

But I have also to sum up the doctrine, and enduring

work of this remarkable man, and what I shall say is not always conformable with the generally received ideas upon this subject. I feel then that my readers have a right to know some of my personal experiences which give me a claim to their confidence. Besides, I have been in an exceptionally favourable position in which to learn the thought of the master and of his associates; I am, now, probably the only survivor of those who enjoyed such a privilege, and I feel it my duty not to allow such a precious trust to perish with me.

I was born in 1802 at Yverdon; where my father, a French refugee, had settled and married; and I entered Pestalozzi's Institute in 1808, after having been prepared by one of the assistant-masters in the intuitive exercises (upon number and form) of the youngest class which I should have joined.

I was only a daily pupil; but I stayed for *gouter*, and on special occasions took all my meals, and slept the night there; I thus knew what the internal management was.

When I entered the schoolroom, my first impression was not pleasant. There was no neatness and the furniture and appliances were more primitive than can be readily imagined; for example, the room was lit by tallow candles without candlesticks held by two pieces of iron wire twisted and stuck into a piece of wood; and there were no snuffers. Then the cries of all these Germans were not pleasant to my ears, and their manners seemed strange. I was somewhat frightened, as if I had come into a vulgar atmosphere.

But this impression did not last long; I was soon won by the great kindness of Pestalozzi, by his lively and gentle look, and the cordiality that reigned throughout the house; I soon yielded to the good humour of my companions and the enthusiasm they brought to nearly all their studies.

As an instance of the attraction of elementary education to me: when winter came and I was scarcely seven years old, I was obliged to rise early and cross the town in the dark to be present at the first lesson which though it began at six o'clock, I thought it no hardship to attend.

When Pestalozzi met any of the little pupils in the corridors, he used to caress them, passing his hand through their hair, and saying: "Would you not like to be wise and good?" Then he used to speak of their parents and of the good God, and often finished by some words upon nature, which like its author is so good and beautiful, and with which we must live in harmony. I did not always understand these little discourses very well; but the impression they made was always good.

In my class the teaching was given in French. But, during the first year of my stay at the Institute, the pupils, masters, and servants, were mostly German. Their speech, tastes and habits regulated the whole life of the castle; it was a German-Swiss household settled in French Switzerland. At certain hours of the day, all were obliged to speak French; at others, all spoke German. Thus the pupils became familiarised with both languages, but they were disposed to mix them, which was prejudicial to the purity of each.

During the first four or five years I was too young to observe what referred to the doctrine of Pestalozzi; I remember only my childish impressions, and they were agreeable. I took much pleasure in most of my exercises, especially in the lessons upon natural history, geography, mental arithmetic, elementary geometry, singing and drawing; and I preserved an affectionate and grateful remembrance, not only of Pestalozzi, but of most of my masters, who cared for us in our lessons, recreations, walks, and mountain climbing.

These excursions in the Jura were most enjoyable, they were suited to each class, and I took part in them from the time I was seven years of age. Our masters looked after us with almost motherly tenderness, (my favourites were Krusi and De Muralt) taking small steps to suit our little legs, cheering us when tired with a piece of sugar dipped in cherry water, and sometimes, when the road was too long, we procured some rustic vehicle, in which we sang whilst passing through the villages, where the peasants often came and gave us fruit.

When we reached the high pastures shadowed by the

pires then we felt no more fatigue and began to amuse ourselves, gathering plants and minerals. We often united at some fine view to sing the simple wild melodies of the Alpine mountaineers which our masters thus introduced into the Jura. After more than sixty years I can still recall all these songs as at the first, and all of them are delightful to me.

Upon their return from these excursions, the pupils had to give an account of them in speech or in writing, according to their age. They had much to tell, for their attention had been fixed upon whatever could instruct them, and their journeys were at once lessons on natural history and on geography.

Pestalozzi took particular pleasure in observing the games of the pupils and he attached a real importance to them; he thought that children, when not working, should amuse themselves; complete inaction was most distasteful to him. If ever, during recreation, he saw one of the little pupils not taking part in the play, he was uneasy, fearing that the child was physically or morally ill; and he tried to procure some amusement for it.

I remember one scene which did not strike me at first, but which meanwhile, is characteristic. One day, when we had lighted a fire of brushwood in the garden, the eldest pupils amused themselves by jumping over the flame through the smoke; Pestalozzi was there and encouraged them. When the flame died down, and hardly anything remained but the embers and smoke, the youngest children jumped in their turn. But there were on-lookers at this. The little girls of Niederer's Institute, whose garden adjoined that of the Castle, were looking through the fence at the beautiful flame and the happy jumpers. Pestalozzi saw them, went away and brought them also to jump over the remains of the fire. Never was there so much pleasure given at such little cost.

When I was twelve years old I began to give attention to the *method* in a way somewhat beyond my years.

My parents, who were admirers of Pestalozzi, maintained friendly relations with him, his wife, and his principal fellow-workers. My mother, in her anxiety for my

progress, wished to follow my lessons, and learned German very rapidly. She published translations of several German works in order to add to our modest income, and to enable her to spend more upon my education. Thus she translated *Leonard and Gertrude*.

Then Pestalozzi, who was interested in this work, used to come almost daily to see us, for my mother copied nothing without the advice of the author. As she understood very well the language of the old Zurichois she acted as interpreter between him and the French visitors who desired to know his doctrine; hence he frequently brought to her those to whom it was important to explain his ideas, amongst others M. A. Jullien, from Paris, the author of two large volumes upon *The Spirit of Pestalozzi's Method*.

Mlle. Rath, the distinguished painter to whom Geneva owes the museum which bears her name, came to Yverdon to take Pestalozzi's portrait; she was connected with my mother's sister, she lived in our house, and here the sittings took place.

Then when M. Delbruck, tutor of the Princes of Prussia paid a long visit to Yverdon in order to study the method, my parents willingly consented to receive such a distinguished man to board with us. Thus, for some years, our drawing room was a place of reunion where Pestalozzi's doctrine was explained and discussed by the master and his disciples, and by foreigners who were generally very well qualified to appreciate it.

I listened eagerly to these conversations, and I retained much that I heard, although I did not understand it then so well as later on.

I have heard a hundred times the master himself explain his doctrine and everytime in a different way.

This profound philosopher did not care for philosophic language with which he was unfamiliar: he distrusted himself on this head; he feared formulæ; his thought was trained in solitude, without books, solely by observation and reflection. He liked to explain as the explanation came to him; that is, proceeding from concrete facts, special examples, especially by comparisons, rather than by abstractions and general ideas.

When Pestalozzi returned from Bâle, honoured with gifts from Sovereigns, he took at first a childish pleasure in showing them, not through personal vanity but because he regarded them as earnestness of the support of his doctrine, and the plans by which he hoped to raise the condition of the people. Then I was invited with my parents to a party at his house; the old man wore the cross of Saint-Wladimir, and made us taste the Emperor of Austria's tokay. But after a few days he forgot about them, and the cross remained in his cabinet. Sometimes, however, when visitors of distinction arrived and friends persuaded him to pay attention to his toilet, they hastily dressed him as well as possible.

We pupils were surprised and even a little amused when we used to see him enter the class wearing a black swallow-tailed coat, a white cravat and the famous decoration hanging from his buttonhole.

The death of Mme. Pestalozzi in 1815, is a sad recollection to me; it brought a change in the life of the Institute that struck me, child as I was. The high intellectual and moral qualities of this distinguished woman have not been sufficiently appreciated, nor the co-operation she gave to her husband's work by her tact, counsel, and constant devotion. Although an invalid and hardly ever leaving her room, she was a centre to which all were attracted, sure of being received by some kind word. When they paid their last duty to her in that last and imposing ceremony in which so many took part, each regretted her for himself, but also felt instinctively that the venerable old man had lost his true support.

When hostility broke out between Schmid and his colleagues, my parents were deeply pained by it. Taking no part in the quarrel, they appreciated the qualities of Niederer and Krusi, but they determined to keep friends with Pestalozzi, whatever should happen. One day Pestalozzi brought Schmid to us, saying that his friend had something to read to us. I wished to leave, but Schmid told me to stay "because it was good I should hear it." He read us an apologue, in which he compared Pestalozzi to the father of a family whose house was falling to ruin, and who was obliged to re-build it; several of his sons,

some of the eldest, wish to help him, but on condition that it was built to suit themselves and according to their plans ; one only, the youngest, offers to execute his father's plans and follow his directions. This obedience of the youngest has brought upon him the hatred of his brothers. That is how Schmid tried to explain the reason of the deplorable quarrel which ruined Pestalozzi and his establishment.

I left the Institute in 1817, and went to live at Versailles with my parents. My father wished me to enter the Polytechnic School ; I had the sorrow to lose him in 1819, and my mother survived him but a few months. I remained at Versailles with M. Treuil, professor at the College of Saint Cyr, and I progressed easily in the study of mathematics, thanks to the preparation given me when with Pestalozzi ; being backward in Latin, I had to take private lessons from a master, then I advanced to the Class of Rhetoric.

I then left Versailles for Paris where I attended daily the Mathematical Lectures at the College of Louis-le-Grand. In 1822, I was received into the Polytechnic School, where I found several of my old companions from Yverdon who distinguished themselves by their eminence in mathematics ; I can quote Beauchatton, Adolphe Jullien, and Auguste Perdonnet.

Going to Yverdon for the holidays, I found it only a shadow of its former self. I could not see Pestalozzi without Schmid who hardly ever left him and who was the only one of my old masters left. I was taken to what had been Mme. Pestalozzi's apartment, where some young girls, under the direction of Schmid's sister, were speaking English and playing the piano. I do not know if this was the remains of the Poor School at Clendy, or the beginning of a Normal School for mistresses. It was very sad to see the illusions which the old man still cherished.

At this time, in Yverdon especially, the fall of the Institute had affected the esteem in which the founder had been held. His devotion, good intentions, and misfortunes were respected, but people thought his head turned for ever. And I, misled by appearances, and the current of public opinion, was not long in adopting these grave errors.

In 1824, being ill, I came to recruit my health with my mother's family; then I accompanied Biot on his scientific mission to Italy; and lastly I settled in Yverdon, where I married in 1826.

Then I was called upon to take part in the Collegial Chamber, as they called the committee entrusted with the direction of public schools in the commune of Yverdon. Pestalozzi's ideas had not penetrated them and they were following the old routine; meanwhile the large elementary class was taught on the Lancasterian method, the master had been with Père Girard at Fribourg. I could not help comparing what I then saw with what I saw in the colleges of France, and earlier at Yverdon. Thus the question of *method* was my constant thought and object of study.

Pestalozzi's method seemed the true and natural method; but I could not succeed in formulating it. The twelve fundamental principles discovered therein by M. Jullien did not satisfy me; I felt that the method was one, that it rested on one principle which should be the centre and reason of all its application.

I undertook to study Pestalozzi's idea thoroughly by studying the master's works and the witness of surviving collaborators.

At Yverdon there were still three establishments founded by disciples of Pestalozzi where they tried to follow his method. They were: Institute for Little Boys at the castle, under the direction of Messrs. Rank and Kries; the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, directed by M. J. C. Naef; and the Boarding School for Young Ladies belonging to M. and Mme. Niederer; the last was in full prosperity. In each of them I found the exercises of my childhood, followed almost with the same success.

M. Niederer's help was especially valuable to me; for no one had studied the doctrine more deeply than he. I knew that the master had not completely accepted his philosophical explanation; I received it therefore with some reserve but I obtained from him much light upon the subject. Niederer spoke French with German accent, but he was master of scientific language.

His exposition reduces Pestalozzi's method to three

points: the *type*, the *starting point*, and the *connection*. The type to realise is the development of man, with regard to his position in the world. The starting point of the exercises is that which belongs to already acquired notions, tastes, needs, and powers of the child. The connection of the exercises is their co-ordination, graduated in such a way that each of them gives the child the desire and power to execute the following exercise.

In 1837 and 1838 I travelled through Switzerland seeing other collaborateurs who gave me valuable information. I shall only quote Buss, Krusi, Lehmann; and amongst those who also knew him well, Fellenberg, Zschokke, Père Girard, Dr. Lippe, and Zellweger.

I visited most of the Normal Schools, especially those of Appenzell and Thurgovie.

The first, at Gais, directed by Krusi, with whom I stayed a week, interested me very much, as it furnished the most faithful model of a Pestalozzian School. It was while listening to Krusi that I began to see in the law of organism the fundamental principle of Pestalozzi's doctrine.

The second, at Kreuzlingen, on Lake Constance, had for its director Wehrli, the former master of the Poor School at Hofwyl, founded by Fellenberg; this man possessed lively intelligence and a warm heart, and he exercised a salutary activity over all around him. But his task was difficult, some pupils being Roman Catholics and others Protestants. He had also to instruct his school in the elements of practical agriculture.

There were many establishments in Switzerland where Pestalozzi's views were sought to be realised in the education of poor, orphan, and abandoned children.

Later on, I visited the various places where Pestalozzi had lived and laboured. Then his collaborateurs were no more. I questioned only old men who had been young when Pestalozzi was among them; they had a vivid recollection of him.

At Yverdon, I often had the pleasure of seeing old masters and comrades of the Institute. All who had lived there before 1817 had such a pleasant remembrance of it.

that they wished to bring their family to see the place where they had passed some happy years of their childhood, all calling it their dear Yverdon.

In this way I had the pleasure of receiving my old and excellent French master, M. Alexandre Boniface. On leaving Yverdon he had founded in Paris a Pestalozzian school whose merit has been well established ; but it could not prosper so long as its plan was in opposition to that of the university. I also received two visits from my old master of geography and music, M. Blochmann, of Dresden, since become Councillor to the King of Saxony in affairs relating to education.

Since then, many years have passed ; the entire generation of my old masters is extinct : even the pupils have become old and their pious visits to Yverdon have entirely ceased. Almost alone, I have gathered my recollections and I feel I have not a day to lose in making them known.

CHAPTER XIX.

111. Pestalozzi's Religion.

111. The religion of Pestalozzi does not appear to advantage at first ; it was not the first motive which urged him to the work to which he devoted himself from his early youth. When as a child he admired the pious activity of his grandfather the minister he appreciated its temporal results rather than its spiritual effects. When he studied theology he was disgusted with the priestly calling because he only saw it as a lifeless and formal orthodoxy.

Then, worst of all, his faith was thoroughly shaken by reading the works of J. J. Rousseau. Thus the philanthropic plans which he formed at the time of his marriage were rather for the earth than heaven.

But, at the birth of his son religious feelings awakened in him very strongly, as can be seen from the earnest pages which he wrote at the time in his *Journal*. This revived faith had not at first Jesus the Saviour of men for its object ; he felt only the truth and the necessity of Christian doctrine for his son and the little waifs he had gathered into his house. When this first work of charity had led to his ruin, he wrote :

“ Christ teaches us by his example and doctrine to sacrifice all we have and ourselves also for the good of our brethren, he argues that we have no absolute right over anything that we have received, that it is simply a trust of God in our hands to use holily in the service of charity.”

Pestalozzi showed himself a Christian by the actions of his noble life, and his ardent and universal charity ; he never attacked any of the Christian dogmas, but neither did he profess them in a clear and precise manner ; he did not like dogmatism ; he thought its influence often prejudicial to the development of religious feeling. Then, although he was a Protestant, he wished to be received by the Roman Catholics ; and so, in his books as well as his Discourses, he avoided everything that would wound conscientious convictions.

He was far from regarding the Bible as a simply human book, but neither did he look upon it as a divine text. This co-existence of the divine and the human element in our sacred books is, we think, the truth ; but as it opens a vast field to different apprehensions, it frightens minds to whom the unity of faith is of the highest need.

From Pestalozzi's works we may believe that he reserved exclusively the divine authority to the facts and biblical instructions which affect the sanctification of man, but he does not make the distinction between the human and the divine element in such a manner as to bear upon each settled point ; indeed, the ideas in his writings do not always agree, and those who have sought to make him out to be a rationalist have pointed out phrases that seem to justify their opinion.

Besides, Pestalozzi scandalised the christians of his

time by the contempt in which he held the study of the catechism, and every verbal instruction in general as a means of developing the religious feeling of children. His views upon this subject were not so new as people thought them; but although they were proclaimed from the time of the Reformation they had vanished under the growing empire of formalism in which words take the place of everything.

This is what we read in the *Antisyngramma* of Ecolampadius, printed in 1526:

“External (outward) speech is not the object of faith, it does not bring us the blood of Christ, food, and clothing. It is given to us to lead us to seek for things, and we must seek them *in ourselves*. Speech only gives us words and sentences. If we do not know the things before, how can we know the speech that will suitably describe them? If you have not already the knowledge of the things spoken of you may listen for hours and learn nothing.”

The ruin of the Institute of Yverdon took place at the same time that the religious revival appeared in Switzerland; this, but for the error with which it was mingled, would have been a cause of joy to Pestalozzi.

The old man had welcomed it cordially so long as he only saw in it a return to evangelical life. This we glean from his *Discourse* of January 12th, 1818:

“The religious spirit which is a blessing to the domestic hearth still exists in our midst; but it has no inner life, it has sunk to a spirit of reasoning which discourses only upon what is holy and divine. . . .

Meanwhile the blessed spirit of the true doctrine of Christ appears to be taking new and deep root amidst the corruption of our race and to draw thousands of souls to a pure inner life. Indeed it is from this that we can expect the principles and strength needed to combat the ideas, sentiments, desires, and habits of our generation which we must consider the cause of the people's degradation.”

But the religious movement which was manifesting itself in the canton of Vaud was soon at issue with Pestalozzi's work.

The apostles of the revival, it must be admitted, preached

a more living and true Christianity than the influence of the philosophers of the XVIIIth century had left upon the mass of Protestants, but it was at the same time a strict and uncompromising theology which left almost no room for free judgment, took from man the power of working in his own salvation, and recognised no germ of good feelings in the child. Pestalozzi could not accept such theology. For this reason those interested in the revival did not regard him as a true Christian.

This judgment is unfortunately confirmed by Ramsauer, Pestalozzi's pupil, and one of his best fellow-workers; who, after having left the Institute of Yverdon, became a fervent pietist. In the work which we have already quoted, whilst rendering full justice to the master for whom he cherished gratitude and affection, he complains of not having received from him holy Christian doctrine, particularly that of original sin.

Meanwhile he well knew and recognised the existence of evil in the human soul; this is especially seen in his ninety-sixth fable, which it may be useful to quote here :

The Interior of the Hill.

“A fool, seeing a hill covered with beautiful verdure, thought that there must be excellent earth throughout. A man who knew the neighbourhood took him to a place where the interior was uncovered; it was only rock and gravel.

“The hills of the earth, green and fertile though they be, have almost always a hard and barren sub-soil. Human nature, to whatever height the heart and mind raise it, has in the flesh and the blood bad strata, which strongly resemble the rock and the gravel.

“And so the fairest appearances of power, honour, and human dignity, have always underneath them the vices of our nature. This is why, whatever height one has reached, it is necessary to follow the precept :

“Watch and pray, lest ye fall into temptation, for the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.”

Judgments similar to Ramsauer's are found in works upon Pestalozzi published by people who held the same religious opinions, such as Blochmann, Mlle. Chavannes, and J. Paroz, all enlightened and well-meaning writers.*

But here is the testimony of a man who belongs to the

* A German work even appeared entitled “Was Pestalozzi a Christian?” in which the author says he was not.

same school of theology, and who is eminently qualified to appreciate Pestalozzi; we are happy to be able to bring it under our readers' notice.

M. Jayet, a minister, one of Pestalozzi's first pupils at Yverdon, and who became later a pastor and ardent apostle of the religious revival, ably edited for a long time a journal intended to spread and popularise this doctrine. At our request he kindly wrote a letter from which the following is an extract:

"The subject of your letter is one in which I ought to be much interested. I owe much to Pestalozzi, he was a father to me. But the answer is not easy. I would rather write a pamphlet than a letter about my recollections. But you do not ask for that, nor have I time to do it. I shall then put down my thoughts as they are suggested by memory. I begin at once upon the point of religion which you specially mention.

"Pestalozzi was certainly pious. But certain important points of Christianity were not clear to him.

"He did not believe in the fall of man, or, at least, he had not a clear idea of it. And, consequently, he ignored the fact of the atonement and redemption by the blood of Christ. He trusted man would be raised by the efficacy of his method, or if you will, of a perfectly educative method; and he knew no other way.

"I should add, however, from my recollection, that Pestalozzi, without thoroughly understanding the Gospel, imitated its spirit in the manner in which he brought us up. Love and faith were thoughts that often recurred in his religious discourses. And he seems to have taken for a model the manner in which God acts to convert the hearts of men *God does not regard the guilty as innocent; yet he pardons that they may fear him.* Pestalozzi, although not very rigorous, knew how to keep us in order. But his discipline was *love*. When he scolded us, it was whilst he embraced us. He reached the conscience through the heart. In this way, unwittingly, he prepared many souls for the discipline of the Gospel and the ways of God for their salvation. I have often been struck with the number of the old pupils of Pestalozzi, who, later, reached the faith for which they seemed to have been prepared.

"Pestalozzi sought rather to develop the faculties harmoniously than to apply them to the acquisition of positive science, to prepare the vase rather than to fill it. This excellent plan has often been unjustly misunderstood. Later on, I have often heard parents blame Pestalozzi, saying: "So long as my son was with Pestalozzi he learnt nothing. But as soon as he went elsewhere he made rapid progress." And often I have taken great trouble to make them understand that this progress they owed to Pestalozzi, who had prepared them by this method."

These last remarks are important; they explain well the

contradictory judgments that have been passed upon Pestalozzi.

Have we reason to think that after the period when M. Jayet was a pupil in the Institute, Pestalozzi adopted the truths of Christian doctrine in a more complete way? His Discourses seem to prove it.

Here are some extracts from the one, pronounced on New Year's Day, 1811, which was found by M. Seyffarth and printed at the end of the sixteenth volume of his collection :

“Children, we would have you share our joy at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ from Heaven to be a man amongst men. Listen to the words of the angel : “Behold I bring you glad tidings of great joy, for unto us is born a Saviour.” Keep these words in your hearts.

“Ah, if I could only make this a holy and blessed day to you as well as a joyful one, if only your joy by strengthening your faith in Christ Jesus would raise you to the life of truth, justice, faith and love which is in the spirit of Christ and to which he calls all men !

“The whole Bible is but a collection of revelations from God, who calls all men to rise above the vain service of the world to the divine service of a holy faith in him.”

Then in the Discourse of January 12th, 1818, the following passage occurs :

“Let no one say that Jesus does not love the unrighteous and evil doers! He loved them with a divine love, he died for them. It is not the righteous, but sinners that he called to repentance. He did not find the sinner believing, he made him believe by his own faith; he did not find him humble with his own humility.”

Later, when the establishment at Yverdon was threatened with approaching dissolution, Pestalozzi, with the delicate conscientiousness that characterised him, reproached himself with not having given his work a more solid religious foundation. One day, while walking in the garden of the castle with Mme. Brousson and looking sadly at the ancient building he said, “Ah, dear friend! I have not built my house firmly on the true foundation, and that is why it is threatened with ruin.”

On his death-bed Pestalozzi cried : “I am going soon to

read in the book of truth." He felt that it is not given to man to understand everything here below. Then he added: "I am going to eternal peace," and he died with the joy and faith of a Christian.

It is now forty-five years since Pestalozzi died. Since then opinions have become much modified; Pestalozzi's work is everywhere better appreciated; and people are beginning to understand that it was mis-judged, because it was before the time.

During the last fifteen years especially even the most orthodox Protestants have repudiated the narrowness of view, the Puritanical strictness and pitiful intolerance which long existed amongst the partisans of the religious revival; they now understand that people can be Evangelical Christians in different ways. So in the latest works on Pestalozzi, which are very numerous in Germany, no doubt has been cast upon the Christian character of his work.

This character has been already seen in the conduct of Pestalozzi towards the children whom he sought to bring up aright. But it is plainly manifested when his educative doctrine is compared with the teaching of the Gospel. What Jesus teaches is an internal development in spirit and truth, that which comes from the heart. When he bids us be united to him, it is that we may be nourished with his love, faith, and humility, as the branch of the vine is nourished by the sap of the stem to which it is attached. Action is always judged from the feeling that prompted it, in this way maintaining a conformity of agreement between the motives hidden in the depth of the human heart and the real value of the manifestation of external life.

Look also at the comparisons which Jesus made use of in teaching his disciples; they are generally taken from vegetable life which serves as a type of moral and religious life: The kingdom of heaven is likened to a tree grown from a mustard seed. The Word of God is like seed sown in good ground; it sprouts and develops in the heart that is well disposed. God chastens the sinner as the gardener prunes a tree, that it may produce more fruit. "Eevry

tree is known by its fruit; we do not gather figs from thorns," &c.

Lastly, it teaches us everywhere the development of the human heart by comparing it to the organic development of the plant. This is what may be called the philosophy of the Gospel: we shall now see what Pestalozzi's philosophy was.

CHAPTER XX.

112. The Philosophy of Pestalozzi.

112. PESTALOZZI was essentially a man of heart and imagination; it was his heart that led him to put himself in the place of the unfortunate; it was by his powerful imagination that he identified himself in a manner with children and the poor, so as to discover in them the truths that he revealed to the world.

He was, at the same time, a man of action. In devoting himself to the people he wished to serve them by facts and practical experiences. He began to write when he could no longer act; and later, he only wrote to describe views which his means of action did not allow him to try.

He abstained from holding a deeply elaborated system. His intuitions were so simple and clear to himself that he thought them evident to everyone. It is true that he did not know how to formulate them in a general manner: having so long lived without books and the society of learned men he had not philosophical language. But notwithstanding, he was very glad when Fichte told him that his ideas agreed with Kant's philosophy.

There is some difficulty in representing Pestalozzi as a philosopher. But when we see his life animated by a single thought, a thought which led him to discover the error of the old school, the dangers that arise from it, and lastly the

remedies to apply, some of which succeeded admirably in spite of his awkwardness, then there can be no doubt that a new and fertile philosophic principle was revealed to his mind.

In fact, all the originality of his genius rests upon a new conception of man, the powers of his nature, their mode of action, and development. That is what we call the philosophy of Pestalozzi; and, when it is known, his whole doctrine flows naturally from it.

To Pestalozzi man is a creature from God, and enters into the world possessing in the germ all the moral, physical, and intellectual powers; which, when set in action and developed by the natural means that the world offers him, and with divine grace, will make him happily fulfil the destiny to which God calls him.

Pestalozzi formally recognises the necessity of the grace of God; but he knows that if man asks it as though he were unable to do anything without it, he must nevertheless work as if he could do everything, and apply all his strength in the sphere of activity that God has opened to him.

The only means that the educator can set in action in a direct and practical manner are those which the world in general, and the child in particular offer; those are what Pestalozzi studied and co-ordinated, so as to employ them conformably to the natural law of the child's development.

This law constitutes his essential discovery; it is the outcome of his philosophic conception of human nature; and it has become the fundamental principle of his educative doctrine.

It appears in the mind of Pestalozzi as an intuition of his early youth. In general he supposes it rather than describes it, but he always observes it and practises it; his life may be said to have been penetrated with it. Then if he did not formulate it in its entirety, he gives its principal features in all his writings. Thus we discover this law in the "*Evening Hour of a Hermit*," his first pedagogic work, and again in the "*Song of the Swan*," the last product of his old age.

We have already said that this law of development of

man is a law of organism, that is, that our true progress is the result of internal work. In the physical organism, the organs grow and strengthen separately by use or exercise; each profits especially and directly from its own exercise, but also in some measure, and in an indirect manner from the exercise of some other organs, because of the harmony and joint liability which exist amongst the different parts of the same organism; progress is linked to progress by an unbroken chain; and the development, at whatever point we may suppose it stopped, forms always a harmonious and complete whole.

Such are the essential points of this law discovered by Pestalozzi and applied by him in all the works of his long life, so long as circumstances permitted him to follow his free impulses.

This is the law of the natural development of man; it is found living and regulating in every case where this development is not falsified by the prejudices or passions of men and the artificial means which they have adopted. This is why Pestalozzi gives as a type and model the practice of a good mother in her relations with her child in the cradle.

He wants the mother to learn to continue and complete the work which she has begun so well; he wishes her to go on teaching in the same spirit all that the little child is capable of learning that she may make it gain by its own activity the elements of knowledge which, later, it will seek at school. Lastly, he wishes that the school may only be a continuation of the mother's work.

This work includes moral, physical, and intellectual development; and Pestalozzi took care not to separate what God had united, by including these three aspects of human nature in his idea of "*elementary education.*"

In moral development, each special faculty of the heart should be set in action and exercised, so as to maintain, strengthen, and extend it; so all faith should proceed from a first act of faith; justice, from the first sentiment of justice; and it is in ordinary life, in family life especially, that opportunities are to be found for the development of the heart, because, said Pestalozzi, "It is life which

educates." Here the philosopher of education has not suggested a special and determined series of exercises, for it would be impossible to realise it, but he has organised all the activity of the child in such a way as to give him as motives, only feelings and desires suited to Christian morality; and so he has freed the education of the heart from the influences which the school opposes to it.

In physical development the law of the organism had not been entirely misunderstood; but public education took little notice of it.

Pestalozzi revived the use of gymnastic exercises at a time when Europe had completely forgotten them, and in his Institutes he had them reduced to a graduation which has been imitated and improved since his time.

But it is in intellectual development, especially, that Pestalozzi won successes best fitted to strike the public, those which astonished visitors and drew general attention to his undertakings.

He sought for the simplest elements of our knowledge, such as they present themselves to the attention of the little child; he has them acquired by that direct and individual experience which he calls intuition, he developed them by series of exercises progressing by insensible degrees and in a continuous chain; this is in general what is called "Pestalozzi's Method." But however far the master and his collaborateurs may have gone in this direction, however remarkably and often it succeeded in mathematics, drawing, geography, &c., Pestalozzi was not contented with it; he said that was not the aim of his efforts, but only one of the special ways of reaching it, so he continued to work and to seek.

When he wished to shew his doctrine by its practical results, he attempted a task which was more than the life of a man could obtain, even if he had at his disposal the strength and resources which Pestalozzi lacked. Many times in the course of his experience he saw his faults and deficiencies, he saw that he had not given a correct and complete idea of his doctrine, and he wished to supplement it by writing; this is the spirit in which he published the most of his works. But in none of them has

he concentrated his ideas, or co-ordinated his principles in such a way as to give a complete embodiment of his thought. Thus the world has not yet got a clear answer to the oft-repeated question :

What is Pestalozzi's method ?

The "*Song of the Swan*" was the last of these attempts ; and, in spite of the brilliant flashes with which it abounds it was not better understood than the others.

In order to discover clearly the philosophical thought of Pestalozzi one must follow it in his whole life, and especially in the long course of his writings.

Then we see, with proof, that what he wished and preached, and partially gained in his practice is an organic education, if such a term is admissible in an immaterial sense.

But the advantage of a true philosophy is not only the monopoly of those who can formulate it. Philosophical ideas gradually and imperceptibly penetrate the minds of people, like the atmosphere which we breathe every day without thinking about it ; so it influences the feeling, opinions and conduct, and gives its character to each civilisation.

Pestalozzi's philosophy has already begun to produce a similar effect. It is hardly known, yet its influence is spreading. Amongst the men who are occupied with education, few of them are without some trace of it, even though Pestalozzi's works may be quite unknown to them.

This is because so many men, who in some way or other came in contact with his work, brought away something of it, perhaps without being aware of it ; and, spread over every country as teachers, writers, fathers of families, they have in a manner breathed around them the spirit of the master, even while they repudiated and criticised his method as it had been practised.

This is why we are struck now by the almost general fact that in every country no writing upon education or scholastic reform is written without invoking in a measure principles which belong to Pestalozzi. It is true that they are rarely attributed to the Swiss philosopher, and that they can be discovered elsewhere, for example, in Rabelais,

Montaigne, Charron, Port Royal, J. J. Rousseau, only to quote French authors.

In fact, several correct ideas which form part of Pestalozzi's doctrine had been recognised and described before him, but without being connected with the philosophic principle which is their common centre, without being applied to a rational method of teaching, or forming a system of elementary education within the understanding of the people; besides, in the exposition of these ideas many errors were mingled with the truth. So the practice of education had not been improved by them.

But since the often unperceived, influence of Pestalozzi's work has opened minds to the idea of rational education the true principles enounced by old writers have been more remarked and better understood; a desire has arisen to apply them to the reform of a worn out educational system whose worthlessness can no longer be glozed over.

The time seems now to have come when it is extremely important to have a correct and complete knowledge of Pestalozzi's work. It is necessary in order to give people the benefit of a rational education; that is, to assure the advent of civilisation.

CHAPTER XXI.

PESTALOZZI'S ELEMENTARY METHOD.

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| 113 | General Exposition. | 115 | Its Author considered it an indispensable means of raising the People. |
| 114 | Distinction between this method and its special mode of application. | 116 | Its fitness of application to Public Education at the Present, &c. |

113. From his childhood Pestalozzi had been deeply touched with the state of misery, of moral and intellectual

misery especially, into which he saw many of his fellow citizens sunk ; he wished to raise and "to make men of them," and he worked for this aim with all the force of his ardent and devoted nature.

It was whilst seeking his way to succeed in this aim and concentrating his desires and actions upon this object that he gained the philosophic idea which came to inspire all his works.

He applied it at first to elementary teaching ; and brilliant success justified the correctness of his views. We do not wish here to enter upon the details of his processes, but only to recall in a few words the progress which is due to them, a progress which has penetrated into most of our schools with the happiest results.

Pestalozzi's philosophic doctrine has immediate and evident consequences which regulate the elementary method of teaching.

The child, to learn, must always be active. He learns only by his own impressions, and not by words. These should accompany the ideas in order to fix them, but they do not give them ; words without the ideas which they represent have no value whatever, they are even dangerous, as the child may join them to ideas to which they do not belong. The child must in a measure be supplied with fertile impressions in a natural and well graduated order ; he must then be exercised in expressing clearly by speech, each of the ideas that results from these impressions ; and each idea must be thoroughly acquired before a new one is presented.

These principles had been recognised by Pestalozzi as early as 1774, whilst he was trying to bring up his three-year-old son according to Rousseau's idea ; he saw in them a means of regenerating the people by a reform of elementary education, and without considering his powers he conceived an irresistible desire to put his hand to the work.

This explains his successive undertakings, in which he constantly applied the same principles, and with such firm faith that no check could break his courage or cool his zeal.

In reviewing the means of elementary teaching due to

Pestalozzi, we shall follow the order of their employment in the course of the child's development.

The Exercises in intuition and language, which later were called *lessons of things or object lessons*, should teach the child to observe and speak, to tell the impressions received from objects around to which the master calls his attention. Thus words and phrases, corrected where necessary, soon come to the child and express its own thoughts.

Intuitive arithmetic gives the child a clear idea of numbers and their connections, by the sight of objects that he can count. For this purpose Pestalozzi made use of his picture of units and fractions; the series of these exercises was rather long, so people sought to shorten it; his tables have been replaced by other similar means, the best known of which is the abacus. But by these changes people have rather lost than gained; the best pupils of the modern schools are far behind those of Pestalozzi in mental arithmetic.

Graphic exercises without rule or compass served at once as a preparation for linear drawing, elementary geometry, and writing. By using slate and pencil, which allowed the writing to be easily rubbed out, he rendered a great and undoubted service to the popular schools.

In *drawing*, the children were called upon to judge of the relative length and inclination of right lines, and to trace groups of them according to order given; they were not limited to copying models, but had to invent and design regular figures with pleasing effect; in this way, and at the same time, the eye, hand, mind, invention and taste were trained.

Pestalozzi called the exercises serving to prepare for geometry, *connections of forms or intuition of forms*. The child, at first, was exercised in distinguishing vertical, horizontal, oblique, and parallel lines, right angles, acute and obtuse angles; the different kinds of triangles, quadrilaterals, &c.; then he had to see how many meeting points, angles, triangles, and quadrilaterals can be formed with a given numbers of right lines. These exercises led the pupils to first theorems of formal geometry, upon which

they entered with as much pleasure and ease as in most of the demonstrations.

Writing is not long merely an exercise for the hand and the eye. Pestalozzi connected it with reading, but he began the exercise after those we have spoken of. Even before he became a schoolmaster at Berthoud he had planned a mode of instruction in reading, in which he gave the first idea of movable letters. His method of reading, now generally adopted, consisted of the arrangement of groups of letters of progressive difficulty; but he wrote for Germans, and he could not take account of the great obstacles which the extreme irregularity of our orthography presents to children.

Pestalozzi's method of *geography* has completely transformed that science. It begins by making the child observe the little corner of the country which he inhabits, not upon a map, but upon the earth itself; it is the child who draws the map of the place, correcting it after another visit. Having thus learned how to read maps, he pursues his studies by the help of large blank maps hung up on the wall. From the first day, geography is connected with other sciences which makes it very attractive, even to children, such as natural history, agriculture, the local geology of the superficial strata, &c.

Pestalozzi had the elements of *natural history* studied by exercises in intuition and language; that is to say, each object was presented to the direct observation of the children who, under the direction of the master, made their own remarks. The favourite objects of study were those that had been gathered in their walks; but these were supplemented by collections of minerals, dried plants, and stuffed animals.

In the exercises which we are about to describe, the chief means that Pestalozzi used to maintain the attention and the activity of the whole class, and to fix the names in the memory of the children, was in making them repeat, many times over in chorus, each correct description. This repetition, which should be done in time, produces a kind of chant which is not very pleasant to the assistant, although it has no real inconveniences; it is also well to guard the

children against shouting, to watch that each takes part in the exercise, and to question separately those that seem idle. These precautions were sometimes neglected by Pestalozzi himself, distracted as he was by his pre-occupations and carried away by his passionate zeal; the result was a confusion that spoilt everything, and necessarily caused the *method* to be condemned by those who had not other ideas by which to judge it. This means itself was none the less excellent and nothing has been able to replace it. It had besides a hygienic advantage, it strengthened the chest of the children by a habitual use of the organs of speech.

The process described has often been badly imitated; the form has been copied without the spirit; the children have been made to repeat statements which were not their own, which were not the expression of their own observation, sometimes not even explained to them. This practice, the very opposite to Pestalozzi's, but bearing his name brought false judgments upon the doctrine of the master.

Singing played an important part in all Pestalozzi's establishments. In beginning, the younger children learned to sing as they had learned to speak, that is, by an exercise of imitation. Germany possesses a large number of simple and pretty melodies of very varied character which formed a large part of Pestalozzi's collection; the children sang them with pleasure, their ear being trained, and their voice and taste cultivated before they knew their notes. When theory and notation came, they began by the study of time apart from notation which was studied later on.

This somewhat mathematical part of music was easily grasped by the pupils, because their counting exercises had prepared them well for it; each lesson in theory ended by some songs being sung as recreation.

The introduction of gymnastics into a school programme was another innovation due to Pestalozzi; as much importance was attached to these lessons as to any others, and it is in them especially that we see the importance of the graduating of the exercises which was one of his favourite principles.

We cannot speak here of other branches of teaching as it was not allowed to Pestalozzi to finish the works by which he sought to apply his method. We can only say a few words about the study of language on account of the great importance of the subject.

Pestalozzi's pupils learned the use of their mother tongue by frequent and varied exercises; this language was German in the first enterprises of the master; the French joined them at Yverdon, thence the children were exercised in both languages. But it was necessary to teach them grammar, and as Pestalozzi had not applied his method to that branch of study, the masters were almost obliged to keep to the old books. Pestalozzi had vainly sought for a rational course, suited to his principles in this subject. We believe that he might have found a large part of what he was seeking in the "*Organism of Language*" of the German Becker, a book which was only published long after the death of Pestalozzi.

The latter never ceased working at the subject of language to the end of his life; he sought especially for elementary and rational means in the study of foreign and dead languages.

114. We have only been able to give here a general idea of the application which Pestalozzi made of his method to the different parts of elementary teaching; the courses of exercises are to be found in the "*Philosophy and Practice of Education.*"

But we cannot repeat too often that his method is spirit and life, and, in order that it may bear fruit, this spirit and life must penetrate the intelligence and especially the heart of the master. You can tell whether you are faithful to the method by the children bringing to their lessons a joyous and persevering zeal that needs no artificial stimulus, nothing but interest in the object, in the discovery of a truth, the pleasure of fulfilling their duty of acquiring knowledge or talent, and of feeling their powers grow.

It is true that this happy result is sometimes obtained by men who are far from thinking of themselves as the disciples of Pestalozzi, whom perhaps they do not even

know; this is because the philosophy of the master which has made its way so gradually and with so little noise has affected them without their being aware of it. God grant it might so penetrate everywhere. We would not so often see the natural law of human development violated in the family, school, and books for the young, in which it seems as if the effort was to fetter, falsify, and pervert it.

Children's books have, it is true, made great progress. For some years we have had some that have a well-deserved reputation by renouncing the marvellous insipidity and the childishness of an artificial world, books which captivate childhood whilst giving real instruction and truly moral impressions. This is a great advance, but it is not everything. Many of these books, however, and those most popular in France, abuse fiction by multiplying dramatic and romantic situations and interesting the children, not by the instruction they contain, but by the adventures and incidents which form their framework. Thus it is that youth is bored, taste spoilt, and it becomes difficult to arouse pleasure in true history, real travels, and generally in serious and sustained works of intelligence.

We have broadly sketched the elementary method of Pestalozzi in its application to teaching properly so called. But the instruction of children was not the only or the principal aim to which this remarkable man devoted the ardent activity of his life. What he wished to regenerate especially was moral and religious education; what he wished to develop was the heart, and in the heart faith and love; above all, he sought to train men to be pious, moral, devoted to their duties, their neighbours, and their country.

First, let us remark that this moral development already results in a measure from the means employed in teaching. Indeed, constantly varied activity, the search of truth for truth itself, and not for some motive of pride or interest, are conditions eminently favourable to the aspirations of the soul, and the supremacy of the mind over the body. But Pestalozzi's method is especially adapted to the development of the child's heart; for by working upon

good feelings as motives, these good sentiments grow and strengthen. So, to make children good, Pestalozzi attributed far less importance to discourses and exhortations than to the practice of the Christian virtues, faith, love, support, pardon, &c., to which Pestalozzi wished to accustom the children from the cradle, beginning by very little and seemingly insignificant things, which are nevertheless the beginnings of piety, morality and wisdom.

Pestalozzi's method in moral and religious development has generally been misunderstood, especially by pious men who feel the need of the Gospel for the sanctification of souls, who, under misapprehension, think that the exposition of dogma can alone rouse Christian sentiments in the heart of youth, and that this is enough. Pestalozzi had said: "Elementary Education alone can regenerate and save society." "No," they replied, "the Gospel only can do this miracle." But there is no contradiction here.

Society can only be elevated by the raising of individuals, and if the Gospel is to raise men it must not only penetrate their mind, but assimilate with their whole being and become the basis of their sentiments, their aspirations and their will in every day life.

The preaching of the Gospel is not always enough; even when it has reached the soul, its effects are too often fleeting; too often, also, the effects disappear with the generation that has experienced them.

A phase of unbelief generally succeeds a phase of faith, and we often see the children of the most fervent Christians, Christians only in name.

This is how the Gospel is still unknown to the heart of men, even in countries where it has been preached for centuries.

If, sometimes, man comes suddenly, and completely under the influence of Christian truth, it is a rare exception. It generally requires a true education, not the education of memory, external, and superficial which existed everywhere before Pestalozzi, but what he called *elementary education* which sets in action the feelings and faculties giving them their direction, making the child the worker of his own development as he assimilates morality and knowledge.

The philosophy of the eighteenth century proclaimed man to be all good, but spoilt by society. That was equal to asserting that society is bad, whilst man's work is good.

There has been a reaction against this error, but the reaction has gone to the opposite extreme. Man has come to be regarded as being all bad, with nothing good to develop in him; by a natural consequence Pestalozzi has been condemned because he considered education as a development. It is clear that if there was no trace of good feelings in the soul of the child the educator could not gain a hold there; that if the germs of good did not exist in the youthful heart the work of man for his moral education would be impossible.

We have seen that Pestalozzi recognised the existence of original sin in the heart of man, but he made the mistake of losing sight of it too often when he described his doctrine. What struck him especially was the store of good sentiments whose germs he had recognised inert, but still living, in the most degraded souls; and to interest his contemporaries in the work by which he sought to regenerate and save the unfortunate he wished above all to show them the possibility of doing it.

Whatever aim education may have, if it is to be successful it should adopt the method agreeing with the natural law of man's development.

Now, this is what Pestalozzi wished. Considered by itself, his method is independent of all dogmatic opinions; that is why it will never grow old. At all times and in every country it can be applied not only to the powers of the body and the intelligence, but also to the divine element which is in the human soul.

115. In consecrating his life to a reform of elementary education, Pestalozzi not only wished to minimise the misery of individuals, but also to correct some vices which weakened the social state of Europe and threatened civilisation with a deadly peril.

This idea is seen in the most of his books; we shall recall here the most prophetic words which he addressed to Mme. Niederer when he entrusted her with his manuscript upon the *Causes of the French Revolution* :

“One day, when our time will have passed, when, after half a century a new generation will have taken our place, when Europe will be so threatened by the same faults and growing misery of the people, and its dire consequences, when all the supports of society shall be shaken, then, oh! then, perhaps they will receive the lesson of my experiences, and the most enlightened among them shall at last understand that it is only by ennobling men that a limit can be put to the misery and discontent of the people, as well as the abuse of despotism whether of princes or of mobs.”

What Pestalozzi considered the cause of the evil was not so much the absence of instruction for the people as a vicious mode of teaching which lulled the faculties instead of developing them and hardened the heart instead of ennobling it. The old method has continued to prevail in the remarkable diffusion of popular instruction that has taken place in the present century. And thus it is that this so-called diffusion of *light* has only increased the social evil instead of curing it.

What Pestalozzi considered the principal means of preserving our civilisation from the dreadful crisis which he foresaw was his Elementary Education.

Some of its effects.

First, it would give the heart and mind true liberty which is the first essential to all the rest. For it would tend to promote independence, development and character in every citizen. We would no longer see the great majority of men believe, judge and excite themselves only by the faith, judgment, and passions of the mass, or follow blindly the impulse given by their cleverest and most violent leaders.

Then this educative instruction which makes an artisan of the child by its knowledge gives him the taste and power to learn by himself. Thus trained, the young man likes to improve himself; he is disposed to do this in his leisure hours, and thus escapes many serious temptations.

This instruction which each can acquire by his own observation and judgment delivers men from the tyranny of these general opinions which are imposed at certain times although they contain dangerous errors. And it is not in the economic sciences alone that the masses blindly adopt false systems.

At this time the rage for natural science takes the place of the contempt which it formerly inspired; it is now recognised as *Science*, as though there was no other; the authority of this science is almost the only one now recognised, and it is often appealed to beyond its own domain.

Thus we meet many people who believe that the process of the natural sciences has condemned the moral sciences. Is it not likely that men would be less liable to such confusion of ideas if their knowledge was the fruit of their faculties which were exercised from infancy, and the conquest of their attention, observation and judgment?

116. One of the greatest dangers of our democratic epoch is separation in the education of the different classes of society. The rich have one education, the poor another. The two classes follow their own way, becoming gradually further apart; each has its habits and tastes, its own language; so they end by not understanding one another, thence comes mistrust and even hostility. We can conceive how this evil would be diminished if the children of all classes could remain in the same schools till the age of thirteen or fourteen. For then they would have a community of ideas, knowledge and language, and already durable connections would be formed amongst them. Schools in Pestalozzi's spirit would make this common education possible without giving cause of uneasiness to the most fastidious parent. But it would require teachers animated with the spirit of Pestalozzi, also an increased number of primary classes for which people are now kept waiting although the need for them is generally felt.

It is a reform easy of realisation; which, even if incomplete, would exercise a happy influence upon the sad antagonism which everywhere divides men in different spheres of action.

To-day, the children intended for classical studies begin to learn Latin at eight or nine years of age, and from that time they are, if not entirely separated, at least distinct from their companions who are to follow industrial occupations, and they are more or less kept apart.

This condition of matters interferes with the sympathetic

feeling which should exist amongst all classes of society. It also has the serious drawback of requiring the child's future career to be determined for him before the parents can judge of his tastes and capabilities. Pestalozzi wished the study of Latin to be preceded by the study of a living language which would serve as a point of comparison with the mother-tongue.

This system has been tried in several countries, even in important public establishments, as in Berne, and always with success.

The pupils, who do not begin the dead languages until the age of thirteen or fourteen, make such rapid progress that in a few years they regain the time that seemed lost for this study and which they had employed more usefully meanwhile.

But this reform has not been adopted. Nothing is more difficult than to change a traditional system of study which requires to maintain a certain unity among all the schools of a country. And, indeed, the books and methods to adopt or follow with children who know nothing will not suit young people already taught and trained; then the change would require to be general, and made at all the schools at once, in order to allow the pupils to advance without hindrance. Nevertheless, this reform would be so advantageous in all respects that it will eventually be adopted.

One of the greatest evils of modern society is pride under a variety of forms: vanity and ambition, the spirit of rivalry and emulation, the desire to rise and shine above others, and to surpass them in wealth and power. This disposition, to which our evil nature easily yields itself, is daily excited in classes in which distinctions of rank and distributions of prizes are employed to stimulate the activity of the pupils. Instead of being content with natural emulation, which in a well-conducted school results even from the nature of things, and the satisfaction of doing well and succeeding, artificial means are brought into play to arouse and strengthen an unhealthy and anti-Christian emulation, a need of distinctions and honours, a spirit of rivalry, leading to envy, spite, and even dislike.


Pestalozzi, from the first, condemned and proscribed these artificial means of exciting a bad emulation; but he did better than merely condemning them, he made them unnecessary. His elementary exercises, from their starting point, gradation, and connection, are so well suited to the faculties, tastes, and needs of the child that he gives himself up to them with pleasure; and the satisfaction of feeling that he is learning, finding out, and strengthening his powers is the best of stimulants for him. Thus in teaching children by the rational elementary method there is no temptation to appeal to their vanity as a motive power.

These are only some of the points of view by which the discovery of the great reformer of education presents us with the principal elements of solution for the social question which agitates our time. |

In conclusion, the enduring work of Pestalozzi, the benefit which he has left to humanity, is his philosophy applied to an elementary method of education. If we have succeeded in the preceding exposition, it will be felt that this method does not consist of such and such proceedings or ways of action; that a perfect type of it cannot be found at Berthoud or Yverdon; and it will be understood why Pestalozzi was never fully satisfied with what he had done, and why he was working and searching to the last.

He died in trouble, this noble friend of the unfortunate. In dying, he addressed a supreme appeal to those who could do better than he had done to continue after him the work he had the grief to leave unfinished. In his humble modesty he appears to have forgotten that he fulfilled the most difficult and important task—that of exposing the educational evils of his time, and discovering the principles of a salutary reform towards the accomplishment of which he opened the way which we have but to follow.

It is for the true and zealous friends of humanity, who have grasped Pestalozzi's idea, to become inspired with his spirit, to answer his appeal and to follow in the way marked out by his devotion. To-day the door is wide open and the need is great."



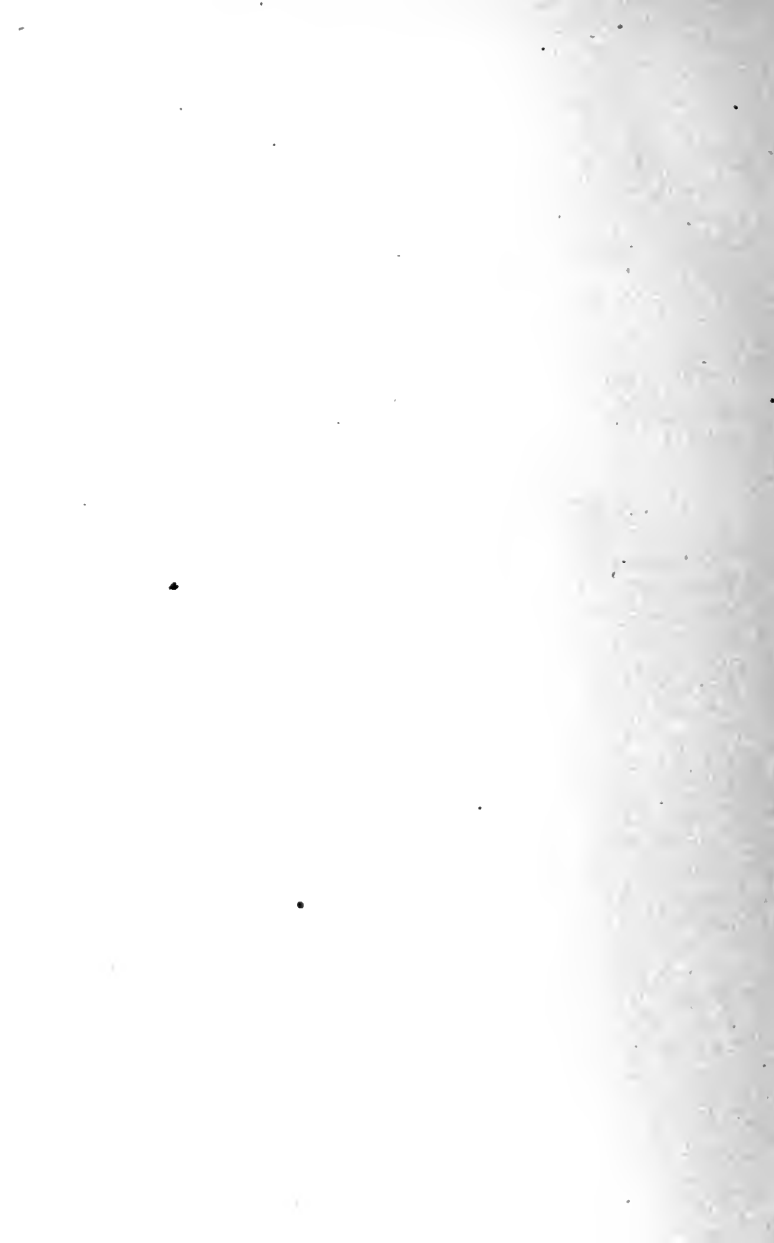
LIST OF PESTALOZZI'S WORKS IN THE
ORDER OF THEIR COMPOSITION.

The Works marked with an asterisk (*) are of special importance to Teachers.

1765. Agis.
1776. Appeal to the Friends of Humanity to aid an Establishment intended to give Education and Work to Poor Country Children.
1777. Three Letters upon the Education of Poor Children. Fragment of an Account of the most degraded portion of Humanity. Appeal to charity to relieve it.
1778. Notice of the Educational Institute for Poor Children at Neuhof.
1780. *The Evening Hour of a Hermit.
1781. *Leonard and Gertrude. Vol. I.
Essay upon Sumptuary Laws.
1782. Christopher and Alice.
The Swiss Gazette, a weekly paper, 2 vols.
Instruction of Children in the Home (unpublished during the Author's life.)
1783. Leonard and Gertrude. Vol. II.
Paper upon Legislation and Infanticide.
1785. Leonard and Gertrude. Vol. III.

1787. Leonard and Gertrude. Vol. IV.
1792. Upon the Causes of the French Revolution, (left unpublished.)
1797. *Fables, 2 vols.
 Researches into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race.
1798. Political Pamphlets upon the Swiss Revolution, namely: A Word to the Legislative Council of Helvetia.
 Upon Tithes.
 Awaken, Oh People!
 To my Fatherland.
 To the People of Helvetia.
 Call to the Inhabitants of the Ancient Democratic Cantons.
 Upon the Present and Future of Humanity.
1799. *Letter to Gessner upon the Work at Stans.
1800. Memorial presented to the Society of the Friends of Education (left unpublished).
1801. Instruction in Spelling and Reading.
 *How Gertrude Teaches her Children.
 The Epochs; a Historical Sketch from the Social and Political Point of View.
 Religious Education; a Survey of Christ and his Doctrine.
1802. Views relating to Objects to which the Legislators of Switzerland should particularly direct their attention. Pestalozzi described by himself.
1803. *The Book for Mothers.
 Intuitive Exercises in Number, compiled by Krusi and Buss.
 Intuitive Exercises in Form and Size, compiled by Krusi and Buss.

- The Master of the Natural School, (left unpublished).
1807. The Principles and Plan of a Journal announced in 1807.
(Compiled by Niederer.)
Glance at my Views and Essays upon Education.
(Lightly touched by Niederer.)
Report to the Parents and Public upon the Educational Institute of Yverdon.
- 1807-11 Weekly Journal of Education, 3 Vols. Written chiefly by Niederer and some other fellow-labourers.
1809. Discourse delivered at the meeting of the Society of the Friends of Education at Lenzbourg, (retouched and added to by Niederer.)
- 1808-18*Discourses to my House.
1813. Letter to M. Delbruck, Councillor at Berlin.
1815. To Innocence, and the Serious and Noble of my Time and Country.
- 1818-20*Letters to Greaves. (Not mentioned in the list).
1820. A word upon my Pedagogic Works and the Organisation of my Institute in 1820.
Elementary Exercises upon Number, compiled by Schmid.
1822. Views upon Industry, Education, and Politics, in their connection with our circumstances before and after the Revolution.
1826. *The Song of the Swan.
*My Destinies as Head of the Institutes at Berthoud and Yverdon.
Discourse delivered as President of the Helvetic Society.
- 1820-26 Pestalozzi's Works. Cotta's Edition, Stuttgart, 15 vols.



APPENDIX A.

OBSERVATION OF CHILDREN.

(Omission from page 20, par. 17.)

“Mme. Necker de Saussure remarks, in her *Progressive Education*, that she is astonished that, amongst the indefatigable observers in every department, it has never occurred to a father to record the progress of his child. She was unaware that her wish was realised, sixty years before, by the reformer of education.”

Mme. Necker's remark does not hold good to-day, one of the most promising features of the present time being the great attention which intelligent educators are giving to early development and infant psychology.

See *The First Three Years of Childhood* by Perez, translated by Miss Christie, and the beginning of Frœbel's *Education of Man* translated by Hailmann, also Sully's *Psychology*. Mr. Sully remarks elsewhere that *intelligent fathers* have contributed most to this valuable branch of knowledge. Darwin, Miss Edgworth, and others have paid much attention to the early manifestation of mind in children. A quotation from Miss Edgworth's *Practical Education* will show that interest in this subject is not a new idea. She says: “This title (*Practical Education*) was chosen by Honora Edgworth. Her plan of keeping a register of the remarks of her children has been pursued, at intervals, in her family, and a number of these remarks have been interspersed in this book.”

As some further apology for offering them to the public, we recur to a passage in Dr. Reid's essays which encourages an attempt to study minutely the minds of children: "If we could obtain a distinct and full history of all that hath passed in a child's mind from the beginning of life and sensation till it grows up to the use of reason, how infant faculties begin to work and how they brought forth and ripened all the various notions, opinions, and sentiments which we find in ourselves when we come to be capable of reflection, this would be a treasure of natural history which would probably give more light into the human faculties than all the systems of philosophers about them from the beginning of the world."

Dr. Thomas Reid, b, 1710, d, 1796. A Scotch philosopher, Professor at the University of Aberdeen, and afterwards at Glasgow. Chief works: *Inquiry into the Human Mind, Philosophy of the Intellectual Powers, and the Active Powers*. His doctrine, based on principles of intuitive origin, is sometimes called *The Philosophy of Common Sense*. *Translator*.

APPENDIX B.

PESTALOZZI'S LETTERS TO GREAVES.

THESE are not mentioned in this work, but a list of Pestalozzi's works is incomplete without them.

Mr. G. Greaves visited Clendy and took great interest in the work there. On his return to England he corres.

ponded with Pestalozzi (between 1818 and 1820) and the letters have been published in English. They are now out of print. They deal with the subject of Infant Education and the direction of Mothers in the training of their children. Pestalozzi says: "The first qualification for the task is *thinking love*; the duties are responsible, and the work is a busy and difficult one. The child is a bud not yet opened; its leaves unfold one by one. This is the fittest analogy for the development of the faculties. There is no faculty but must be treated with the same attention as the rest. Distinguishing of the opening of the faculties by observation: First exertion, the grasping of playthings. Manifestation of mind: attention aroused. Direction of the expanding faculties to be by love and respect and not by fear. Faculties to be so cultivated that no one shall preponderate over the others, but each be excited to the true standard of activity. This standard to be the Spiritual nature of man. The work needs faith. Ladder of Faith with the Angels of Hope and Love ascending and descending. Existence and manifestation of the spiritual principle in man. (VII.) Influence and success of kindness with the child. Why? Because it arouses sympathy in his heart. (VIII.) The mother's care to direct the instinctive love of the child into active benevolence. Pestalozzi's belief in the goodness of human nature. (XIII.) Effect of fear. It may do much: an animal instinct. Fear and awe: Indulgence renders children unhappy. Fear of punishment not a restraining power. Severity makes the child timid and encourages dissimulation and cowardice. Weakening of the mother's influence. The child becomes more independent of her as its physical powers strengthen. With this comes intellectual and moral independence. Observation and memory lead to reflection. Inquisitiveness prompts to exertion. Children's questions. The more accurately the child observes the more distinct will be its impressions. (XXII) Need for gymnastics. Music (XXIV) Children's attempts at imitation. Language learnt by it. Building. Drawing useful in Botany. Copying from nature. Modelling. Geometry and Geography. Need for raising the

tone of Domestic Education. Atmosphere of sympathy elevated by moral and religious feeling. Education of mothers. Female character: marked preponderance of feeling requires clear-sighted and kindest attention.

Things to be taught before words. Moral tales to illustrate abstract ideas. (XXIX) Self-activity of the child to be encouraged; it must be led to think. (XXX) Children not to be wearied. School tyrants. (XXXI) Preparatory lessons in Number, Form, and Language alluded to, to be concrete. All to be done by questions. The child can recognise two balls but not *two* in the abstract. Mental arithmetic. Things more than words. Necessity for careful instruction in the mother-tongue. Child to gain complete mastery over one language at least. Independence. (XXXIII) Motives contrasted. Fear the lowest; Ambition the highest. The former calculated only to appeal to the lower selfishness of man.

“Maternal love the first agent in education.”

The foregoing lines are mere headings intended to give an idea of the subject of the Letters.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES.

Agis IV, King of Sparta, reigned from B.C. 338-331 or 330. He is one of the heroes of *Plutarch's Lives*. His last words were: "Lament me not; suffering unjustly, I am happier than my murderers."

Dr. Bell, (1753-1832) organiser of the system of mutual instruction and founder of the Madras College. St. Andrews. Dr. Bell was Army Chaplain in India and took an interest in the Military School. Understanding the difficulty of managing large numbers with a small staff of teachers, he was struck one day on observing the children in a native school, in Malabar, tracing letters on the sand under the guidance of one of their companions. Henceforth, Dr. Bell adopted the expedient of entrusting the elder boys with the direction of the younger; and on his return to England, the National Society was formed on Bell's plan; whilst, about the same time, Lancaster supported by the British and Foreign School Society, introduced the plan of monitorial teaching. See *Leitche's Practical Educationists*.

Bentham, Jeremy (1748-1832) an English philosopher and moral reformer. Educated for the law, he did not, however, adopt it as his profession, but wrote criticisms upon Government and legislation, advocating especially improvement in the mode of punishing criminals. He wrote "*A Theory of Punishments and Rewards*, a paper on *The Hard Labour Bill*, *Letters on Usury*, *Paper Relative to Codification and Public Instruction*, the *Book of Fallacies*, &c. He was an advocate of the doctrine of utility, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

Bodmer Jean Jacques (1699—1733), Professor at University of Zurich, his native city, for 50 years. A great critic and poet. With Breitinger he reformed the German literature, by condemning the system of French imitation, supporting all that was national, and encouraging the study of the great English writers. His works are: *Translations of Homer, Milton, &c.*, *Critical Letters*, *Collections from the Minnesingers*. (The earliest lyric poets of Germany in the 12th and 13th centuries. "They were contemporary with the troubadours, but superior to them in delicacy of sentiment and expression." *Minne—love*.)

Book for Mothers, the, although possessing no literary merit, interested

Froebel and suggested to him the idea of his *Mutter und Kose Lieder*, the *Mother-Chat and Songs* which have been translated into English.

Catechism of Heidelberg, or the Palatinate C. was drawn up under Frederick III. in 1563. Its *raison d'être* was to decide a controversy which had sprung up between the Lutherans and Calvinists. Frederick's sympathies were with the Calvinists. He entrusted Ursinus (who was a pupil of Melancthon) and Olivianus to draw up a Confession of Faith. It was written in German, and when completed submitted to the Superintendents of the Palatinate. It defines the difference between the Lord's Supper and the Mass, and the subjects of Misery, Redemption, Gratitude, Duty; but as the question of Predestination is not touched upon the Calvinists and Arminians do not receive it. The Heidelberg C., however, is very popular in parts of Germany and Protestant Switzerland, and many editions of it are extant. It consists of 129 questions and answers.

Clarkson, Thomas, (1760-1846) the friend of Wilberforce, and like him a philanthropist. He, too, worked in the cause of the abolition of slavery, and for this purpose visited Bristol and Liverpool to gather information. He also went to France to try to arouse attention to the subject there but without success, only Lafayette and Mirabeau being interested in the subject. He spent time, energy, and money in the work till, like Wilberforce, his health gave way. But the long struggle was successful at last, the Emancipation Bill being passed in 1833, a few days before the death of Wilberforce.

Cuvier, Georges, Baron (1769-1832) an eminent naturalist, who made discoveries as to the nature of the Mollusca, and laid the foundation of the present classification of animals. Works: several upon *Comparative Anatomy, Mollusca, Fossils, Natural History of Fishes, &c.*

Fichte, Johnn Gottlieb, (1762-1814) a great German philosopher. Professor at Jena, then at Berlin, an original thinker and teacher of idealism. Views: Man is not born bad, he has a natural disposition to love what is right; however, he is not born morally good, but capable of improvement (perfectibility). Education rightly directed is to effect this. Education is thus capable of raising not merely the individual but the entire nation. Fichte's *Address to the German Nation*, delivered when Napoleon was in Berlin, is full of vigour. The *Discourses*, fourteen in number, were never published. Fichte in them describes education as the unfolding of the whole nature of man; its aim is to make man good; personal activity and spontaneity the chief factor in the process, &c., &c. Other works, *Theory of Science, Theory of Right, Theory of Law, Aphorisms upon Education*. Fichte was a personal friend of Pestalozzi and married Klopstock's niece.

Fussli, Jean-Henri (born at Zurich, 1741; died at Putney, 1825). He was destined for the Church and received a classical education. But his taste was for modern literature, and he had great enthusiasm for the works of Shakespeare. Knowing English, he translated *Macbeth*. Having written against the government with his college friend Lavater, he was banished. The two friends went to Berlin together. Fussli proceeded in 1763 to London; where for a time he tried unsuccessfully to

live by his pen. Then he made some drawings which he submitted to Sir J. Reynolds, who approved of them. So Fussli became a painter. His first picture was, *Joseph interpreting the Dreams*; then followed the *Death of Cardinal Beaufort*, *Macbeth*, *Federation of the Founders of Liberty* (at Zurich). Fussli returned to London. His most successful works are his illustrations of Shakespeare: *The Tempest*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King Lear*, and the *Ghost in Hamlet*. With the help of Cowper he began the illustration of Milton's works.

Gessner, Salomon (1730-1788) Father of the Friend to whom Pestalozzi wrote his letter about Stans, and addressed "*How Gertrude teaches her Children*." Gessner was a poet and landscape painter whose works were highly esteemed by men of taste. He described country scenes in a style of his own. Rousseau called him a man after his own heart. His chief training was the study of nature, and some of his best known works are: *Night*, the *Idylls*, and *Letters upon Landscape*.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang, (1749-1832,) a great German thinker, poet, dramatist, and novelist; sometimes called "the Creator of German Literature." His genius was very versatile and his personal influence great. Goethe was the centre of attraction in the court of Weimar, where Schiller for a time was associated with him. These two great men became the leaders of German literature, but the influence of Goethe preponderated, and it has extended beyond the Fatherland. His works are many. Some of the most characteristic are: *Gotz von Berlichingen*, a medical romance; *Werther*, a sentimental production, *Hermann and Dorothea*, a German idyll; *Faust*, a drama; and *Wilhelm Meister*, a novel. Goethe interested himself in natural science, and he was also a great lover of art. He had an interview with Napoleon at Erfurt in 1808, when the latter addressed him with the compliment "You are a man," and they parted in mutual admiration. (There is a Goethe Society in London.)

Greaves, see Appendix.

Herder, Johann Gottfried (1744-1803,) a German theological thinker, friend of Goethe, and pastor and professor at Riga and Gottingen. His parents were poor and his education was carried on under difficulties, but he rose to eminence by his talents and noble character. His genius was versatile, and his works on general literature were numerous. He gave special attention to the subject of education, visited the schools of many lands, and left behind him his *Ideal of a School*. In this work (1769) he advocates the teaching of *things* first, such as *bread*, *sugar*, *descriptions of animals*; and he deprecates the overwhelming importance which is attached to Latin. Herder knew Basedow of the Dessau Philanthropin, (see "*Quick's Educational Reformers*"). Pestalozzi had not yet thought of teaching. *The Philosophy of the History of Man*, the *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, and a poem called the *Cid* are his most famous works.

Humboldt, Wilhelm, Baron Von (1767-1835), a German Statesman, philologist, and man of letters, eldest brother of the celebrated naturalist, Baron Friedrich von Humboldt, author of *Cosmos*.

Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb (1724-1803), called "the German

Milton." Author of the epic, *The Messiah*. In 1750 Klopstock was invited by Bodmer to Zurich where he was well received by the highly cultivated minds of that favoured city. Thence he went to Denmark. He married an admirable and charming woman—Meta Möller—a correspondent of the English novelist Richardson. She is called "Klopstock in feminine beauty." The poet's happiness was clouded by her early death. Klopstock's poetry is characterised by a sincerely religious and benevolent spirit, grace, and nationality. He is original and sublime. His works are: *the Death of Adam*, a tragedy, not intended for representation; *Solomon and David*, *Ode to the Omnipotent*, &c. His tomb at Hamburg is crowned by two sheaves and a verse from the Messiah:

"Seed sown by God, to ripen for the day of harvest."

Kosciusko, Thaddeus (1746—1817) a Polish patriot, educated at Paris and Warsaw. He went to America with Lafayette and fought bravely in the War of Independence. He also fought against Russia for his Fatherland; but, after the submission of King Stanislaus, he retired. On the outbreak of the Polish revolution in 1794 he headed the national forces; and, after some success, withdrew with the troops into Warsaw, which he defended for two months against besieging Russians and Prussians. On the approach of re-inforcements of the enemy, Kosciusko went to meet them. A battle was fought at Macziewice, and the Poles were beaten; Prague fell, and Warsaw yielded. Kosciusko was taken prisoner to Russia, but afterwards was released. Napoleon esteemed him and sought to enlist his services but without success. When his sword was returned to him he declined it, saying he had now "no country to defend." Kosciusko retired to Soleure in Switzerland where he spent his time in agricultural pursuits. His death was caused by a fall from his horse.

Lavater, Jean-Caspar (1741—1801) a Swiss patriot, pastor, and poet. While yet a youth with Fussli, he charged Grebel with injustice and oppression. His family then sent him to Germany. He entered the church for which he was eminently fitted by his fervent piety; and he was appointed pastor of St. Peter's, Zurich. Lavater's nature was very sympathetic, and imaginative; and his observation, keen. This gave him great discrimination of character. He devoted some time to the study of physiognomy, believing that it might become one of the sciences, and he gathered a large collection of illustrations. But later experience led him to modify his views and think them fanciful. Amongst his works are: *Views upon Eternity*, *Sacred Songs*, *The New Messiah*, &c. Like Wordsworth, Lavater welcomed the French Revolution; but after the excesses of the mob, he regarded it with horror. During its progress he was exiled to Bâle, but the sentence was afterwards revoked. At the capture of Zurich by Massena he was wounded in the streets whilst assisting some wounded people, and after lingering in great suffering for some months he died.

Levana, the author of, Jean-Paul Richter, a German writer, called the *Unique*. *Levana* is an original work upon education, full of good sense and happy thoughts. There is an English translation of the work in Bohn's Library which is well worth study.

Maclure, William (1763—1840) a geologist and social economist, founder of a School of Industry at New Harmony. Maclure was a Scotchman engaged in business. He travelled much and adopted America as his home. He was in France in 1803, as member of a commission from the American citizens relative to losses sustained by them during the Revolution. He pursued his favourite study and on his return made a geological survey of the United States. In 1824 he went to New Harmony where he sought to establish an Agricultural College. He died in Mexico. Maclure has written several essays on political subjects

New Harmony, a village in Indiana, bought by Robert Owen in 1824, but speedily transferred to Maclure, who induced Naef, one of Pestalozzi's disciples in Paris to go there. There is an incidental allusion to this establishment in the *Life of Sir Rowland Hill* vol. 1., page 206. He says: "He gives excellent accounts of Harmony. Here is a specimen of the advantages of the system. The naturalists having made the children acquainted with their wants, the little creatures swarm over the woods, and bring in such an abundance of specimens that they are forming several immense collections, some of which they will present to new communities, and others will be exchanged for collections in other parts of the world. By these means vast numbers of insects have been discovered, of the existence of which the world was previously in ignorance."

Madison, James (1751-1836), an American statesman, fourth President of the United States, and called the "Father of the Constitution." He gave his attention to finance and trade, and advocated toleration and freedom in religion. He was temperate towards England, and sought to avoid war. He approved of a National Bank and encouraged public improvements. He opposed the neutral policy of Washington in regard to Great Britain and France. The character of Madison was mild and conciliating, and he was respected by all. He was the intimate friend of Jefferson and succeeded him in 1809.

Monge, Gaspard (1746-1818), mathematician, chemist, and discoverer. He applied geometry to the arts of construction, and made improvements in the making of cannon and steel. In 1796, he was sent to Italy for the works of art—pictures and statues—agreed to be taken from the Italian cities. He accompanied the Egyptian expedition and went with Bonaparte to Syria. On his return to France he directed the Polytechnic School. Monge was well rewarded for his services and was created Count of Pelusium, but he lost all on the fall of Napoleon.

Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de (1533-92) a distinguished French moral philosopher and essayist. As a child he was taught to speak Latin: and, it is said, his father used to have him wakened by music. He was sent to the College of Bordeaux where George Buchanan (afterwards teacher of James VI of Scotland) was then a master. His chief pleasure was in the study of Greek and Roman philosophy and literature. Montaigne's Essays appeared between 1580 and 1588. They are unclassified and treat of various subjects such as: *Our Time cannot be judged until after our Death. It's an Ill Wind that blows nobody good. Fear. The Battle of*

Drew, &c. Montaigne travelled in Italy during the time of the plague. Belonging to an influential family he was elected to several public appointments, but he had no taste for office, preferring to live amongst his chosen friends at his home, Montaigne. Montaigne was an advocate of physical education and he denounced the system of word-teaching then (and not only then) prevalent.

Mme. Necker, de Saussure, (b. at Geneva, 1765, d. 1841), daughter of M. de Saussure, the famous physicist, geologist, and Alpine explorer. *Mme. Necker's* work on *Progressive Education* is a valuable one; it consists of three volumes, two of which deal with the early period of life. See Appendix.

Ney, Michel (1769-1815), a brave Marshal of France, son of a soldier who rose during the French Revolution. He distinguished himself at the capture of Mannheim, and became Commander of the Army of the Rhine. Ney checked the advance of the Archduke Charles upon Massena. He was advanced, made marshal, and Duke of Elchingen (in memory of his gallantry at that place). Later, he served in the Tyrol and Spain but was dismissed by Massena from whom he differed on the plan of action. This disappointed him, but he took an active part in the Russian campaign, distinguishing himself at Smolensk and the Moskwa, and also in the retreat. Again in 1813 he served against the Allied Armies with ability, but when they entered Paris he advised Napoleon to abdicate; and he himself submitted to Louis XVIII. But in the hundred days, when sent against his former chief he was unable to resist him and he forsook the royal side for Napoleon. Ney commanded the centre at Quatre Bras and had five horses shot under him. He sought to retire to Switzerland but was tried by court-martial for high treason and shot.

Nibelungen Lied. Song or story of the Nibelungers. *Nibelung* was a mythical King of Norway, and his territory was called the Nibelungenland. The word is derived from *Nebel* (darkness) hence *Nibelungen* means *Children of the mist or darkness*. They had two kings against whom the Lowland hero, Siegfried, fought victoriously, slaying their giants and chiefs and carrying away treasure. The hoard thus obtained was given to Siegfried's wife Kriemhild; who, on the death of her husband had it carried to Worms. But an enemy, Hagan, seized it and buried it under the Rhine. This is but a part of the story which has a great charm for lovers of National literature, and is probably derived from legends in the ancient sagas. (The musician, Wagner, has taken the legend of the *Rhine Gold* as one of his themes.)

Paine, Thomas (1737—1809), author of the *Rights of Man*, written in support of the principles of the French Revolution in answer to Burke's *Reflections*. The second part of the work gave offence, and Paine was tried at the Court of King's Bench and found guilty. Leaving England he was chosen by the department of Calais to represent it in the French National Convention. His sympathies were with the Girondists, and he offended Robespierre by suggesting that Louis xvi. and his family should be allowed to retire to America. Paine was imprisoned but afterwards released, and he ended his days in America. In France he wrote, amongst other works, *The Age of Reason*.

Port Royal, a convent of Cistercian nuns, 8 miles from Versailles, in which lay persons were also received. It was reformed by the Mother Superior, Angélique Arnauld, in 1806. The building being too small for the nuns, Mère Angélique left it in 1826 and settled in Paris, where St. Cyran, an eminent scholar, became their confessor and inspired them with his views on education. Le Maître and other distinguished persons joined St. Cyran's community which next year removed to the vacant abbey. St. Cyran defended Jansen a religious reformer of the time, and for this he was imprisoned. The gentlemen of Port Royal devoted themselves to education and founded a system of their own. Their classes, called *Les Petites Ecoles*, or *Little Schools*, were attended by the children of the rich, and Racine was one of them. There were few pupils in each class, which was carefully taught and directed by highly cultured men. In 1648, the country house having been enlarged, Mère Angélique returned to it, whilst the *solitaires* removed to one in the neighbourhood and, after Arnauld had joined them, to Paris. So there was a Port Royal of Paris and a Port Royal in the country. The most prosperous days of the Little Schools were between 1650 and 1660. Pascal was there and his sister was a nun in Mère Angélique's establishment. The *solitaires*, or lay brothers, led a very austere life, rising early and working hard with head and hands. Amongst the duties they fulfilled was the preparation of educational books: *Port Royal Greek* and *Latin Grammars*, *Geometry*, *Logic*, &c. The course of study was chiefly literary, great attention being paid to reading and writing; for the latter transparencies were used and the first metal pens. The pupils were taught to repeat their lesson one after the other. The discipline was mild; the brethren made use of emulation but not in the manner of the Jesuits, and great attention was paid to the conduct of their pupils. But the *Petites Ecoles* were subjected to jealousy and persecution from without, and their connection with the Jansenists led to their final suppression. The house at Paris was put under the Jesuits, and the aged sisters of Port Royal of the Fields were dispersed. The work of Port Royal had been a valuable one—the creation of a high educational ideal, and the effort to attain it by combining moral and religious with intellectual excellence.

Raumer, Karl von (1783-1865,) a German educationist and author of the *History of Pedagogy*, *Treatise upon the Teaching of Natural Science*, &c. He studied mathematics, Natural Science, language, and music, and gave special attention to geology and mineralogy. Von Raumer went to Fribourg and Paris where he read Fichte's *Discourse to the German Nation* which led him to desire to see the application of Pestalozzi's method of education. In 1809, he went to Yverdon, taking with him the brother of his betrothed, a boy whom he wished to have educated at the Institute. He pointed out certain defects in the system which were apparent to him. But his advice was unheeded by Pestalozzi, and Raumer left Yverdon after some months' stay. He proceeded to Berlin; and, in 1811, was made professor of Mineralogy at Breslau. He became a volunteer (like Froebel) on the rising against Napoleon in 1813. Raumer removed to the university of Halle; and later on, became Co-Director of the Institute of Dittmar at Nuremberg.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712-1778.) A distinguished writer and musician born at Geneva. After leading a wandering and irregular life, he went to Paris where he made the acquaintance of some of the most eminent men of the time, but their friendship changed subsequently to enmity. Rousseau attacked the abuses of the time, inveighing against the artificial state of society. His style is enthusiastic and sentimental. His most famous works are: *Emile*, an educational romance; and the *Social Compact* (Voltaire called it the "*Unsocial Compact*,") in which he praises the state of nature and deprecates all social compacts. This work was condemned by the magistrates of Geneva. For an account of the *Emile* See *Quick's Educational Reformers*.

Staël-Holstein, Mme. de (Baronne) (1766-1817) daughter of Necker, minister of Finance to Louis XVI. Mme. de Staël was a woman of genius, warm feelings, and independence of character, and the writer of many works, amongst others: *Delphine*, *Corinne*, *De L'Allemagne*, (Germany), *Dix Annees d' Exile* (Ten years of Exile). She was banished from France by Napoleon, who feared her avowed disapproval of him and his government. She travelled all over Europe, and at Weimar made the acquaintance of Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Wieland, &c.

Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl, Baron von, (1757-1831), one of Prussia's greatest statesman. Upright, independent, and patriotic, he effected some reforms in his own country; and his influence in Russia, in 1812, contributed towards the formation of the coalition against Napoleon. (See Chap. XIV.)

Tallyrand de Perigord, Charles Meurice (1753-1838), created Prince of Benevento, a French diplomatist of noble birth. He was intended for the Church, a slight lameness preventing his being able to follow a military career. But his subtle, selfish, and earthly nature ill accorded with the sacred office. Nevertheless, he had great talents and rendered some services to his country. On the meeting of the States-General, when the dispute arose, he urged the clergy to yield. Later on, he attacked his own order, and rejoiced in the fall of the Bastille. He was excommunicated in 1791. At the same time he succeeded his friend Mirabeau. When the king fled, Tallyrand declared for a Constitutional Monarchy. He issued a scheme of Education which was large and enlightened. Through the changeful events which occurred until the establishment of absolutism, Tallyrand was ever active, changing sides if needs were, and intriguing with America and Napoleon. He became minister again and a power in that office. He objected to Napoleon's war-like policy and disapproved of the invasion of Russia. On the downfall of Napoleon, Tallyrand nominated Louis XVIII, and after the escape of Napoleon from Elba and his subsequent defeat, Tallyrand, on the strong recommendation of Wellington, was taken into Louis's Councils. He came as ambassador to London in the reign of Louis Phillippe, and resigned office in 1834. His Memoirs may appear in 1890.

Vulliemin, Louis (b. 1797), Professor of History at the Academy of Lausanne and Hon. President of the Society of French Swiss History. His own memoirs are found in his writings. Besides his contributions to

National History he wrote, *Queen Bertha, A Simple Account of the Revolution of Vaud, Recollections for my Grandchildren, &c.* Vulliemin was for some time a pupil of Pestalozzi at Yverdon.

Washington, George (1732-3799), First President of the United States, a great general, patriot, and statesman. He was descended from an English Royalist family, settled on the Potomac. Although in good circumstances, means of education ther. were scanty, and George learnt little more than the three Rs., mathematics, and surveying. Like Bonaparte, his generalship was shown in his boyish sports. His elder brother had served with Admiral Vernon, after whom he called his estates, and it was proposed that George should enter the Navy, but his mother overruled this. At the age of sixteen he undertook the survey of a vast tract of unoccupied land in the Alleghanies, belonging to Lord Fairfax, a distant connection of the family by marriage. This he did well. His first military experience was gained in the operations of the Militia against the French, who were encroaching upon the frontier; and, by 1755, the chief command devolved upon him. In 1758 he resigned. He had been a member of the House of Burgesses. But the events which followed the passing of the Stamp Act (against which he protested) brought him into public life again. In 1775, he was elected commander-in-chief. He guided the army ably and honourably through all the vicissitudes of war, till the struggle closed with the Declaration of Independence of the thirteen States in 1783, when he resigned. Amongst those who served in the war was the brilliant and noble young French soldier Lafayette, between whom and Washington a life-long friendship arose. In 1789 (the year of the French Revolution) Washington was elected President by Congress, which appointment he held till 1796, steering the State with the same integrity, wisdom, and courage which had distinguished him throughout life. In the words of his sometime political opponent, Jefferson: "He was indeed, in every sense of the word, a wise, a good, and a great man."

Wieland, Christoph Martin (1733-1813) a great German poet. Following Klopstock at first, he wrote *The Christian's Experiences*. He was invited by Bodmer to Zurich. Wieland was a great lover of Greek literature and of Shakspeare's works, some of which he translated. He settled in Weimar (before the arrival of Goethe at the court there) and published the *German Mercury*, (See Chapter XI), in which he gave expression to his views. Wieland enriched the national literature by contributions derived from various sources. His works are distinguished by their grace and harmony. Amongst them are: *The Choice of Hercules*, and *Alceste* (a lyrical drama.)

Wilberforce, William (1759-1833) a wise and eloquent English statesman and philanthropist, and the friend of Pitt. An upright, large-hearted, and earnest man, he laboured in Parliament and out of it in all that concerned the moral and religious welfare of the people. As a boy, he had been roused to indignation at the thought of the slave-trade, and *now* he sought to advance its abolition. For this he worked indefatigably for years, but it was not until the last days of his life that his cherished aim was realised.

Wolff, Johann Christian (1679-1754), a celebrated German Mathematician and philosopher who sought to improve the art of reasoning by applying to philosophy the method adopted in mathematics. Professor at Halle at the age of 26, and author of *Thoughts on God, Thoughts on Man, Thoughts on the Human Understanding, Heads of Ethics and Policy*. An oration of his upon Chinese morality being deemed heretical, he was banished from Prussia, but was welcomed at the university of Marburg, 1723. Here he discussed the question of Liberty and Necessity. Wolff held the doctrine of pre-established harmony. After 9 years his sentence of exile was reversed and he was invited to return to the University of Halle as professor of the law of Nature and of Nations. His last work was *The Institutes of Philosophy*.

Zwingli, a Religious Reformer (born at Wildhaus, 1484, died at the Battle of Cappel, 1531). Poor, but well educated, he studied at Berne and Vienna, and learned all St. Paul's Epistles by heart. He was a wise and mild leader of the church. As chaplain he accompanied the Army to Italy against Louis XII., and also Francis I. He felt the need of religious reform before Luther. Called to Zurich. Samson came from Milan with Indulgences in 1518, but was not allowed to enter Zurich. Zwingli preached against pilgrimages, fasting, and the mass. The government of Zurich supported him throughout, inviting theologians to come from all parts to confer with him. Two great conferences took place attended by many hundred persons. The articles of faith were drawn up by Zwingli, who next attacked the mass and caused the pictures and statues to be removed from the churches. Zwingli married. The begging friars were suppressed. A conference of Protestants was then held at Zurich in 1529, and lasted three days. But the followers of Luther differed from those of Zwingli on the question of the Eucharist. Although gentler than Luther, Zwingli was the more radical in his views. War being declared between the Protestant and Roman Catholic cantons Zwingli, ordered to carry the standard, was struck by a stone which mortally wounded him. He exclaimed: "They may kill the body but they cannot kill the soul." A confessor was offered him but he declined his services and was slain by the sword. Zwingli's character was brave, frank, generous and original, commanding at once love and respect. He has given the following definition of Liberty: "Liberty does not consist in the power of satisfying all the desires and passions, which would be a tyranny worse than despotism of one or several, but it exists where a free course is left to truth and justice, and where entire equality of rights and duties reigns."

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